

# Edinburgh and Glasgow: Civic identity and rivalry 1752 – 1842

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‘While the Metropolitan City, Edinburgh, may have been the scene of a longer number of historical events than Glasgow, yet not even to Edinburgh must our city of the West give place in the claim of precedence in respect of real historical influence and essential power. Edinburgh has probably done more in recording history, and in enjoying the blessings of civilization and modern improvements; but Glasgow has *made* history and even been the originator of the means of advancing civilization, and the amenities of modern life. The latter has laboured, and the former has reaped the fruits of that labour’.

Andrew Wallace, *A Popular Sketch of the history of Glasgow* (1882)

## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	p. i
Declaration.....	p. iii
Acknowledgements.....	p. iv
Introduction.....	p. 1
Chapter One: Civic Histories.....	p. 50
Chapter Two: National-Civic Testimonies.....	p. 89
Chapter Three: Civic Testimonies.....	p. 120
Chapter Four: Civic and National Commemorations.....	p. 163
Chapter Five: Visitors' Impressions of Edinburgh and Glasgow.....	p. 222
Conclusion.....	p. 273
Appendices.....	p. 283
Bibliography.....	p. 318

## **Abstract**

This thesis is the first in depth study that has been undertaken concerning Edinburgh and Glasgow's identities and rivalry. It is not an economic or a social study driven solely by theory. Essentially, this is a cultural and political examination of Edinburgh and Glasgow's identities and rivalry based on empirical evidence. It engages with theory where appropriate. Although 1752 – 1842 is the main framework for the period there are other considerations included before this period and after this timeframe. This study provides the reader with a better understanding of the ideas highlighted in the introduction and it also indicates the degrees of changes as well as continuity within the two cities. Therefore, this thesis is not a strict comparison of the two cities and neither does it provide for a complete contextual breakdown of every historical event over the course of every year. The primary focus is kept on an array of primary written sources about the two cities over the course of the period, with only brief reflections about other places, where it is deemed appropriate. The thesis is driven by the evidence it has uncovered in relation to identity and rivalry, and the study uses particular events and their impact on the two cities within a particular historical narrative. As it is a preliminary report of its kind, there are, of course, many gaps which are opportunities for further research. This is something that the conclusion of this thesis returns to.

Identity and rivalry are words not attached to any particular corpus of research material but rather are buried in an array of primary sources that are wide-ranging and all encompassing. Most have been uncovered in individual collections and in the literature of the time, including newspapers, guidebooks, travellers' accounts, civic

histories, speeches, letters, and in entries for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and also the Old and New Statistical Accounts. Although historians may have examined some of this material it has not necessarily been employed by them to investigate how the cities' identities and rivalry evolved. The period was influenced by the ideas birthed from the Enlightenment and Romanticism, by the impact of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and by the intense processes harboured by urbanisation, industrialisation and by political and social change as the Georgian city became a Victorian one, so consideration of these important aspects must be afforded, as well as the particular historians' ideas about them and how they affected cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow within a Scottish and a British context.

## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, and that the work which it embodies has been done by myself and has not been included in another thesis.

Signed: Helen Rapport

Date: 30 October 2012

## Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the intellectual, financial and emotional support of many people. Firstly, those academics and administrative staff at the Division of History and Politics Department of the University of Stirling are, without a doubt, amongst the best people, teachers, advisors and academics, par excellence. I am particularly thankful to my supervisor, Dr. Helen M. Dingwall, whose incredible and stoic direction has made this thesis possible. I can never thank her enough for the gift of her tremendous intellect and personal inspiration she has bestowed upon me. She also continued guiding me, even in retirement, which is certainly above the call of duty! Another debt is owed to Dr. Iain Hutchison, who also read and commented on several chapters and his advice and genuine critical humour was well taken and encouraged my respect for him. Dr. Jacqueline Jenkinson stepped into the role of second supervisor when Iain retired and she, too, has provided invaluable suggestions and keen criticism. I would like to pass on my personal thanks to her. I have also 'seen off' three Heads of Department in the course of this thesis: Professor George Peden, Professor Bob McKean and Dr. Jim Smyth, all of whom offered encouragement as well as financial support by employing me to teach several tutorials for first and second year students in Scottish History. Their employment meant that the cost of travel for the many research trips was eased. Professor Richard Oram has also been incredibly supportive, as has Dr. Mike Penman and Dr. Alastair Mann. I owe a debt of gratitude to many others in the Department who have offered encouragement throughout this journey and to others across the University of Stirling, notably the postgraduate officers who kept me informed of administrative changes and the Library staff, in particular, who have always provided an efficient and warm

reception, even to my strange requests for obscure books and other literature about Edinburgh and Glasgow's past. A debt is also owed to my external and internal examiners, Professor Robert J Morris and Dr. Alastair Durie. Their invaluable and extensive knowledge has led to a much improved thesis.

Historians could not function without the tremendous efforts of those who dedicate their working lives to the preservation and access of books and of archives. The staff at the National Library of Scotland, especially those in the North Reading Room, and the staff at the Special Collections of the University of Glasgow and Edinburgh, those in the Mitchell Library and in the Edinburgh City Archives all require special mention. Many thanks, also, to those in Edinburgh City Library, especially the wonderful Edinburgh Room staff. I will never forget the bemusement incurred when I first arrived at these depositories claiming I intended researching the rivalry between Edinburgh and Glasgow. On return visits, I was frequently asked about my progress and which library and archive had treated me the best and where my bias lay. I would also like to thank the Checkland Fund for the gift of a small travel grant during my studies that permitted a trip to London to the British Library.

However, another debt must be paid to my friends and family. My father and mother have always taught me the value of studying and appreciating the achievements of those who have gone before us. Their message was always to work hard and enjoy what you do in life. Sadly, my father has been dead for many years, but he was an inspiring individual and I have never forgotten his love and kindness. My parents brought up eight children through hard work, determination, humour and great patience. They are remarkable human beings. This thesis is dedicated to them. My brothers and sisters are wonderful hard-working people, amongst them are teachers and scientists and I am incredibly proud and grateful for their love and support over

the years. My brother, Edward, completed over twenty years of service in the Royal Navy and I want to acknowledge his valour and fortitude. Edward and his wife, Karina, were also there for me towards the finishing line with childcare support, so many thanks are due to them. My sister, Maureen and her husband, Robert, also helped out by providing much needed humour, advice and even more childcare at a crucial stage in the writing-up moment. I owe them all so much.

As I grew up half way between Edinburgh and Glasgow, in the town of Bathgate, and studied at the University of Edinburgh and then completed my Secondary Teaching Postgraduate Certificate in History in Glasgow, I have lived and worked in both cities and I share an enthusiasm for both places and their people. My friends have also encouraged me over the years of this work and they include Ross and Nina Bryson, Colin and Jacqui Mitchell, Tamsin Haggis and David Bowker and Victoria and Alistair McKay. These friends kept me grounded and are very dear to me.

Last, but not least, is my exemplary husband, Mike. We met while students many years ago studying History at the University of Edinburgh and have lived in France and across Scotland. Our shared passion for the study of the past has fuelled our relationship and brought us to live in Stirling, where Mike teaches European History. Without his unconditional love, financial support and general sound discussions, this thesis would never have been completed. I think he believed in this project more than I did and kept me going through difficult periods of loss, illness and other life challenges. Our daughter, Lily, who has just turned five, also deserves a very special mention. She is intelligent, funny and very determined and loves nothing more than running around the Trossachs in the open air and stretching her imagination through play. My time with her and Mike have kept me sane through this long journey. To



them both, I also dedicate this thesis with much love and admiration. Lily should get her mummy back for a while as I leave the computer behind for a while.

## Introduction

Houses make a town, but citizens make a city.<sup>1</sup>

If Rousseau is right, then Edinburgh and Glasgow's elites and middling sort were the 'citizens' who made their cities in the sense. Some of them wrote about the two cities and demonstrated their attachment to these two cities in the years 1752 to 1842. Their pens shaped ideas about civic pride, forged their cities' reputations, and were foremost in the promotion of particular ideas about the two cities' respective civic identities and this was something that was continued beyond 1800.<sup>2</sup> The workers and artisans probably had a different understanding from the elites and middling sort of what it meant to be an *Edinburgher* or a *Glaswegian*. Their considerations of what Edinburgh or Glasgow meant to them and what their respective relationship was, what their civic identities were to them, is certainly a topic for further research.

Identity is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon with the roots of its study stemming from the post-World War Two era and which social scientists and psychological analysts became more concerned with from the 1980s.<sup>3</sup> Identities are:

labels with which persons address each other and themselves. They are patterned ways of speaking, thinking, feeling and performing that have as their object

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<sup>1</sup> Rousseau, as quoted in L. Mumford, *The City in History* (San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt, 1989,) 92.

<sup>2</sup> Rodger, R, *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century*, (Cambridge, 2001). Rodgers argues that in the 1800s, 'for the city as a whole, the power and influence of the Edinburgh middle class is difficult to exaggerate,' 18.

<sup>3</sup> A. Weigart & J. Smith, (eds), *Society and Identity: towards a sociological psychology* (Cambridge, 1986), 1, 5.

the interpersonal relations that constitute the identity.<sup>4</sup>

People have different identities based on such things as their age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, occupation, marital status and nationality. Some academics see that these identities are replaceable, still a consistent way in which people have come to define themselves:

Identities will not wither away; if old ones disappear or recede, new ones will be invented or constructed. Human beings are identity-seeking animals, both as individuals and as collectives.<sup>5</sup>

Many social scientists and historians have therefore viewed these ‘identities’ as social constructs that have been articulated to define who we are and which are often formulated by both individuals and collectives, including organisations such as governments, to suit a particular era or the concerns of the time in which these identities ‘operated’ and interacted. Much attention has been afforded to ethnicity and to gender as identities.<sup>6</sup> National identity has also spawned many discussions. Two examples of this have argued that it is something which is organically based and therefore something which is not fixed and which changes and can evolve. Another way to interpret national identity is as something that is imagined and which is therefore rooted from external suggestions of one’s personal or collective identity. For example, recently, Gwyn Williams contends that ‘nations do not grow like a tree, they

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 53.

<sup>5</sup> T.K.Oomen, *Citizenship, Nationality and Ethnicity* (Cambridge, 1997),19.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

are manufactured,<sup>7</sup> whereas earlier Benedict Anderson, who studied nations, dynasties and cultural and linguistic groups as ‘imagined communities’<sup>8</sup> noted how there was a dearth of explanations about nationalism and national identity and how:

Nation, nationality nationalism – all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone analyse. In contrast to the immense influence that nationalism has exerted on the modern world, plausible theory about it is conspicuously meagre.<sup>9</sup>

Some have tempered Anderson’s contention. Anthony Smith thinks that national identity is based on primordialism so the nation is a natural phenomenon and it has an ethnic core that suggests it is not entirely invented but which is built from older ties and loyalties.<sup>10</sup> For Britain and Scotland this is very much the case.

Much work has also been undertaken on British national identity and the fact that, for Scotland, this was also something for which the elites, at the very least, articulated alongside their concentric loyalties for Britain and Scotland, particularly after the Union of Parliaments in 1707. After 1800, in particular, Britain expressed multiple identities and, ‘in the eyes not only of Britons but also of most Europeans, the new state of the United Kingdom consisted of 3 or perhaps 4 distinctive nations.’<sup>11</sup> As Brockliss and Eastwood have further explained, ‘crucially, there was no formal attempt to make Britishness a primary cultural identity. Of course, Britishness had

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<sup>7</sup> G.A. Williams from ‘When was Wales,’ as quoted in Chp.4 ‘Enlightenment and Empire’, in M. Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain: cultural identities in Britain and Ireland* (Macmillan, 1997), 128-145, 172.

<sup>8</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities- reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Verso,1991). Originally published 1983.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 1991),3.

<sup>10</sup> See A. D. Smith, *National identity*, (Nevada Press, 1991).

<sup>11</sup> C.L. Brockliss & D.Eastwood, (Eds.) *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles c.1750 – c.1850* (Manchester, 1997),1.

meaning, or rather meanings.’<sup>12</sup> Scottishness and the idea of Scotland also had multiple meanings in this period.<sup>13</sup> What, then did it mean to be an *Edinburgher* or a *Glaswegian* and what, if anything, was a civic or local identity and was there any significance in having such an identity and especially in this period?

McKenzie argues that although Anderson’s seminal work from 1983 on national identity triggered much debate on nation and national identity, and he suggests there are still gaps in the research so ‘surely we need more analyses of cities as imagined communities.’<sup>14</sup> Despite the raft of studies on national identity and on Britain and on Scotland, no attempt has been made to investigate local or civic identity nor that can explain Edinburgh and Glasgow’s relationship. This thesis attempts to define Edinburgh and Glasgow’s civic identities and it explores something of whether Edinburgh and Glasgow were another kind of ‘imagined communities’ for those in them and for those outside of these two places in the period outlined. This thesis contends that cities, too, have identities and that ‘citizens’ in the period 1752 to 1842 articulated particular civic identities for Edinburgh and Glasgow and did so for a variety of reasons, both in their writings and actions.

If one considers that civic identity could be conceived as yet another kind of expression of a personal and/or a collective identity which articulates a particular kind of attachment by people or an individual to a certain place, town or city then civic identity becomes more viable and visible in the period concerned. This is particularly the case as there is an array of available evidence from individuals who wrote about and commented on their and other towns and cities. Both published and unpublished primary sources are therefore the first point of reference for those historians who seek

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<sup>12</sup> Brockliss & D. Eastwood, *A Union of Multiple Identities*, 195.

<sup>13</sup> See W. Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historical Quest* (Edinburgh, 1998) and also C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland’s Past: Scottish Whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity c.1689–1830* (Cambridge, 1993).

<sup>14</sup> See MacKenzie, ‘Second City of Empire’ in *Imperial Cities*.

to understand what Edinburgh and Glasgow meant to those elites and middling sort who lived in them. These sources may also suggest something of the relationship between civic and national identity and whether the two identities are interconnected or separate from each other. At its very basic level civic identity is closely linked to local identity but it is something that is also more formally expressed, not only as local pride and attachment to a place but which can also be expressed through reference to local activities and even rivalries with other places. At its most complex, those who strive to establish civic identity have a deeper concern for the reputation, image and 'place' that their town or city holds within the wider regional, national and international arenas and their attempt to contribute and (re) establish a civic identity for one's place, town or city is part of what makes them a citizen. Some historians view this kind of local concern, pride and patriotism as particularly important in times of uncertainty and upheaval. Murray Pittock thought, for example, that

during the Napoleonic Wars and the heyday of industrialisation and Empire, British differences were enshrined in local patriotisms which themselves were often strong commercially and could express themselves in domestic space.<sup>15</sup>

This thesis certainly explores something of the above ideas and returns to them. In the period concerned, a more formal loyalty to Edinburgh and Glasgow and their public institutions emerges, predating the middling sort's inclusion in the formal political processes triggered after the 1833 Reform Act (Scotland), which altered the way local and national political participation was organised. Civic identity is arguably something which the elites and middling sort of those who lived in these two places

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<sup>15</sup> M. Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain: cultural identities in Britain and Ireland* (Macmillan, London, 1997), 175.

shared but whether it was something that was a very 'real' part of their experience or something that was part of the expected behaviour of their citizenship remains to be seen. This thesis explores the phenomenon of civic identity in the period 1752-1842 for Edinburgh and Glasgow and examines some of the reasons why this particular identity was expressed alongside, and sometimes asserted separately, to a British-Scottish identity.

This thesis is the first of its kind to consider the ways in which Edinburgh and Glasgow's elites and middling sort viewed their cities' civic identities in this period and it is the first to examine something of how both places fared against each other. It is also the only examination that charts something of the two cities' intermittent cultural rivalry. The elites can simply be considered here as the aristocrats but the middling sort was much more nuanced. The middling sort had evolved after 1700, when only merchants and elite craftsmen could be counted among them. It came to include a wide array of individuals, as Smout has suggested, as among the 'vigorous and various'<sup>16</sup> and included those in the professions, especially lawyers in Edinburgh, and those engaged in commerce and industry, as well as representatives from the two cities' religious and political leadership. For Edinburgh, in particular, the professions, became an important part of that city's urban and social structures and they were obvious in their contributions to changing ideas about local as well as national citizenship. Those in Glasgow were as vocal in their thoughts about this but their middling sort became dominated by the mercantile and emerging commercial and industrial elites.

Essentially, the emerging urban middling sort was a complex and diverse group. By the 1800s, Stana Nenandic argues their 'geographical proximity, consumerism and

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<sup>16</sup> Smout, T.C., *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, (Fontana, 1972), 338.

new forms of organisation; and the generation of a new intellectual identity based on optimism, the separation of home and work, the popular precepts of enlightenment and evangelical religion, and distinct patterns of culture and language bound them to one another.<sup>17</sup> Optimism can be found in their largely favourable accounts of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Apart from some obvious notable exceptions this explains why they shared a remarkable agenda in their writing and why they sought to portray their city in an almost eternally favourable light. The overwhelming impression left was that Edinburgh and Glasgow were important cities with appropriate religious, historic and royal credentials. The influences of their time are apparent in their penmanship and in the references to the great Classical and Renaissance cities of old including, Rome, Athens and Florence and they hoped that those who read about their cities would agree with their understanding that they were among the best of places to live, work and visit.

Of course, cities are also more than the sum of such citizens and their ideas and are, in fact, complex entities, which

are multifunctional. Their size and dynamism derive from the many ways in which they operate within economic, political and social, and cultural networks, both in their regions and internationally. They are simultaneously markets, service centres and sites of production...cities are the sites of institutions that attract resources, people, goods, and information from near and far.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> See S. Nenandic, 'The Rise of the Urban Middle Classes,' in T. M. Devine & R. Mitchison, *People and Society*, Volume I, 1760–1830 (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998), 109-126;. See D. W. Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class - The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c.1780 – 1840*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>18</sup> A. Lees & L. Hollen Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe, 1750 – 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 21-22.



Arguably because of this, the ‘citizens’ of Edinburgh and Glasgow wanted to make some sense of this complexity and of the challenges wrought by the effects of industrialisation, urbanisation and other such intense social, political, economic and physical impacts within their city and its environment. The built environment of both cities altered dramatically between the period 1752 and 1842 and many who had been born there during this time and who wrote about their cities could not fail but comment on such expansions.<sup>19</sup> Visitors who returned to the cities during this period were similarly amazed.<sup>20</sup>

Into the nineteenth century, both cities continued to experience tremendous building and boundary changes, captured by cartographers, and this was something that was not only because of a growth in their population. Much of the demand to change the two cityscapes came from the elites and the middling sort. Many of them saw the business opportunities and craved greater space provided for in the new houses and their fashionable areas that were still built within relatively proximity of the old medieval centres. These new separation of spaces intensified social divisions as the elites and middling sort shifted away from their former medieval centres and these areas were left to the ravages of overcrowding and poverty. In Edinburgh, the area around the Royal Mile in what was known as the Old Town had been the city’s traditional centre and in Glasgow it was the area around the Cathedral leading down into the High Street and around what was known as the Cross. By 1842, Edinburgh was building its second New Town area and the west end of Glasgow was being developed as the new space par excellence for the wealthier

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<sup>19</sup> See Rodgers, *The Transformation of Edinburgh*; R. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of the Enlightenment: Edinburgh 1660 – 1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); T.M. Devine & G. Jackson, (eds.) *Glasgow Vol 1. Beginnings to 1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

<sup>20</sup> A. Riches, 'The Teeth of an Ivory Comb' in D. Mays, (ed.), *The Architecture of Scottish Cities* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1997), 34-44.

The power of the elites and the rise of the middling sort are most singularly demonstrated by the fact that they built the shops and factories that littered Glasgow's cityscape into the 1800s and they benefitted from the cities' new town areas most. In Edinburgh, the building of the city's first New Town from the late 1760s encouraged shops around Princes Street and their homes provided employment for the rising number of domestic employees, mostly women, through the 1800s.<sup>21</sup> New churches also catered for the growing number of souls in and beyond these districts, squares and gardens also appeared and furnished an appropriate escape into a more natural environment and away from the bustle and grime of urban life and in which a trend for erecting statues and monuments to great heroes and literati could be displayed and better contemplated.<sup>22</sup>

Much of these changes caused more than a degree of commentary and debate among the elites and middling sort at the time.<sup>23</sup> The two cities' elites and middling sort shared other common experiences through their institutions, including their mercantile and craft ones but they are also important parallels as well as distinctions to be made. Both Edinburgh and Glasgow had their own universities and Town Councils, which before 1833 had their representation from the merchant and craft guilds. Both cities were dominated by Church of Scotland membership before the Disruption and were experiencing pressures wrought by such things as population increase, war and changes to their built environment, as already highlighted.

Edinburgh's population rose spectacularly from roughly 57,000 in 1755 to 138,000 by 1821 and again to 164,000 by 1841. Glasgow's increase in population was even

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<sup>21</sup> S. Nenandic, 'Domestic Consumers and Domestic Cultures in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720-1840', *Past and Present*, No.145 (Nov 1994), 122-156.

<sup>22</sup> Map of New Towns to 1842- showing churches, gardens, houses etc.; H. Fraser & I. Maver (eds.), *Glasgow Volume II: 1830-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

<sup>23</sup> McKean, C, 'Twinning cities: modernisation versus improvement in the two towns of Edinburgh,' in Edwards & Jenkins, *Edinburgh- The Making of a Capital City*, 42-64.

more marked than Edinburgh's. Although it originally lagged behind Edinburgh with only 31,700 of a population in 1755, by 1821 Glasgow had outgrown the Scottish capital and contained some 147,000 people. By 1841, the city was firmly established as Scotland's largest and was home to 275,000 souls. These two cities of the east and of the west of Scotland dominated in terms of their population but also in other ways as well, as they were home to the principal Scottish legal, religious and financial arenas. Edinburgh, in particular, was a centre of law and banking and was the host to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the Convention of Royal Burghs. The city had been the historic capital city of Scotland and until the Union of Parliaments in 1707 had been a prominent arena for much of Scotland's history and political decision-making. Historians have previously downplayed Edinburgh's industry but now recognise that it had vibrant industries into the nineteenth century that were driven largely by luxury goods craved for by the elites and professionals who lived there.<sup>24</sup>

In contrast to this, Glasgow had a thriving industrial and commercial base and was also fast becoming a major British port by 1800. The city had originally traded through Port Glasgow but from the end of the seventeenth century, a process of major widening, deepening and clearing improvements, as well as the building of docks and warehouses, meant the River Clyde was more suited to international shipping and the shift from the east to the west coast trading that had begun in the 1600s and Glasgow's trade with the West Indies and the Americas meant the Clyde replaced Edinburgh's Leith as the main port in Scotland by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The profits wrought from Glasgow's trade arguably allowed for the city's expansion and

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<sup>24</sup> Rodgers, R. 'Landscapes of capital: industry and the built environment in Edinburgh, 1750-1920,' in Edwards, B. & Jenkins, P. (eds.), *Edinburgh-The Making of a Capital City*, (Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 85-103.

other developments within it and the commercial and industrial successes encouraged immigration to it. Partly because of these economic and physical changes, Glasgow became a truly Victorian and modern city and although the city was as ancient and historic as Edinburgh. Glasgow had a notable medieval cathedral and ancient university but it was never really viewed as an historic place. This was something that occurred, as will be shown, despite the best efforts to remind people that it had an established historic pedigree.

The 'citizens' of both cities also inherited common cultural influences through their shared experience of work and profession, education, religion and through their notions of Scottishness and Britishness. This thesis focuses not so much on these aspects as how ideas about Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic identities were viewed and presented. Of course, distinctions still arise, particularly as Glasgow's 'cultural influences' centred largely on it being a port and its economic growth whereas Edinburgh's cultural influences stemmed from it being a centre of government, court and aristocracy. Moreover, as Scottish cities, the two places also have particular cultural and historical traditions that distinguish them from their English and other British counterparts.<sup>25</sup>

One method, then, of assessing how people viewed their city, its 'place' within Britain, Scotland and the wider world is to examine what was written about Edinburgh and Glasgow, both from within and beyond the two cities. Prior to 1800, London had been afforded much literary reflection but thereafter the impact of the Enlightenment and the rise of the public sphere encouraged more reading, commentary, debate and writing on a great variety of things which included one's place of birth, abode or

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<sup>25</sup> G. Gordon & B. Dicks *Scottish Urban History* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1983), *passim*.

work.<sup>26</sup> Much of this writing centred on specific aspects of the town or a city in Britain, including its history, as well as the often remarkable physical and cultural changes within it.<sup>27</sup>

Much of this writing, however, was uncritical and often was polemic, so care must be taken with such sources when assessing ideas about the cities from within and without. Moreover, as the thesis underlines ideas about citizenship, Britishness and Scottishness, as well as notions about Edinburgh and Glasgow, it investigates this through a variety of sources, including histories, diaries, newspapers, guidebooks, speeches, pamphlets, correspondence and in other cultural expressions, such as the ceremonies surrounding monuments and statues and the granting of the freedom of the city. There are benefits and problems that arise when using such ranges of material and which are overcome only by the careful extraction and analysis of this material and by focusing on the kind of contemporary rhetoric was employed which supports and suggests something of the main themes already identified. The kind of discourse analysis considered here is the one already defined by Bill Scott:

Cultural history is text-orientated. The move away from explanation by social structure to interpretation has made textual analysis crucial. The nature of written texts, their exposed or hidden resources of language or idiom, of rhetoric and metaphor, their genre and tropes, their narrative strategies, all have to be revealed and decoded. The reader's relationship with the text demands careful scrutiny...written

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<sup>26</sup> See B. I. Coleman, *The Idea of the City in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, n.d.); J. Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 81-119; Lees & Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe*, 216; A. Murdoch & R.B. Sher, 'Literary and Learned Culture,' in Devine and Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland*, Vol. I, 127-142.

<sup>27</sup> See W. Hutton, *A History of Birmingham to the End of the Year 1780* (Birmingham, 1783); R. Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); P. Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community - Antiquarians and the English City before 1800,' in D. Fraser & A. Sutcliffe, *Pursuit of Urban History* (London: Arnold, 1983).

texts are often grouped as discourses...cultural historians often exploit quite humble, even crude, texts...much more is extracted than the explicit meaning.<sup>28</sup>

Additionally, it is important to bear in mind the very florid nature of the writing which was particular to its time, and how it should not be viewed from the perspective of modern critiques. The period encapsulates not only such reflections on Edinburgh and Glasgow but it signals the beginnings of unprecedented extensive urban transformation within Scotland and across Britain. By 1800, Scotland was in the top five of Western Europe's most urbanised countries.<sup>29</sup>

Overarching themes also dominate this thesis, including the influence of ideas from the Enlightenment and what kind of changes the Romantic period heralded. The impact of war, industrialisation, urbanisation, the associated social and economic challenges that this wrought and debates about cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow, their merits and demerits must also be considered.<sup>30</sup> Evidence for these developments emerged in contemporary local and national platforms and discussions and in newspapers, diaries and in the political arenas of the two Town Councils as well as in Parliament. Patriotic overtones of Britishness and pride in Scottishness emerged in competing and complimentary ways and were set against claims of pride in local identity from those within Edinburgh and Glasgow. Essentially, consideration is given to those discussions from those most involved in promoting, defending, and establishing ideas about Edinburgh and Glasgow against the background of such dramatic changes. Those with no obvious connection and attachment to the two cities

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<sup>28</sup> W. Scott, 'From Social to Cultural History,' in P. R. Campbell, (ed) *The Origins of the French Revolution* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 112 – 138, 125.

<sup>29</sup> T.M. Devine, *Exploring the Scottish Past - Themes in the History of Scottish Society* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995), 109.

<sup>30</sup> See C. Kingsley's '*Great Cities and their Influence for good and evil*' (Bristol lecture, 1857); also E.C. Gaskell, *Mary Barton: a tale of Manchester Life* (London, 1848).

are also investigated, particularly the visitors, whose accounts left valuable traces of how Edinburgh and Glasgow's changes, their emerging civic identities and ongoing rivalries were perceived by those from outside the two cities. In essence, there is some attempt to better understand how Edinburgh and Glasgow's emerging civic identities were mirrored in other places and also how their rivalry was fostered in response to each other but this is by no means the main impetus. Therefore, this thesis is neither a strict comparison of the two cities, nor a complete contextual breakdown of every historical event over the course of every year, but it does consider the impact of some of the major historical events and themes over the course of 1752 to 1842. Yet, its primary focus is mainly on the two cities and evidence for their civic identities and rivalry, with some brief references to other places.

Urban historians have access to a plethora of individual and academic works on Edinburgh and Glasgow, but the two cities have attracted only a few comparative studies. These studies have also tended to include particular economic or political concerns and focus on important episodes from Scottish and British history, as well including such things as their socio-economic makeup. Moreover, broader examinations of Scottish urban history from the 1980s onwards have only focused briefly on Edinburgh and Glasgow and, while they offer valuable interpretations about specific events and activities, particularly in relation to developments within their built environment, they do not entirely address how those within the two cities sought to inform others about their thoughts and aspirations for Edinburgh and Glasgow and in relation to each other in any detailed way. There have been many observations on Edinburgh and Glasgow's relationship, among them, and perhaps the most well

known, from Patrick Geddes, who believed that their differences were 'far remoter in type and in spirit than the small railway distance between them'.<sup>31</sup>

Certainly, in the Georgian and Victorian periods, as distinct cities, Edinburgh and Glasgow were radically different in their social, political and economic characters. However, the fact that they were and remained the first and second cities of Scotland encouraged their interaction and rivalry. Arguably, it was their very distinctiveness and individual responses to events such as the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars that paved the way for some of this. Other cultural influences included ideas about what constituted the ideal city and citizen, what contribution and achievements their city had made to the past and the present, and who and what events were to be celebrated and commemorated. In this sense, those elites and middling sort within Edinburgh and Glasgow shared much in common and it is to these aspects that this thesis attends.

Comparative urban studies are always challenging as they extend beyond the normal comfort zones of strictly economic, social, and political or historical narrative and other cultural dimensions. This study attends to the wider cultural contemporary influences, such as education, aesthetic styles, as well as social interactions which permeated Edinburgh and Glasgow's relationship with each other. Their public spaces and their public arenas are considered, as they were considered a departure from the previous public arenas of court and church and where the individual and the collective civic influences and ambitions were now most keenly portrayed. On the one hand, written reflections on particular aspects and events that affected the two cities offer useful insights into how those in Edinburgh and Glasgow dealt with the great economic, social, political and cultural challenges of their time. On the other hand,

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<sup>31</sup> P. Geddes, '*Cities in Evolution*' as quoted in A. Briggs, *Victorian Studies* (California: University of California, 1993), 35.



they betray other narrower ambitions and petty concerns for rivalry that drove these elites and the middling sort to improve their city and advertise it to their social, as well as their wider peers outside their world. Moreover, while there is a plethora of literature commentating on the changes and reactions to developments within Edinburgh and Glasgow and beyond, rivalry is an elusive activity in which only occasionally is glimpsed something of the underlying tensions between both cities, of which the promotion of particular civic identities is crucially linked to this. Much is given over in the sources as to how great and how much has been achieved within Edinburgh and Glasgow in the period, in optimistic accounts and again this kind of polemic was an almost expected attribute of those who would promote the city and its good citizenship. There are also, however, some more critical accounts of the two cities and some of them were employed by their authors to promote ideas about the kind of changes they believed were required within Edinburgh and Glasgow, either politically, aesthetically or socially. The moves toward social and urban reform after 1800 in particular are also revealed through their expressions of concern for others, and especially in respect to the plight of the poor within the cities. In this and throughout the literature there is evidence of an overarching theme of how civic pride in Edinburgh and Glasgow predates the Victorian period, with which it is usually more closely associated.

There are obvious pitfalls with any examination of this kind and so another attempt has been made to contain the study in the period that straddles the growth of the Georgian town and the beginnings of the Victorian city. The Enlightenment and Romanticism obviously loom large over this study as much of the elites and middling sort's ideas about cities and citizenship stem from these influences. Some of the earliest and most influential writing on Edinburgh and Glasgow, among other cities,

came from those in the Enlightenment era. Men such as Adam Smith, who in 1776 published *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, argued that there were different kinds of cities, those that traded and manufactured and those that had a court or administrative function.<sup>32</sup> In doing so, Smith effectively described Glasgow and Edinburgh and reiterated something of their perceived civic identities. His ideas, as this chapter later reveals, influenced contemporaries and emerged in their written testimonies about these two places into the first half of the nineteenth century.

Yet, there are other inspirations too, including the impact of the American and French Revolutions and Napoleonic Wars and other developments within society including how the two cities encouraged such people to comment on their city's physical remodelling and so-called improvements and also in their cultural rebranding. Much of this was stimulated by the drive to advertise efforts at improvement in both cities in order to detract criticisms about them. This thesis is essentially an empirical, cultural and political examination whereby appropriate academic studies and ideas are engaged with in order to provide a more critical framework for its approach.<sup>33</sup>

Although 1752– 1842 is the chronology for the period, there are other considerations before this period and after this time and as evidence allows. This

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<sup>32</sup> A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 435.

<sup>33</sup> Ideas from, among others, Asa Briggs, Rosemary Sweet, Rab Houston, Christopher Smout, Linda Colley, Graeme Morton, Jürgen Habermas, James Schmeichan, John Cookson, Anne Riches and Alastair Durie, are engaged with, and either challenged, supported or added to. A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, (California: University of California Press, 1993); R. Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth Century England*; R.A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of the Enlightenment* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994); T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830 – 1950* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1986); L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707 - 1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); G. Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland 1820 – 1860*. (East Linton, Tuckwell Press Ltd, 1999); J. Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*; translated by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1989); J. Schmeichan, 'Architecture, Townscape and Society,' in Fraser & Mavor, *Glasgow Volume II 1830 – 1912*, 486 – 518; J. E. Cookson, 'The Edinburgh and Glasgow Duke of Wellington Statues: Early Nineteenth-Century Unionist-Nationalism as a Tory Project,' *SHR*, 83, 1: Issue 215, April 2004, 23-40; A. Riches, 'The Teeth of an Ivory Comb: Travellers' observations of Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1548-1830,' in, D. Mays (ed.), *The Architecture of Scottish Cities*, (East Linton, 1997); A. Durie, *Scotland for the Holiday Tourism in Scotland c.1780 - 1939* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003).

provides the reader with a better understanding of the wider context of the ideas highlighted above, while also indicating elements of change and continuity within the two cities. Future research must be undertaken to establish whether Edinburgh and Glasgow's experience was typical or unique to other Scottish and British towns and cities in this period. As it is a preliminary and the first report of its kind, there are, of course, many gaps which are opportunities for further research, some of which have been highlighted in the conclusion of this thesis. Finally, this thesis seeks to convey something of the ideas about the two cities and the responses to particular events, civic projects and to evaluate the impact this has had on Edinburgh and Glasgow and whether this indicates essentially a Scottish, British or essentially local mould.

#### *Literature review*

Much work has already been written about Edinburgh and Glasgow but essentially only as individual histories or examinations of specific issues. There is value in examining the works of urban antiquarian historians when comparing cities, as Briggs has shown how each antiquarian, 'booster,' or academic fulfilled one of more of these roles.<sup>34</sup> Briggs' ground breaking comparative study of Victorian cities demonstrates the complex nature of comparing cities that have particular economic, political and social inheritances. Briggs believes that comparing towns brings obvious challenges as well as benefits to the historian. The challenge involves justifying the comparison of towns that are so obviously different as Edinburgh and Glasgow. What unites Edinburgh and Glasgow is not so much their obvious differences but their shared sense

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<sup>34</sup> Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 50.

of civic identity and experience of rivalry. James Dyos, one of the first historians to examine Britain's urban past, pointed out the obvious benefits of studying towns as their unique environment makes them platforms for the study of a number of disciplines, including the architectural, geographical, social, economic, political, and religious variables that come into play within their confines.<sup>35</sup> As people interacted and adapted on a larger scale than ever before, many of these internal and external forces of change affected society as a whole. Towns and cities not only contain a homogeneous concentration of people from varied social strata, they contain institutions particular to the urban environment. In this sense, people's interaction and responses to economic and social change and to other cultural challenges is another purpose of this study.

The broader academic examinations of Edinburgh and Glasgow have included research on each city's changing social makeup over time; their political inheritances; the fluctuating population growth and occupational structures; the varying economic fortunes; developing religious and flourishing cultural traditions; with an added emphasis on the city's expanding and contracting physical canvas. These works give a useful insight into each city's history and serve only as a valuable starting point for this research project on civic identity and rivalry in the period c.1780 – c.1840. But few, if any, either provide a sustained, detailed city-to-city comparison or convey the nature of each city's civic identity within the context of their rivalry.

The more antiquarian and personal tributes to Edinburgh or Glasgow were published before the nineteenth century, when the two cities were undergoing fundamental changes.<sup>36</sup> These publications relied heavily on earlier civic annals and

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<sup>35</sup> H. J. Dyos, *The Study of Urban History*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), passim.

<sup>36</sup> J. McUre, *A View of the City of Glasgow*, (Glasgow, 1830), (first published 1736); R. Chambers *Traditions of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1824); J. Cleland: *Statistical Facts descriptive of the Former and*

histories,<sup>37</sup> but they are still valuable for indicators of identity and rivalry. Civic histories are the focus of Chapter One. The Edwardian age was another time of prolific civic writing as the cities and townspeople continued to experience internal physical economic, political, and social reorganisation.<sup>38</sup> More recent and other general histories of Edinburgh and Glasgow continue the trend towards the anecdotal and empirical approach to history, following the chronologically-broad, sweeping narrative histories of the cities. Such accounts have ranged from the rather civic-minded and somewhat exaggerated observations, to the more filtered, analytical approach that aims to explain the role each city played in the wider historical arena.<sup>39</sup> Some of these recent works have also benefited from earlier civic histories, and have moved towards a keener research base by, for example, examining burgh records. In addition to these civic histories and the more recent academic writing,<sup>40</sup> there is still no detailed comparative examination of the two cities or their identities and rivalry. Of course, it was not the primary aim of these works to compare Edinburgh and Glasgow, so some of the histories and the more modern accounts make only the briefest passing references that have benefited this research. However, some of them offer a useful

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*Present state of Glasgow*, (Glasgow, 1837); J. Kay, *A series of portraits and caricature etchings* (Edinburgh, 1837-38).

<sup>37</sup> J. Gibson, *The History of Glasgow from the earliest accounts to the present time; with an account of the rise, progress and present state of commerce and manufactures now carried on in the city of Glasgow* by John Gibson, merchant in Glasgow, (Glasgow, printed by Rob Chapman and Alex Duncan for the author and sold by him at his lodgings in Gallowgate and by the booksellers in London, Edinburgh etc, 1777 (Glasgow, 1777); H. Arnot, *History of Edinburgh by Hugh Arnot, Esq; Advocate 1777 by William Creech Edinburgh 1788* (Edinburgh: West Port Books, 1998)(5<sup>th</sup> edition).

<sup>38</sup> G. Eyrie-Todd, *The Story of Glasgow*, (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1911).

<sup>39</sup> S. Berry & H. Whyte, *Glasgow Observed*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987); See entire issue of *History Today*, Vol. 40:5, May 1990; I. Maver, *Glasgow*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000); C.A. Oakley, *The Second City*, (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1947); A. Gibb, *Glasgow - the making of the city*, (London: Croom Helm, 1983); M. Joyce, *Edinburgh - The Golden Age, 1769-1832* (London: Longmans, 1951); A. Massie, *Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994); C. McKean, *Edinburgh - Portrait of a City*, (London: Century, 1991); M. Cosh, *Edinburgh - the Golden Age* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2003) ; M. Fry, *Edinburgh* (London: MacMillan., 2009).

<sup>40</sup> H.M. Dingwall, *Late Seventeenth Century Edinburgh* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994); M. Lynch *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981); A. J. Youngson *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988),(first published 1966).

introduction to the cities' differing identities and some even contain references that indicate inter-civic rivalry existed before the 1780s.

Naturally any examination of some of the general civic histories of Edinburgh and Glasgow betrays some other glimpses of how civic identity and rivalry were expressed. In themselves, the civic histories are important reflections of the writers and their senses of civic identity and are also a valuable form of record of events and persons past. One of the few authors to write a book on Edinburgh as well as Glasgow was David Daiches. His book on Glasgow includes references to the existence of earlier economic rivalry between Renfrew, Dumbarton, Rutherglen, and Glasgow, as the last mentioned grew in influence and trade. Daiches features the existence of an early religious rivalry between St. Andrews and Glasgow that continued after Glasgow was granted an archbishopric in 1492.<sup>41</sup> However, Daiches did not reference Edinburgh and Glasgow's rivalry, although his earlier book on Edinburgh acknowledged its existence.<sup>42</sup> In it, for example, there is a reference to Robert Fergusson's poem, *Auld Reekie*, which was first published in 1773 and which was re-released in an extended form after Fergusson's death in 1779. The poem praised the work of Lord Provost George Drummond, whose efforts at improvements for the city were believed by Fergusson to allow it to finally claim superiority over Glasgow.<sup>43</sup>

More specific city histories such as Joyce's *Edinburgh - The Golden Age 1769-1832* fit well within the period of research considered here. However, it focuses on the biographies of celebrated individuals, many of them part of the Scottish Enlightenment, including, David Hume, Adam Smith, Robert Burns, Christopher Wilson, Sydney Smith and Walter Scott. Such notables' publications should be more closely examined in light of this project, as their frequent journeys around the country

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<sup>41</sup> D. Daiches, *Glasgow*, (London: Collins, 1982), 13-14.

<sup>42</sup> D. Daiches. *Edinburgh*, (St. Albans and London: Granada Publishing Limited, 1980), 228.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

led to comparative comments on the cities. Joyce's own research material gives valuable stimulation to the investigation of other individual accounts from some 'external' visitors to the city, such as the Englishman Edward Topham's 'Account' and David Masson's *Edinburgh Sketches and Memories*.<sup>44</sup> Of the more personal tributes to the cities, Charles Oakley's *The Second City* on Glasgow gave a very Unionist account of the prosperity and history of Glasgow and claimed that the city's economic success owed much to the Union of Parliaments. He also believed that the number of newspapers produced by Glasgow (of which he lists many that could be examined from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century) somehow indicated the heightened level of civic consciousness within the city: 'the growth of civic consciousness in a town is often best measured by what is often written - both qualitatively and quantitatively - about its current affairs.'<sup>45</sup> Oakley made no unusual comparative references to Edinburgh, except for population figures and transport details.

As for Edinburgh, Allan Massie's book accounts for the reasons why Edinburgh grew to dominate Scotland's share of trade and its east coast lowland area for so long, particularly until the seventeenth century. It also focused on the architectural growth of Edinburgh's New Town and its associated public buildings, such as Register House, and demonstrates how, by the mid-nineteenth century, Edinburgh's importance declined as it was:

no longer in any true sense a national capital, bereft of political importance greater than that of any other provincial city, having less indeed than Glasgow, Manchester

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<sup>44</sup>E. Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh in 1774 and 1775* (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1971); D. Masson, *Edinburgh Sketches and Memories* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1892).

<sup>45</sup> Oakley, *The Second City*, 24.

and Birmingham would achieve in the nineteenth century, no longer the city of the Enlightenment which could give lessons to all Europe, the Athens of the North.<sup>46</sup>

In summarising some of the individual work undertaken, most common comparative references of Edinburgh with Glasgow are usually focused on population statistics,<sup>47</sup> the burghs' national tax contribution,<sup>48</sup> or involved frequent economic and commercial comparisons.<sup>49</sup> Individual projects involving the two cities were often discussed and included Glasgow's local government attempts in 1790 to set up a Police Board along the same lines as Edinburgh's,<sup>50</sup> the painstaking planning and progress of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union and Forth-Clyde canal,<sup>51</sup> and, of course, the Enlightenment.<sup>52</sup>

More recent commentators on Scottish urban history, such as Adams, echo this sentiment. In *The Making of Urban Scotland*, Adams explains how, within the historical development of Scotland's urban setting, both cities experienced dramatic economic as well as architectural development and the apparent advantages Edinburgh had with its spatial environment in the eighteenth century over Glasgow's, unknowingly supported Nenadic's later observations on the cities: 'living conditions for the middle classes in Edinburgh were so much more pleasing than in Glasgow that

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<sup>46</sup> Massie, *Edinburgh*, 133.

<sup>47</sup> Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, 266.

<sup>48</sup> T.M. Devine & G. Jackson (eds.), *Glasgow, Vol. 1, Beginnings to 1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 6.

<sup>49</sup> T. Devine, 'An eighteenth century business elite: Glasgow – West India merchants, c.1750-1815,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 1978, 57, 40 – 67; S. Nenadic, 'The Middle Ranks and Modernisation' in Devine & Jackson, *Glasgow*, Vol. I, 278 - 312, 281.

<sup>50</sup> Devine, 'The Development of Glasgow to 1830 – mediaeval burgh to industrial city,' in Devine & Jackson, *Glasgow*, vol. 1, *Beginnings to 1830*, 1-16, 8 – 9; I. Maver, 'The Guardianship of the Community: civic authority prior to 1833,' in Devine and Jackson, *Glasgow* Vol. I, 239 – 277, 240.

<sup>51</sup> Gibb, *Glasgow – the Making of a City*, 88-89.

<sup>52</sup> A.Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment – a social history* (London: Croom Helm, 1976); A. Hook & R.B. Sher (eds.), *Glasgow's Enlightenment*, (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1995); Houston, *Social Change in the Age of the Enlightenment*; R. Rodger, *Transformation of Edinburgh*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001).



there was little inducement to escape the city.’<sup>53</sup> Both commercial and architectural comparisons of Edinburgh and Glasgow reveal some of the foundations of their rivalry but they are not the only parameters. Economic studies within Scotland have found it difficult to escape Edinburgh and Glasgow’s rivalry, even when they are investigating other Scottish cities:

Rivalry between neighbouring towns is a world-wide phenomenon, and it certainly exists (and has existed for a long time) within Scotland. The fiercest and best-known rivalry is that of Edinburgh and Glasgow - variously characterised as ‘Beauty and the Beast’ or ‘Brains and Brawn’.<sup>54</sup>

Here, Durie compares the economies of Aberdeen and Dundee from 1800 to 1914 and he examines the social and economic makeup of the two cities by using contemporary newspapers, married working women statistics, and Irish immigration figures. According to Durie, Aberdeen’s relative commercial success compared to Dundee’s was due partly to its social makeup and to the developments within its fishing and shipping industries, coupled with the arrival of the railway. Durie’s comparison of the economies of Aberdeen and Dundee is a study that is echoed to some extent in comparative studies of other cities, some of which show how political elements were fundamental to this. Other economic comparisons between Edinburgh and Glasgow considered here touched on their banking rivalry. Studies such as these give valuable information on the variety of economic systems in operation, and refer to records

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<sup>53</sup> I. H. Adams, *The Making of Urban Scotland*, (London: Croom Helm, 1978), 118.

<sup>54</sup> A. Durie, ‘Balanced and Unbalanced Urban economies: Aberdeen and Dundee 1800-1914, *Scotia*, Vol. VIII (1984), 16.

within each city that may address the nature and extent of economic rivalry in much more detail.<sup>55</sup>

Detailed political studies of the period on both cities are also sparse: other than the likes of works by Iain Hutchison and Irene Maver's focus on Glasgow<sup>56</sup>, any detailed political comparison of the two cities is still lacking. Individual articles on Edinburgh and Glasgow certainly offer some insight into the nature of the two cities' political identities and include a tellingly titled article, 'The Importance of being Edinburgh: management and opposition in Edinburgh politics 1746-1784.' In it, Alex Murdoch describes Edinburgh's internal civic corporate makeup and the attempts to foster aspects of civic and national identity, to reaffirm Edinburgh's place on the British map. The article begins with a useful quotation from one of the Edinburgh based newspapers, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. While the article has no comparison between Edinburgh and Glasgow, this quotation betrays something of the awareness of a separate civic identity for Edinburgh, and held that Edinburgh's elite, at least, viewed their city as the principal city within Scotland.

Edinburgh, Sir...is the metropolis of this ancient kingdom, the seat of Law, the rendezvous of taste, and Winter quarters of all our nobility who cannot afford to live in London.<sup>57</sup>

Murdoch discusses the role played by three Edinburgh patrons: the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Argyll, Sir Laurence Dundas of Kerse and Henry Dundas. These powerful men operated

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<sup>55</sup> R. H. Campbell, "Making of an Industrial City" in Devine & Jackson (eds.), *Glasgow*, Vol. 1, 184 – 214, 186-188; A. Cameron, *Bank of Scotland 1695-1995: A Very Singular Institution*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 1995), 151-152.

<sup>56</sup> I. C.G Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland, 1832 – 1914: parties, elections, and issues* (Edinburgh: John Donald: 1986); Maver, *Glasgow*.

<sup>57</sup> As quoted in A. Murdoch, "The Importance of being Edinburgh- management and opposition in Edinburgh politics, 1746-1784" in *Scottish Historical Review*, 62 (1983), 1-16.

during the reigns of George II and George III against the backdrop of the aftermath of the Jacobite uprisings through the loss of Britain's 'thirteen colonies' in the American Wars of Independence. They effectively managed to bypass the powerful Edinburgh 'sett', or civic corporation, so often crucial to securing the means of promoting the city and its civic identity. These men made it possible to attract London's backing for many of the civic projects that were designed to improve Edinburgh, including the New Town, the University, and the Royal Infirmary, something that was part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century political 'management' of the age.

One of the very few academic studies undertaken with the intention of comparing Edinburgh and Glasgow is by Nenadic.<sup>58</sup> Her article examines the nature of each city's consumer society from 1720 - 1840 using contemporary inventories. In doing so, it builds up a picture of two very different social and commercial structures. Edinburgh, Nenadic concludes, was more a centre for the professional, fairly 'middling sort' of people, such as lawyers and latter-day civil servants. Edinburgh's professionals generated a wealthier spending income, which encouraged the trade in specialist luxury goods much more than the more international trading merchants and money-conscious bankers in Glasgow could afford. While the two cities seemed to have dominated this period, Nenadic concludes that the 'middling sort's' households and purchasing power clearly demonstrated that: 'Edinburgh had a wealthier population than Glasgow's.'<sup>59</sup> More recent accounts of Edinburgh include one by the historian and writer, Michael Fry. He offers a sweeping account of the city's history that combines archival material and antiquarian accounts. Almost half of the book's focus is on the period after 1707, although Edinburgh's contribution to Scotland's national history is considered throughout. Fry praises those prominent individuals most closely

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<sup>58</sup> S. Nenadic, 'Domestic Consumers and Domestic Cultures in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720-1840', *Past and Present*, No.145 (Nov 1994), 122-156.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, 127.

associated with Edinburgh, including Allan Ramsay, Henry Dundas, James Boswell, and attention afforded to Sir Walter Scott. However, Fry does not relate Edinburgh's relationship with other cities in any great depth, other than London.

Certainly, contemporaries also saw something of the need for comparison, as Alexander Carlyle offered some observation on the apparently missed opportunities that accompanied living in Glasgow:

It must be confessed that at this time they were far behind in Glasgow, not only in their manner of living, but in their accomplishments and that taste that belong to people of opulence, and much more to persons of education.<sup>60</sup>

In relation to civic identity in a political, cultural and wider national context, much work therefore has still to be done. Theses have also shown remarkable concentration on specific areas for Edinburgh and Glasgow and much useful ground has been forged in particular areas including town plans, religion, radicalism, parliamentary concerns, housing, health and in the voluntary associations.<sup>61</sup> Some individual studies have touched on Edinburgh and Glasgow's emerging and changing civic identities over the course of the period, but there is no specific consideration as to whether these emerged in response to each other or to wider British cultural parameters.<sup>62</sup> British and Scottish identity and their relationship from the post-Union period has been a hotly contested

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<sup>60</sup> A. 'Jupiter' Carlyle c. 1743, as quoted in Daiches, *Edinburgh*, 68.

<sup>61</sup> J. N. Moore, 'The Town Plans of Glasgow, 1764 – 1865: a history and cartobibliography; M.Litt, Glasgow University, 1994; C.G. Brown, 'Religion and the development of urban society, Glasgow, 1780-1914,' Ph.D., Glasgow, 1981; F.A. Montgomery, 'Glasgow radicalism, 1830-1848,' Ph.D., University of Glasgow, 1975; D.A. Teviotdale, 'Glasgow parliamentary constituency, 1832-1846,' B.Litt, University of Glasgow, 1962; M.A. Simpson, 'Middle class housing and the growth of suburban communities in the West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914,; M.Litt, University of Glasgow, 1971; S. Sheard, 'Nineteenth century public health: a study of Liverpool, Belfast and Glasgow,' Ph.D., University of Liverpool, 1994; A.J. Dalgleish, 'Voluntary associations and the Middle Class in Edinburgh, 1780-1820,' Ph.D., University of Edinburgh, 1992.

<sup>62</sup> J. MacKenzie, 'The Second City of the Empire: Glasgow – imperial municipality,' in F. Diver & D. Gilbert, *Imperial Cities, Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 215 – 237.

arena of late among historians and this study considers some of the main proponents' contentions and how this relates to local identity, in particular. The works by Colley, Morton, Smout and Richard Finlay are of particular interest in this respect. Colley's idea that *Britons* were forged on the basis of their common monarch, religion, commerce, experience of war, and also the 'other' French common enemy is somewhat tempered by this thesis.<sup>63</sup> It reveals that there were more complex and locally specific and Scottish dimensions in operation and, at times, this outdid other national and Scottish concerns. Others have, of course, already discovered something of this, but again, for different purposes. Morton challenges Colley's ideas and shows that there was more of a nuanced unionist-nationalism emerging in the period, and so this does not altogether fit Colley's interpretation of either nationalism at the centre or the periphery. The idea that the Scots wanted more union and not less union is also conveyed by Morton, as is his understanding of Smout's concentric loyalties.<sup>64</sup> Smout used Anthony Smith's contention about ethnic origins to show that concentric loyalties meant that Scots did not necessarily convey constant or even full ideas about their Britishness while sacrificing their Scottishness and vice versa.<sup>65</sup>

This thesis argues that, while there is evidence for Colley, Morton, and Smout's positions, more local concerns appeared to dislodge other British and Scottish concerns at times, and were, in fact, often all encompassing in other periods and instances. Therefore, a much more complicated and nuanced picture emerges of claims of unionist-nationalism, concentric loyalties and Britishness. Scots in Edinburgh and Glasgow could be loyal to both Scotland and Britain but they were, above all, grounded in their locality first at times and this superseded their other identities and

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<sup>63</sup> See Colley, *Britons*.

<sup>64</sup> See Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, 16-17. Essentially, Smout argues that the Scots did not completely show their *Scottishness* and at the expense of their *Britishness* and vice versa.

concerns. Moreover, those in the two cities often employed their Britishness and Scottishness only to further their individual claims and ambitions for their town and city, as will be shown. Edinburgh and Glasgow took the initiative in such things as their commemorations. They did not necessarily wait for London's lead. Nevertheless, as this study concentrates on the elites and middling sort it does not consider how the other citizens viewed or projected their identities in these ways and so it shows the same limitations that Finlay has already charged Colley with ignoring the wider strata of society and, especially the working classes, who may have thought and felt quite differently.<sup>66</sup> Further research is therefore required to gain a fuller picture of this dimension. Essentially, local identity is an important aspect of national and Scottish identity in the period but it is not necessarily dictated by it, nor is it totally responsive to it, and it also betrays aspects, including local rivalry, that also prevent it from engaging completely within these broader national parameters.

In terms of rivalry, other studies have been conducted, but these are mainly concerned with the Victorian period, as well as for English cities and for other European cities and many of them have an essentially economic focus.<sup>67</sup> Indeed the lion's share of British urban history seems to be grounded in the Victorian period, a period that has attracted much attention due to the very extensive nature of its fundamental social changes.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, some who have considered the two cities' rivalry in Scotland believe it to be absent or unimportant. Fraser contends that:

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<sup>66</sup> R. Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the Eighteenth Century' in D. Broun, R.J. Finlay & M. Lynch (eds.), *Image and Identity: The Making and Remaking of Scotland Through The Ages* (Edinburgh: John Donald Ltd, 1998), 143-157, 150-152.

<sup>67</sup> Briggs has shown this for Leeds and Bradford, Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 140 – 160; T. Kirk, 'Genoa and Livorno- sixteenth and seventeenth century rivalry as a stimulus to policy development,' *Journal of History*, Vol. 86 (Jan, 2001).

<sup>68</sup> See A.F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: MacMillan, 1899); Dyos & Wolff, (eds), *The Victorian City*, Vols. 1 and 2; R.J. Morris & R. Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City, 1820-1914*, (London: Longman, 1993).

there was a deep sense of competitiveness, no longer with the Paisleys and Greenocks of the West which it had successfully challenged and overwhelmed in the eighteenth century, and certainly not with Edinburgh, to which Glasgow rarely gave a thought in the nineteenth century, but with Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool and indeed, with London itself.<sup>69</sup>

This thesis challenges Fraser's idea and also that of Trevelyan, who, said that 'civic pride and civic rivalry among the industrial towns of the North were almost entirely materialistic and not at all aesthetic'<sup>70</sup> Others have also challenged Trevelyan's position.<sup>71</sup> This thesis essentially argues that Edinburgh and Glasgow's rivalry was cultural as well as political and economic. Chapter two, in particular, is concerned with examining written testimonies from within the two cities throughout the period. Many studies, then, while they convey an awareness of the two cities' rivalry do not sufficiently examine it and, until now, no study has charted Edinburgh and Glasgow's intermittent rivalry, nor have any sought to explain or understand the reasons for it. It is something that was multifaceted and was intermittent in the cultural psyche of the two cities.

Of course, recent writers and historians in Scotland have noted Edinburgh and Glasgow's rivalry, including George Blake, who referred to it in 1934 in his book about Scotland:

It is enough just now to note the large, coarse, untidiness of this city by the Clyde, and to observe why there should exist between it and Edinburgh a notorious jealousy. It is

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<sup>69</sup> H. Fraser and I. Maver, (eds), *Glasgow Vol II: 1830-1912* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996), 2.

<sup>70</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* 4 Volumes, (London: Longmans, 1973) (First published in the UK in 1944), 579.

<sup>71</sup> P. J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation 1850 - 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 80.

common form to regard that jealousy as a joke, but it can be a deadly reality... Many a good Scots cause has been lost through the absurdities of inter-city rivalry. It may, in a detached view, have been the accomplished fate of Scotland to lose its soul in niggling quarrels.<sup>72</sup>

Blake was not the first to comment on this. Many others who wrote about Scotland and the two cities often cite their competition. The poet, Edwin Muir, took a tour around Scotland and published his *Scottish Journey* a year after Blake's. Two of his chapters were dedicated to the cities and he concluded that,

There is a rivalry between Edinburgh and Glasgow, ridiculous in essence, jocular in expression and acrid in spirit.<sup>73</sup>

Other contemporary debates also fuelled these ideas.<sup>74</sup> References from the 1960s and through to the present day suggest that the rivalry is still ongoing.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, historians have not, as yet, explained the historic roots for the historic rivalry, though some suggest the need for such a study and a closer examination of the two cities in the period of their most potent growth:

The raw overall state of research has also afforded little opportunity to draw meaningful comparisons between towns and cities, including the ubiquitous Edinburgh and Glasgow, or place them in the wider European context. Scholarship

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<sup>72</sup> See G. Blake, *Heart of Scotland*, (London, 1934), 63-64.

<sup>73</sup> E. Muir, *Scottish Journey* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1935), 3.

<sup>74</sup> ECL, XDA 1833, Vol. I, *Edinburgh Press Criticism and Appreciation Press Cuttings*, 'Edinburgh and Glasgow – Is there Antagonism?' *The Weekly Scotsman*, Saturday, January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1937, 164.

<sup>75</sup> ECL, YDA, 1989 – 1995, 'A Glasgow Man Looks at the Capital,' *Weekly Scotsman*, Thursday, June 13<sup>th</sup> 1963, 30-31 'Glasgow pips us as the best of British – Carry on Rivalry,' 108 - 109.



is steadily advancing, and serious efforts have recently been made to rectify the balance .... However, for the meantime, Scottish urban history between 1707 and 1850 remains an area of rich, yet relatively unexplained research potential.<sup>76</sup>

This thesis is a partly a response to Maver's call, then, for it compares Edinburgh and Glasgow and it contributes to the wider debate on the nature of Scotland's and Britain's urban past, as many of the concerns were expressed in terms of what was happening in the two cities and also conveyed how change impacted on people's lives. Above all, this study builds on these ideas and seeks to understand something of why the often venomous, but often comic, rivalry was so commonly expressed between Scotland's two most populated cities.<sup>77</sup>

Edinburgh and Glasgow were and are Scotland's two principal cities and they have never failed to attract attention because of this and due to their contrasting economic, social and political concerns. Apart from the many contributions considered above, there is a wealth of material with which to uncover how contemporaries viewed their city and each other. One starting point is the civic histories that suggest ideas about the two cities and whether these impressions were articulated in other written discussions. Another area of concern considered were the civic improvements and how they reflected the pursuit of particular civic identities and which, for Edinburgh especially, came at a cost. Youngson's *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* demonstrates how the improvements left Edinburgh's civic fathers, at least from the 1790s, with much debt. However, those in Glasgow were aware of this, as Maver argues:

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<sup>76</sup> I. Maver, 'Urbanisation' in A. Cooke, I. Donnachie, A. MacSween, C. A. Whatley (eds.), *Modern Scottish History: 1707 to the Present*, Vol. 1, *The Transformation of Scotland, 1707-1850* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), 156.

<sup>77</sup> Daiches, *Glasgow*, 38.

The quest to bolster Glasgow's corporate vitality contrasted starkly with the experience of Edinburgh, where the common good was eventually exhausted to pay for the construction of the prestigious New Town.<sup>78</sup>

Yet the stimulus was there for both cities and they both pursued improvements and fostered competing civic identities as a result. The building of the 'New Town' fundamentally altered the social structure of Edinburgh, but not as completely as once thought, as McKean has shown.<sup>79</sup> However, for many contemporaries, it became the benchmark against which to compare Glasgow, as chapter four on visitors' accounts and other evidence reveals.<sup>80</sup> Youngson also contends that the building of the New Town was a reflection of its time and was conceived as a result of Enlightenment ideas and fashions.<sup>81</sup> Edinburgh's New Town, from conception to realisation, was arguably as much about this as it was about civic pride and identity, something which some historians have argued was more associated with the Victorian era.<sup>82</sup> Youngson further explained that such improvements can be seen as part of a 'British' urban-wide phenomenon of the time, with cities such as Bristol, Leeds, Manchester, and London, Glasgow and Aberdeen all embarking on ambitious building developments.<sup>83</sup>

One of the main stimulants for 'improvement' was the Enlightenment.

Enlightenment ideas were rooted in the concept of improvement, with a responsible commitment to society and, by extension, the city, town, community, neighbourhood or village. This was linked to the idea that humanity could progress and was even perfectible, if only it was allowed to flourish within rational social institutions.

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<sup>78</sup> Maver, *Glasgow*, 25.

<sup>79</sup> C. McKean, 'Twinning cities: modernisation versus improvement,' in B. Edwards & P. Jenkins, *Edinburgh – The Making of a Capital City* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 42-64, 42.

<sup>80</sup> Robert Forsyth, as quoted in Daiches, *Glasgow*, 124.

<sup>81</sup> Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, xiii.

<sup>82</sup> See Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, *passim*.

<sup>83</sup> Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, 50.

Edinburgh and Glasgow's elites and middling sort were part of this. The various writings of *literati* such as Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Adam Smith, and Adam Ferguson were concerned with espousing and debating the ideas of what is meant by morality, virtue, civility, and the benefits of sentimentality, all aimed at expressing a very real attempt to explain man's role and the origins of society. Such ideas bind into the concept of civic identity, but there were also other thoughts about the role of citizenship and which contemporaries, like David Hume, espoused as a 'citizen of the world.' Such global-minded ideas did not obscure commitments to local identity and heightened the concept of civic virtue as a very necessary and active commitment to the improvement of the city.

Many works were and are concerned with such ideas and improvement was an all-encompassing virtue that impacted on commerce, architecture, agriculture, science, religion, education and the arts - areas which all affected and permeated city life. Indeed the Enlightenment advocated a free thinking and questioning citizen who could participate in public life and use his powers of reason to the general betterment and protection of his society. Essentially, it was optimistic in its nature and some of this translates and accounts for the architectural improvements in the built environment undergone in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the later eighteenth century. Some of this has already been articulated for British society as a whole in a much more eloquent way.<sup>84</sup> Edinburgh and Glasgow did convey improvement in their built environment but also reflected other ideas of their time, including virtue, civil society, as well as what it meant to be a citizen.

Two Enlightenment 'giants' also emerged from within the two cities and their universities. According to Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*, society was now in

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<sup>84</sup>See C. L. Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers* (New Haven: Yale, 1932).

its last progressive stage, one of commerce, a stage that was bound up with its property-centred laws. By Smith's explanation, society progressed in four stages from a primitive past to the hunter-gatherer stage, before moving onto a pastoral and then agricultural one, and then finally to a commercial stage.<sup>85</sup> These stages were not static, nor were they fixed and could even be confused in order, depending on the particular economic climate of the given society.

This influential idea certainly resonated within Edinburgh and Glasgow, both clearly commercial and professional towns. David Hume, the Edinburgh philosopher, predicted that commercial wealth would be translated into cultural improvement. Enlightenment thought gave birth to many academic disciplines including economics, history, sociology, and chemistry. The legacy and impact of the Scottish Enlightenment as a separate entity from the rest of enlightened thought within Europe is a hotly contested subject. Some observers have dismissed the notion that a separate Scottish Enlightenment took place, proposing that it was more bound up with a European platform of debate and interaction.<sup>86</sup> Others insist that the unique concentration and nature of investigations, while part of a wider concern were distinctively reflected in and throughout Scotland's universities and cities.<sup>87</sup> The Enlightenment certainly encouraged a scientific approach to every investigation and was concerned with recording, assessing and critiquing the role of man as a social being who was bound, but not always confined by laws, particularly those of property. The *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* (OSA), taking seven long years to compile, is considered one of the Scottish Enlightenment's more enduring manifestations. Its commentaries on Edinburgh and Glasgow, along with the *New Statistical Account*

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<sup>85</sup> See A. Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), 76-77.

<sup>86</sup> R. Porter, *Enlightenment, Britain and the Creation of the Modern World*, (London: Allen Lane, 2000), 245.

<sup>87</sup> See D. Daiches, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1986).

(NSA) have been examined, in order to decide how individuals involved in compiling the information presented their localities to Sir John Sinclair, the chief compiler of the First Account, in c.1791 as well as to the wider Scottish literate audience. Their very civic-focused approach may also reveal whether there was any concern with each other's relative progresses and improvements.

One other aspect of the Enlightenment certainly bore fruit, namely the advent of civil society which included the forming of many fashionable clubs and societies to debate the concerns of the day.<sup>88</sup> Some of these clubs had a more national focus but many carried local and Scottish concerns, for example the Poker Club, formed to redress the balance between Scotland and England and Wales by calling for the establishment of a militia for Scotland. Clubs and society records, if any survive, may be another way to investigate the nature and degree of civic identity and rivalry. The universities, too, established intellectual reputations for the two cities and also encouraged people to them to study and visit the famous men associated with them.<sup>89</sup>

However, this also showed how classical influences permeated education and society.<sup>90</sup> Moody's assessment is that:

the recognition of the public character of towns has been a movement cultivated by the professional classes. They were, for example, responsible for the conservation philosophy which arose in the early nineteenth century, with some often injudicious restoration of old buildings; and it was they who first held up to a town's gaze the mirror of its own history, through the antiquarian society, the

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<sup>88</sup> C.P.A. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies – 1580 – 1800: The Origins of an Associated World*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

<sup>89</sup> See Hook & Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*; R.D. Anderson, M. Lynch, N. Phillipson, (eds.); also *The University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).

<sup>90</sup> D. Allan, 'The Age of Pericles in the Modern Athens; Greek History, Scottish Politics and the Fading Enlightenment,' *The Historical Journal*, 44, 2, (2001), 391-417.

reprinting of old records, the museum and the revival of long dead architectural style.<sup>91</sup>

This thesis also extends this contention for the two cities' elites and middling sort and how change ensued under the influence of Romanticism.<sup>92</sup> The thesis does not intend to account for these changes themselves, but rather investigates how these ideas were reflected through identity and rivalry. There were wider cultural concerns as well, and others have been harsher than Moody about the elites:

The objective of the eighteenth century and nineteenth century cities was not a balanced comprehensive city plan but a narrower policy - the fulfilment of the desire of the privileged minority to live in elegant surroundings.<sup>93</sup>

This was part of the drive, of course, but it was also part of desire to create 'social functionalism', a moral idea that architecture could encourage appropriate social interaction and foster social betterment so that all could mingle and interact as well as have the ability to excel, even if the barriers to social improvement were firmly fixed among the elites.<sup>94</sup>

Partly as a result of this and for other reasons, as highlighted in chapters two and three, both cities emerged in the decades after the 1760s with new civic identities. Edinburgh fostered its intellectual and literary environment and was self-styled as an 'Athens of the North,' at least until the 1830s. Glasgow projected itself in different ways, from 'the second city' of Scotland, Britain and later the Empire and also

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<sup>91</sup> D. Moody, *Scottish Towns*, (London: B T Batsford, 1992) ,105.

<sup>92</sup> F. Stafford, *Scottish Romanticism and Scotland in Romanticism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 49-66.

<sup>93</sup> R. Naismith, *The Story of Scotland's Towns*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), 103.

<sup>94</sup> See Schmeichan, 'Architecture, Townscape and Society,' in Fraser & Maver, *Glasgow Volume II*, 486 – 518.

adopted the nom de guerre, 'Venice of the North' to reflect its commercial focus. Both cities projected particular identities to convey their ambitions and their confidences. Part of this manifestation was a great resurgence and active interest in all things classical, including the penchant for Palladian architecture. Enlightenment ideas, therefore, fed into the nature of civic identity. Through laws men would be encouraged to embrace the values of morality, civility, and sentimentality.<sup>95</sup> Some of this is conveyed by contemporaries:

Now I have been for a fortnight in this our Athens. Certainly if the name Athens had been derived from the Goddess of Printing - and from the Goddess of Wisdom - no city in the world could with greater justice lay claim to the appellation.<sup>96</sup>

If we know the observers, however, such as Lockhart, who was Walter Scott's son-in-law and his biographer, this view of Edinburgh as a classical seat of learning akin to the noble city of Athens, essentially came from those within it. Glasgow's identities were no different to this and many of the men considered in this chapter were also 'boosters' who sought to bolster their cities for the present and their reputations for posterity. The names 'Venice' and 'Athens' certainly have radically different contemporary identities and images, and they betray the different perceptions of the cities. The titles were not static, either, and also reflected the impact of ideas beyond the Enlightenment. Glasgow's civic identities certainly mirrored its economic transformations from the mid-nineteenth century when it became Scotland's economic 'power-house'. By the 1820s, it was no longer just a 'Venice of the North' but 'the

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<sup>95</sup> Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*.

<sup>96</sup> J. G. Lockhart, as quoted in 1815 in Joyce, *Edinburgh, The Golden Age 1769-1832*, 124.

Second City of Britain,<sup>97</sup> and this suggested how the city's eighteenth century provinciality gave way to a thriving population and manufacturing base in an industrialising and urbanising environment.

Civic identity can be explained, in its broadest sense, as something much stronger than the simple attachment to a place or a locality. Civic identity is certainly an urban phenomenon, but it is not exclusive to it. Nor is it fixed in time, but rather fluctuates in its method of expression and can be measured through the level of participation its citizens undertake in order to preserve and improve their environment. However, that civic identity can also be expressed by those who cannot vote or participate directly in burgh politics shows that this might be a means by which they can lay claim to these rights of citizenship. Civic identity, for some people, may be a very altruistic undertaking, but for others it is much more a personal investment of their time. Civic identity is the very real belief that those who live in a particular city or town belong to, and have the right to participate in, the promotion and preservation of that particular town or city. Civic identity is bound up with the concept of civic consciousness. It goes further than the idea that there is an awareness that the city or town has its own identity, separate from other towns and cities, and is known to its inhabitants as well as to those much further afield. In this sense, it can manifest itself in a number of forms, all working with the collective ideal that either as an individual or as a collective, the aim is to participate in some form of activity that reinforces and continues to reassert the city or town's place in the wider society. Civic consciousness, it has been shown, was an emerging phenomenon from the second half of the eighteenth century and accompanied the growth in the middling classes, the emergence of civil society and

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<sup>97</sup> Oakley, *The Second City*, 145.



expressed in the public space.<sup>98</sup> However, despite Habermas' suggestions that it was the *bourgeoisie* who controlled the public sphere and public space in the period,<sup>99</sup> this thesis argues that, in fact, Edinburgh and Glasgow's aristocratic elites cooperated with the middling sort in this respect.

Civic identity, then, can immediately convey an image, real or imagined, of how the particular elite, be they professional, educational, corporate or bureaucratic members of the city, view, promote and establish what they believe to be their city's individual aims and achievements. Civic identity also gives a very clear indication of the city's perceived contributions to the wider national arena. Of course, civic identity stands only as something real or imagined if it can be established that the elites and middling sort actively accepted that their city has a separate identity from other cities, and that they actively strove to establish and promote their city's separate identity. It is the basis of this thesis that civic rivalry is one of the surest mechanisms for not only gauging the nature of civic identity, but also for comparing what constituted civic identity: in other words, civic rivalry feeds from the continued promotion of civic identity and vice versa.

While the Victorian city seems easier to compare due to its many similar social problems, economic conditions, political changes and indeed the simple fact that there is more recorded information about it, the available pre-1800 town history concerns itself mostly with individual towns and most especially with wider changes within English cities.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, there are gaps in the research and in the literature and this

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<sup>98</sup> See K. Hill, 'Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Ancient Greece,' 99-111 in A. Kidd & D. Nicholls, *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: middle class identity in Britain 1800 - 1940*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); S. Gunn, 'Public Spaces in the Victorian City,' in K. Boyd & R. McWilliam, *The Victorian Studies Reader*, (London and New York: Routledge 2007), 151 - 165; R. J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: the Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds, 1820 - 1850*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

<sup>99</sup> See Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere*.

<sup>100</sup> See D. Cruickshank & N Burton, *Life in the Georgian City*, (London: Viking, 1990); also J. Ellis, *Georgian Town, 1680-1840*, (London: Palgrave, 2001).

thesis attempts to fill something of this void and begin to answer something about why identity and rivalry were an important part of elites and middling sorts' civic consciousness and why particular ideas about themselves and their cities were projected over the course of the period. The thesis also attempts some comparison with foreign cities and focuses on the use of 'Athens' and also 'Venice' and why these cities were appropriated from their past and used to reflect Edinburgh's and Glasgow's ambitions respectively.

### *Sources review*

There is a plethora of published primary and manuscript sources that commonly contain references to each city. A varied, and fairly extensive selection has been identified from the libraries and archives of the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, as well as the National Library and the National Archives of Scotland. Civic identity and rivalry do not allude to any particular corpus of research material but rather are buried in an array of primary sources that are wide-ranging and eclectic. These include newspapers, guidebooks, travellers' accounts, histories, speeches, diaries, letters, entries for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and also the Old and New Statistical Accounts. Although historians may have examined some of this material, they have asked questions different from those of identity and rivalry.

The sources identified focus mainly on the civic, the cultural and the political, the very areas central to this thesis. Rivalry and identity are certainly mercurial, so they are not something to be found openly listed in the catalogues of archives. References to the two cities in archives and libraries can be easily counted into the tens of

thousands. The task of checking and approving or eliminating these individual references was clearly insurmountable. Therefore, a selection of sources with listing references for Edinburgh and Glasgow in the period were carefully selected or eliminated. Of course, one real problem with this approach is that it allows for the possibility of missing important references and follow-ups for the study. However, as civic rivalry in this case requires some form of cultural comparison or political competition from the cities, evidence for it could be found in sources grounded in discussions of major civic improvements and achievements.

The problem of selection was avoided by focusing on the kind of material the elites and middling sort engaged with and read. This included civic histories, because they convey ideas about the two cities' past and its political, religious and cultural inheritances and they also provide ideas about rivalry. Other areas included discussions about civic improvements and the commemorations of statues and monuments and other civic ceremonies because they provided a platform again for how contemporaries viewed their city's 'place' within Scotland and Britain, and also because they showed how the elites and middling sort were influenced by ideas from the Enlightenment and through the Romantic age. Travellers' accounts were also read closely, as they indicated whether they agreed with the ideas that those in the city projected, and whether they were influenced, as well, by what those in the cities had written. Newspapers, magazines and other correspondence also betrayed contemporary concerns and suggested how those in Edinburgh and Glasgow viewed themselves as much as each other, and other cities. It also considers the more 'official' records of the time, including entries in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and also the Old and New Statistical Accounts (OSA) (NSA).

## *Conclusion*

Lewis Mumford suggested that: ‘through its monuments, written records, and orderly habits of association, the city enlarged the scope of human activity.’<sup>101</sup> Essentially, this has been something of the inspiration for this thesis. Although ‘identity’ and ‘rivalry’ are not found in any one corpus of material, much has been uncovered within some of the sources highlighted above. Two such towns, of course, have more differences than shared similarities in that their unique histories, populations, physical environments and their economic stimuli are difficult but not impossible to compare. Edinburgh and Glasgow had somewhat individual responses and experiences to the very new and real problems heralded by urbanisation. Situated some forty miles apart, apparent opposites and apparent long-term rivals, the cities seem even to this day to embody the attributes of personalities that are driven apart by the Scottish east and west coast axis. They have responded to the very new and real pressures heralded by the combined aftermath of Union, urbanisation and industrialisation and the accompanying social and political reactions at a time when the country was projected as one of the most rapidly urbanising countries in Europe. They shared the experience of intense urbanisation, to a greater or lesser extent, which, as one historian describes it:

Involves the increasing concentration of population in urban areas with a growth in the size of towns and cities and a rise in the proportion of a country or region. It involves changes in society as people adopt urban economies and social and cultural patterns of a better life brought population increase, partly stimulated by improvements in agricultural production and changes in diet. Population movement

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<sup>101</sup> L. Mumford, *The City in History*, (London: Penguin, 1961), 648.

and the beginnings of migration partly coupled with more intensive forms of manufacturing. Towns and cities came to be the normal habitat of people and their accompanying profound physical changes were evident as buildings and factories were peopled as never before.<sup>102</sup>

Union had, of course, promised to herald a new economic age for Scotland but what followed were recurrent Jacobite threats from within and later the American and European Revolutionary Wars that brought misery and destruction for so many. The economic changes of the period resulted in, and were accompanied by, changes in people's living and working environment, diet, life expectancy, population increase, migration, and demands for political and burgh reform.

The rise of a new civic consciousness was coupled with a new national pride, reflected in the creation of a new British identity, which for Scotland's elites meant the failure of their North British identity. What remained was a Scottish and decidedly local attachment, as already outlined, combined with a wider British identity. There were physical changes in the cityscape. Its towns and cities brought about the spatial reorientation of the old towns and cities. Planning and building work increased to accommodate the new factories, the new civic structures, and the spacious new homes for the elites. Much of Scotland's population moved from the countryside into towns, little adapted for its new populations. This not only meant that people were displaced from their homes and crafts in order to adapt and learn new skills. The debate concerning their standard of living raged on long after the Factory and Mine Acts and Royal Commissions from the 1830s, designed to somehow control the social impact of mechanisation and mass production and consumption. Such people found new tools

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<sup>102</sup> I.D. Whyte, 'Urbanisation in Eighteenth Century Scotland' in T.M.Devine and J.R. Young, (eds.) *Eighteenth Century Scotland-New Perspectives*, 176.

first in textile factories, and in even deeper mines; new trading routes and markets were opened across the world, all it seemed, while cities remained in the control of an established burgh oligarchy of old with some wealthy patrons who laid their patronage down to help build new urban and civic spaces that would be the envy of neighbouring towns, cities, and countries.

The period 1753 - 1842 is considered, then, not only as a backdrop for changes to identity and rivalry but as the inspiration and stimulus for it. This can be seen in the example of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars which inspired much commentary and reaction from within cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow and accounts for some of the rhetoric employed. Local events, including reactions to the Radical War, also sparked other discussions and again reveal how their elites and middling sort were operating in civil society and the public sphere. The period also incorporates a tremendous physical change within their urban fabrics including the building of the New Town(s), and other prominent civic buildings and public spaces, such as George Square in Glasgow and the development of Calton Hill in Edinburgh. It also involved changes to the main civic institution, the corporation, which is why the study touches on the political as well as the cultural. After the 1833 Burgh Reform Act, the former merchant oligarchy's unrivalled control was challenged by the 'professionals' and other members of the community, members who had traditionally been excluded from taking any formal part in the city's developments. Increased access to newspapers, print, books, libraries as well as clubs and societies may well reveal citizens' reflections and debates on the cities.<sup>103</sup> The cultural arenas of the theatres, the art galleries and public spaces gave them more scope for enjoyment, and perhaps comparison, than ever before. Therefore, given the great social changes taking place,

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<sup>103</sup> Chitnis argued that in 1763, Edinburgh had 3 papermills and by 1790, there were 12, Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment – a social history*, 17.

civic rivalry surfaced in these varied political as well as cultural arenas. This becomes clearer when the chapter outlines are explained.

Chapter One considers the role the civic histories played in establishing the two cities' pedigrees, their historic role and their contribution to the 'nation.' They heralded where the city came from and where it was going and, as some of them fostered a particular view of Scotland's past and its post-Union *present*, echo something of Kidd's analysis of the creation of an Anglo-British identity in the period.<sup>104</sup> The histories were written in such ways as to reflect the changing influences through the Enlightenment and Romanticism and were reinforced by its readership, some of whom contributed their historic reflections and commentaries, including the antiquarian writer and publisher, Robert Chambers, and also Glasgow's statistician and public servant, James Cleland. Chapters Two and Three look deeper into the elites and middling sort within the cities, many of who contributed written and oral testimonies, or pledges of their attachment, pride, commitment and faith in Britain, Scotland and their cities. These appeared in a staggering array of sources, including newspapers, letters, diaries, guidebooks, poems, speeches and other communications and suggest that people were concerned with local, Scottish and British identity. Chapter Four considers the role commemorations played in celebrating and remembering particular and celebrated individuals and how they were essentially background fodder for ideas about moral instruction, social functionalism and also how those in the cities tied their achievements to their city in specific ways. The erection of monuments and statues, in particular, uncover these ideas and also how the elites and middling sort controlled yet another aspect of their city and its identity. Chapter Five considers how visitors viewed the two places over the course of the

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<sup>104</sup> See C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of Anglo-British identity, 1689-c.1830*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

period and whether they were party to the changes within them, the moral and political messages they projected and how they were also aware of the rivalry. Rivalry, is therefore, a part of identity and it is ever present and, at times, potent. However, the emerging and contrasting civic identities that the cities projected came from within and showed how those in the two cities controlled their public spheres.

The gaps in the literature that have demanded this research and the sources drawn for its study suggest much about Edinburgh and Glasgow's perceptions of themselves and each other. A critical examination of such sources gives a picture of the two cities' changing relationship from c.1780 and c.1840, and of their cultural and political identities and rivalry.

Another aspect of this thesis is how the commentaries add to our understanding of the debates about the fluctuating merits and demerits of each city and shows how those in Edinburgh and Glasgow shared the concerns of the other contemporaries.<sup>105</sup> Such concerns for the social consequences of the growth of the city may have been exacerbated by the beginnings of the statistical era, when there arose a habit of recording and commentating on cities and towns as never before. Of the many treatises submitted on the city, the most frequent were from the doctors and the clergymen. The cities fuelled many great debates, which included opponents, critics, supporters, though the divisions were never as clear-cut, as they may have once appeared. Some, such as Rousseau, condemned the city whereas some saw the city as a place where the future prosperity of the nation was founded. Invariably the city, certainly in the eighteenth century, was portrayed as progressive for commerce and as a haven for individual and national improvement. The city then became a place for moral concern, a den of inequity, or in Cobbett's terms the 'great wen' of society. The city as

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<sup>105</sup> See Coleman, *The idea of the city in nineteenth century Britain*, passim.



something that was morally bankrupt was apparently to be confirmed by the drastic drop in church attendance recorded in the 1851 census for England and Wales. The city was more often than not considered to be unhealthy. Some commentators believed the city promoted squalor, where people were dying not from the evils of industrialisation, but from the evils of simple urbanisation. The debate permeated the political arena. The 'pro-countryside' Tories and some Chartists lauded a return to the country and its associated good merits of clean living, working outside where people were able to see God's work in all its glory. For these Tories, the city obscured God's good works, shrouded it in the grimy filth. For many Whigs it was a place where men and nation could improve themselves, their wealth and standing, and in doing so, improve the problems created by such concentrations of people.<sup>106</sup>

Maver's call made above for more comparative research on the urban areas of Scotland was taken up a one-day conference in Aberdeen in October 1998 on 'The Scottish City: changing identities'. The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, which organised the conference, demonstrated the very recent concern with getting to grips with what is meant by urban identity, and how it has been and was variously expressed. A paper by Charles McKean and Louise Miskell focused on Dundee in 'Life before jute' and:

highlighted the value of a comparative approach towards the study of the Scottish urban experience and the need for more analysis of this type in order to build a more accurate and regionally sensitive picture of urban identity in Scotland.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Coleman, *The Idea of the City in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 6.

<sup>107</sup> Conference Report, 'The Scottish City: changing identities', ECSH, Dundee, 17 Oct 1998.

A comparative urban history of Edinburgh and Glasgow does not as yet exist but this certainly begins to contribute to the debate on the nature and expression of the urban past by investigating what was urban and local identity, how it was expressed and, by whom and how it changed, how it fostered civic rivalries and how these, in turn, shaped specific urban identities. This thesis begins to redress the balance on comparative research and identity. It is by no means a definitive account and only signals the start, as much more research on this area and, particularly for the period after the 1840s, is required.

## Chapter One: Civic histories

‘This is the historic age and this is the historical nation’ – David Hume.<sup>1</sup>

### *Introduction*

After 1707, civic histories were among the first examples of local as well as national testimonies, in that they reflected commitment to and pride in Britain, Scotland and, in this instance, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Civic histories differed somewhat from those earlier antiquarian accounts of the towns. While employing the town’s early manuscripts and other references that already affirmed the town’s historic, royal and religious pedigree, civic histories also conveyed an optimistic account of the town’s present situation and in doing so, they kept faith with contemporary, enlightened views of progress and improvement. Moreover, civic histories were an attempt by the local worthies who penned them, to come to terms with the tremendous local, national and international changes wrought throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such civic histories also conveyed a decidedly Whiggish interpretation of the past of the kind, as explored by historians such as Colin Kidd and Linda Colley.<sup>2</sup> However, for Edinburgh and Glasgow’s civic histories there are important distinctions between each town’s assessments of such things as the impact of the Union of 1707 and it is in their particular interpretations of the past that their separate civic identities are revealed. Edinburgh and Glasgow’s civic histories also belonged to a wider cultural trend as the eighteenth century witnessed a proliferation of interest in the past,

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<sup>1</sup> D. Hume as quoted in M. Fry, ‘The Whig Interpretation of Scottish History,’ I. Donnachie & C. Whatley, *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), 72.

<sup>2</sup> See Kidd, *Subverting Scotland’s Past*, passim; L. Colley, *Britons*, passim.

particularly the classical past,<sup>3</sup> which was inspired by earlier antiquarian writing and which encouraged a new kind of empirical historical writing stimulated by the Enlightenment.<sup>4</sup> The impact of Romanticism and interest in the ‘Gothic’ can be detected in them towards the turn of the nineteenth century, as well as the emergence of unionist-nationalism that signified a more confident understanding of Scotland’s contribution to the medieval past. In contrast, the earlier civic histories tended to focus on events after the Reformation including the impact of the Union of Crowns in 1603 and the Union of Parliaments in 1707. The number and range of local histories also increased after 1800, particularly following the invention of the steam powered press from 1811-14 which made printing faster and cheaper. The rise of the public sphere encouraged a continued interest in the past and it also became more fashionable for people to establish and explain their town’s ‘place,’ particularly in the wider Scottish and British historical narratives.<sup>5</sup> Peter Clark argues that before 1800 London had enjoyed the lion’s share of the attention but that the end of censorship in England after the 1690s encouraged other antiquarian works. After 1700, the proliferation in the number of civic histories conveyed a stronger understanding of other British and Scottish towns and they also engendered notions of the time in which they were compiled. Essentially those who wrote them reveal an awareness of their town’s separate, if civic identity but they also betray strong notions of pride and evidence of rivalry with other places. However, the earlier antiquarian accounts from before 1800 nevertheless also carried similar notions and remain important sources of information for such manifestations. As Clark has maintained, ‘the civic annals and antiquarian

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<sup>3</sup> See P. Ayres, *Classical Culture and The Idea of Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); See also D. Allan, ‘The Age of Pericles in the Modern Athens; Greek History, Scottish Politics and the Fading Enlightenment,’ *The Historical Journal*, 44, 2, (2001), 391-417.

<sup>4</sup> W. Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historical Quest*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 186 – 189.

<sup>5</sup> See J. Whitaker, *The History of Manchester* (London, 1771 – 1775); Hutton, *A History of Birmingham*; J. Wallace, *A General and Descriptive History of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1795).

histories compiled for English towns from the fifteenth century are a particularly important and neglected source for the exploration of urban mentality.<sup>6</sup> Civic histories bestowed status and kudos on the towns and, by extension, their readership and authors. This chapter explores how Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic histories demonstrated an interest in the past and provide evidence for civic consciousness from 1752 to 1842 and how it changed in this period. Civic histories of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other towns in Scotland and Britain remained popular throughout the Victorian age and beyond.<sup>7</sup> However, eighteenth and early nineteenth century Edinburgh and Glasgow civic histories were essentially 'Whig' in their content and readily betrayed commitments to the British Crown, Parliament and to the Protestant religion. Yet, towards the second half of the nineteenth century, their content reflects a more democratic age. For example, the authorship of the two town's civic histories became extended to those with traditional vested interests in the success of the towns; in Edinburgh's case, this was the professional upper middle classes, mainly lawyers and for Glasgow, it was the merchants. Those who wrote Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic histories in the period 1752 - 1842 chart something of their role in historical events including the Reformation, the Revolution of 1688-89 and especially the Parliamentary Union of 1707, which marked the towns' starting point as well as a the start of a distinctly British identity.<sup>8</sup>

However, the civic histories from the 1750s also betrayed contemporary influences such as the Gothic interest in the medieval past as well as the impact of the French Wars from the late 1790s through to 1815. This 'age of heroes,' especially those

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<sup>6</sup> P. Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community,' in Fraser and Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History*, 106 – 7. Similarly, Scotland's burgh histories received stark attention before 1750.

<sup>7</sup> W. Harris, *The History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin* (Dublin, 1766); Dublin, *A Historical Sketch of Ireland's Metropolis* (London, nd); A. MacGeorge, *Old Glasgow*, (Glasgow, 1888); J.B. Gillies, *Edinburgh Past and Present* (Edinburgh, 1886); S. Inwood, *A History of London* (London, MacMillan, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> R. Chambers, *The History of Scotland from the earliest times to the present time*, (London, 1832), 239; MacGeorge, *Old Glasgow*, 303.

embodied in Nelson and Wellington, renewed interest in Scotland's military and medieval past and may explain why more civic histories of this period focused more keenly on Scotland's military and medieval 'heroes' like William Wallace and King Robert the Bruce.

The civic histories in the second half of the eighteenth century also defended the reputations of the two cities in times of trouble, in some cases rewriting the impact of the Malt Tax and Porteous Riots of 1725 and 1736, and illustrating how both Edinburgh and Glasgow remained loyal during the Jacobite Uprisings. Those which date from after the 1770s, while still carrying something of the earlier events, focus more on the impact and the loyalty of the townspeople during the American and French Revolutions and through the Napoleonic Wars. At all times, both civic and national pride were furthered and the cities' past and present were celebrated and their futures anticipated with optimism. While they were essentially local histories that carried a distinctly *British* overtone, they were also set within a Scottish national historic framework that showed how Edinburgh and Glasgow had contributed to Scottish history as well as claiming a continuing role within Britain at the present. Much effort was also expended towards establishing pedigree, as well as proving the two towns' loyalty, religiosity, and confirming new expressions of civic identity. Full of pride and prejudice, they also fostered civic rivalry.

Yet, it is important to highlight that, for Edinburgh and Glasgow, these themes were no different from English civic histories. Rosemary Sweet convincingly shows that many English town histories in the eighteenth century also carried similar rhetoric and they relied on information contained from earlier civic sources and chronicles for their inspiration.<sup>9</sup> Unlike in Germany and Italy, which had a longer tradition of civic

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<sup>9</sup> R. Sweet, *The Writings of Urban Histories in Eighteenth Century England*, (Oxford, 1997) 9.

histories dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, those for Britain until the second half of the eighteenth century tended to focus on the distant past.<sup>10</sup> The impact of the Reformation, the Revolution of 1688-89 and the impact of Union, in particular, encouraged many towns to write civic histories which updated the story, and Edinburgh and Glasgow were no exception to this. Why they were written reflected a belief that the past informed the present, as Iain Brown argues: ‘men appealed to the past to discover a solution to the problems of the present.’<sup>11</sup> Brown also estimates that ‘ultimately the Union was responsible for making nostalgia the most characteristic emotion in the Scottish national psyche’.<sup>12</sup> The need to stress loyalty to the new British order was another feature of these histories and, according to Brown, examples of this includes ‘two of Europe’s bestselling historians’,<sup>13</sup> David Hume and William Robertson. Hume’s *History of England*, which appeared in instalments from 1754, and William Robertson’s *History of Scotland*, dating from 1759, were both ‘national’ histories from a decisively post-Union and Whiggish perspective. Essentially, Robertson re-examined the reputations and the reigns of Mary, Queen of Scots and James VI in the period leading to the regal union of 1603, while Hume finished his exhaustive account with the impact of the union of 1707. Both men employed interpretative history that was partisan. Their writing rekindled some sympathy for those in the past and encouraged patriotic feelings about Scotland and Britain.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Clark, ‘Visions of the Urban Community’ in Fraser and Sutcliffe, *The Pursuit of Urban History*, 106 – 7, 124.

<sup>11</sup> I. G. Brown, ‘Modern Rome and Ancient Caledonia: the Union and the Politics of Scottish Culture,’ in A. Hook (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature Volume II: 1660 – 1800*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 34, 33 – 49.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, Brown, 33 - 34; D. Allan, *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2002), 249.

<sup>13</sup> Allan, *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 128.

<sup>14</sup> D. Forbes (ed), *The History of Great Britain by David Hume*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), Vol I, *the reigns of James I and Charles I*; W. Robertson, *The history of Scotland during the reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI til his accession to the crown of England* (Dublin, 1759).

Civic histories were influenced by who wrote them as well as by when they were written. One of the earliest examples of civic histories for Glasgow dates from 1736 and was written by John McUre, a merchant, at the height of Jacobite activities, which may also explain something of its pro-Hanoverian, union, and Whiggish sentiments.<sup>15</sup> McUre's method was antiquarian as he noted that he had 'collected from many ancient records, charters and other ancient vouchers, and from the best historians and private manuscripts.'<sup>16</sup> Keen to establish a sound contemporary basis for his historical work, McUre was also at pains to show the benefits of union, in keeping with Brown's earlier assessment that 'we may from this era date the prosperity of the city.'<sup>17</sup> Modern historians are naturally sceptical about such interpretations, and are more guarded about such impressions. Maver, for example, argues that 'Glasgow's subsequent commercial progress was not the inevitable outcome of 1707.'<sup>18</sup> Like modern histories, therefore, the civic histories of the past were prone to the interpretation, perspective and bias of the authors. Such is one of their limitations as a primary source. Yet, for the study of civic and national identity, they reveal much about the contemporary concerns and influences.

In contrast to some later eighteenth and early nineteenth century accounts of Glasgow, McUre's views on the Revolution of 1688-89 and the impact of Union become clearer when one considers he was also a Protestant and merchant. McUre and others of his ilk among the community had gained much from the abolition of Bishop's rights in the city after it was confirmed by William and Mary in 1689. Prior to 1689, the Bishops of Glasgow had benefitted from various rights they held within the city and particularly in respect to income they gained from markets and other

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<sup>15</sup> McUre *A View of Glasgow*, preface.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, v.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Maver, *Glasgow*, 17.



commercial transactions. For McUre, the Union had freed the city's merchants from this obligation and had also created new opportunities for prosperity with the opening up of trading routes to the west, well before the abolition of the Navigation Acts in 1849. His efforts in establishing the long pedigree for his city's Presbyterian commitments are also evident in his writing and colour his attempts to rewrite his native city's history.<sup>19</sup> McUre's was a detailed account, from Glasgow's early beginnings as an ecclesiastical see and through its recognition by medieval kings in various charters and the founding of the University, but it was clearly not without some prejudice. McUre's work was pervaded by a mixture of Enlightenment optimism in human progress and prejudice fuelled by the persistence of the Jacobite threat. Subsequent civic histories later plundered McUre's work, so that his ideas pervaded Glasgow's subsequent civic identity. New editions did not necessarily mean novel interpretations of the past. McUre became the keystone of many later Glasgow histories, including one, just forty years later, by another merchant, John Gibson.<sup>20</sup> However, as will be argued, not everyone accepted McUre's interpretation nor furthered it.

The ideas, then, contained in Edinburgh's earliest civic histories were often repeated in the later ones. However, one of the earliest of Edinburgh's histories in this period was not driven by an individual desire to promote the city, as McUre had done for Glasgow, but was driven by Edinburgh Town Council and its desire to promote their city. The lawyer, William Maitland, author of a successful *History of London*, was appointed by Edinburgh town council to write his *History of Edinburgh*, published

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 60. 'I am sure it was the inclination of the inhabitants of the city of Glasgow, who ever since the beginning of the civil wars in the year 1649 has been the only city in all the kingdom, addicted to presbytery, and has done most for its support'.

<sup>20</sup> Gibson *The History of Glasgow*, 10.

in 1753.<sup>21</sup> Houston contends that ‘Maitland’s history was an exercise in public relations for the council, and potentially a source of pride and identity for middling–class citizens.’<sup>22</sup> It certainly was, as it played down the city’s recent involvement in the Jacobite fiasco and set out a particularly favourable image for the city and laid the ground for appeals for improvements. Maitland’s history had other agendas, similar to those which Sweet also noted in some contemporary English civic histories, in that they were in part written to attract the nobility back into the towns in order to part with their wealth.<sup>23</sup> Maitland’s *History* should also be viewed within the context of the impact of the Union of Parliaments in 1707, when Scotland lost the Scottish Parliament and Edinburgh lost some prestige and patronage. Significantly, it also appeared the year after the city’s ambitious submission of the *Proposals* to Parliament that called for extensive improvements to the city. Maitland’s favourable advertising for Edinburgh’s good character and importance in his *History* may have helped direct attentions to the city. However, Maitland’s audience confirms something of Rosemary Sweet’s assessments about English histories in that the subscription list also shows how the middling sort had an appetite for such histories. Among those who read Maitland’s history, as Houston suggests, were the Edinburgh and London’s elites and those from outside the city, the ‘lawyers and town council...outsiders like central government and the landed classes.’<sup>24</sup> Arguably, Maitland’s *History*, as with many others from the period, was as much targeted at a local as a national audience and directed attention to the idea that Edinburgh was a unified and stable community that was worth investing in. The desire to create Edinburgh in this image would have been an important consideration in the context of the city’s involvement in recent Jacobite

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<sup>21</sup> Maitland, *History of Edinburgh*.

<sup>22</sup> Houston, *Social Change in the Age of the Enlightenment*, 47.

<sup>23</sup> Sweet, *The Writings of Urban Histories*, 115, 117.

<sup>24</sup> Houston, *Social Change*, 146.

challenges and in terms of Scotland's and Edinburgh's contributions to the Union. Such civic histories as this were therefore multifunctional testimonies conveying potent messages. Maitland's work was built on in the second of Edinburgh's histories, by Hugo Arnot, another lawyer, who carried on Maitland's tradition of presenting Edinburgh in a positive light and as one community.<sup>25</sup>

Arnot, who was also one of the founder members of the Society of Antiquities, published his *History of Edinburgh* in 1776, more than 20 years after Maitland's at the outbreak of the American Revolution. Possibly because of this context, efforts to communicate his civic pride and ideas about Edinburgh's loyalty are evident.<sup>26</sup> In his turn, Arnot proved as popular as Maitland, though, as Houston remarks, the problem of their standing was such that 'subsequent overviews tended more or less to use the same material contained in Maitland and Arnot, often without critical comment.'<sup>27</sup>

Contemporaries were acutely aware of the limitations and this was, in any case, the practice of the epoch. Moreover, to the obvious problem of heavy dependence was added attacks of boasting, something which James Wallace, a lawyer and himself an author at the time, noted was a particularly common theme among town histories in the 1790s. Wallace thought that 'some antiquarians took civic pride to the point of uncritical town boasting...are evidently written with a view to please the inhabitants and therefore replete with eulogy and partial panegyric.'<sup>28</sup> Therefore, there was some recognition at the time that such accounts tended to be too self-congratulatory and exaggerated the individual town or city's achievements in the past in order to make it appear more favourable in the present.

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<sup>25</sup> *History of Edinburgh by Hugh Arnot, Esq; Advocate* (William Creech, Edinburgh, 1788); (Edinburgh: West Port Books, 1998)(5<sup>th</sup> edition), 196.

<sup>26</sup> Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*.

<sup>27</sup> Houston, *Social Change*, 9.

<sup>28</sup> As quoted in Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community' in Fraser & Sutcliffe, *The Pursuit of Urban History*, 120.

Of course, the books also had to sell, and many did enjoy several editions. Therefore, their arguments are also not just explained by the concerns of those that wrote them but also by the fact that they could not offend their intended consumers, their fellow professionals, middling sort, merchants and the elites. Later authors were even more scathing than Wallace had been, though and as they had to justify their new accounts and explain why theirs differed from the earlier ones by being more accurate, more detailed or simply by adding something new. This is one reason why the journalist, James Pagan, later challenged McUre, Gibson, and others' accounts in his *Sketches of the History of Glasgow*, published in 1848 at the very end of the period considered. Pagan mocks earlier accounts, suggesting to his audiences that 'the testimony of McUre 'might not be trustworthy.'<sup>29</sup> Other contemporaries of Pagan were well aware of this weakness though some still admitted to employing earlier accounts in order to justify theirs. The very repetition of received ideas is an asset to creating a distinct civic identity once established. Even later examples from Andrew Wallace's *History of Glasgow* (1882) admitted to using McUre as did other civic 'boosters' such as Strang, 'Senex,' and 'J.B'.<sup>30</sup> Other later examples continued to use their deficiencies to justify these earlier accounts. One example of this is taken from Robert Renwick's *History of Glasgow*, written in 1919, apologised that,

material for the early history of Glasgow was not very accessible when the eighteenth century historians, McUre, Gibson, Denholm, and Brown compiled their works and this mainly accounts for the extremely limited extent to which original sources of information are used by these authors.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> J. Pagan, *Sketches of the History of Glasgow*, (Glasgow, 1847), 76. Pagan also used J. Denholm, *The History of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs* (Glasgow, 1804), 80.

<sup>30</sup> Wallace, *A Popular sketch of the History of Glasgow from earliest times to the present time* (Glasgow, 1882), used Gibson, Clelland, Strang, 'Senex,' 'J.B.', preface.

<sup>31</sup> R. Renwick *A History of Glasgow*, (Glasgow, 1921), Volume One, xxvii.

For Edinburgh, there is also evidence of both critique and praise for the earlier histories. The writer and publisher, Robert Chambers, who had already found success with his *Traditions of Edinburgh* in two volumes in 1824,<sup>32</sup> wrote several works on Edinburgh such as his *Walks in Edinburgh* in 1835, which showed how guidebooks and other civic testimonies also incorporated the earlier histories and built on them.<sup>33</sup> Like Wallace and Pagan in Glasgow, Chambers was scathing of Edinburgh's earlier historians, Maitland and Arnot. Chambers was aware of the repetitions in them and claimed his *Walks* was original and 'dared to be original in another important particular, namely, the correction of a few venerable blunders by Maitland to Arnot, and by Arnot to his 1001 compounders and repeaters.'<sup>34</sup>

The dedications in Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic histories also changed in the course of the period and through the second half of the 1800s. This reflected a move towards a more encompassing audience and the times in which they were written. While Maitland chose to honour King George III, Hugo Arnot favoured his fellow lawyers in the Faculty of Advocates in his dedication, so that within twenty years it became acceptable to honour someone other than the reigning monarch. Arnot's dedication also reflects the prominent attention afforded to Edinburgh's legal establishment at the time, but he was also at pains to thank the town council, which had granted access to the town's records.<sup>35</sup> Gibson writing in the 1770s also preferred

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<sup>32</sup> Daiches, *Edinburgh*, 226, Daiches described *Traditions* as 'an invaluable work for any historian of the city', 226.

<sup>33</sup> J. Sinclair, *The first statistical account of Scotland, 1791-1799* (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1973), Volume VII, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire. The Glasgow OSA entry used McUre and Gibson, introduction.

<sup>34</sup> R. Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1835), xi.

<sup>35</sup> *Williamson's directory for the City of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith, and suburbs, from the 25th May 1773, to 25th May 1774*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh City Libraries, 1984). The Directory gave a list of citizens in order of importance beginning with lawyers before noblemen, gentlemen and others, as quoted in A. Calder, 'The Enlightenment' in Donnachie & Whatley, *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, 32, 31 – 50.

to dedicate his history, not to the King, but to the honour of Glasgow's aristocratic politicians and singled out the town's M.P., 'the right honourable Lord Frederick Campbell, whose attentions to promote the interest and prosperity of the city of Glasgow claims grateful attention and acknowledgment of every individual in the community.'<sup>36</sup> Yet, Gibson also wanted his account to be a popular history and reach beyond the confines of the University of Glasgow when he explicitly stated his hope that it 'will not be read by the learned.'<sup>37</sup> In this disclaimer, Gibson also implied his work was not intended for the academic audience of Glasgow University, but he was also attending to the growth of the public and other influences of the age.

Within ten years of Gibson's publication, Alexander Kincaid's *History of Edinburgh* was published. Kincaid chose to dedicate his book not simply to Edinburgh's Lord Provost, who was a relative of his, but also to the people of Edinburgh. Kincaid spoke about 'a desire of diffusing more universally a knowledge of the history of our metropolis', in order to reach a wider audience firstly because of the fact he felt that the two previous histories of the city suffered to the high price of both and also because of the problems in their writing, that the 'excessive minuteness and the other enlarged compass...have rendered them in a great measure inaccessible to many.'<sup>38</sup> Writing in 1787, before the advent of democracy, Kincaid nevertheless encapsulated the idea that such civic writing could be for all. He also employed the term metropolis to refer to Edinburgh and this was significant as previously the term metropolis was only applied to London within Britain.<sup>39</sup> Kincaid's use of the term suggests not only the recent tremendous growth in population experienced by those in Edinburgh during his lifetime, but also how citizens like Kincaid viewed Edinburgh as

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<sup>36</sup> Gibson, *The History of Glasgow*, preface.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> A. Kincaid, *History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1787), preface.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

not simply a capital city but also a city now on a par with London within Britain. No longer was London the only city worthy of such attention, as Clark has already highlighted.<sup>40</sup>

By the end of the eighteenth century, those in Glasgow too viewed their town as a city of some significance. Partly driven by the city's historic claims to a cathedral and its burgeoning population, Andrew Brown's *History of Glasgow*, published in 1795, at the height of the French Revolutionary Wars, dedicated itself to William MacDowall, Esquire of Garthland and summed up the 'respect due to him as M.P. for the city of Glasgow in testimony of esteem for his attention to the interests and prosperity of the city... and as a tribute of gratitude for personal favours, this work is humbly inscribed.'<sup>41</sup> Later examples from the second half of the nineteenth century complete the shift in civic histories to dedications to local politicians rather than just members of Parliament or kings, by which time this kind of conventional political fawning was well established. A later example by Andrew Wallace's *History of Glasgow* in 1882 was devoted to a local politician, Baillie William Wilson, whom Wallace thought had done much to benefit the wider populace of the city. Wallace wrote that Wilson was:

a man worthy specimen of the Glasgow citizen, merchant, and magistrate who has laboured with much zeal and efficiency to promote the welfare of the city in various ways and especially of late years in the formation and extension of a noble, free public library for the use of the citizens.<sup>42</sup>

In this way, Maitland, Arnot, McUre, Gibson, Kincaid, Brown, Wallace and others all continually married the good record of the town with the good deeds of its patrons,

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<sup>40</sup> Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community' in Fraser & Sutcliffe, *The Pursuit of Urban History*, 120.

<sup>41</sup> A. Brown, *History of Glasgow* (Glasgow, Edinburgh and London, 1795), preface.

<sup>42</sup> Wallace, *History of Glasgow* preface.

politicians and citizens. Again, this reinforced the idea that contemporaries in Edinburgh and Glasgow were concerned with national and local politics and articulated their sentiments of loyalty to their cities. Later, those in public service were considered worthy of the reward of such dedications as proof of their good citizenship.

The re-telling of some of the two cities' difficult passages of history was massaged in their histories and not only in the earlier ones. Sometimes questionable behaviour was barely recognised. McUre, a fan of the union, for example, also downplayed the anti-union riots.<sup>43</sup> However, by the 1840s, in an age of European revolutions and Chartism, later writers such as Pagan were more forthcoming and highlighted how:

the treaty of Union which was regarded by a great body of the Scottish people as the death blow to the dignity and independence of an ancient kingdom was bitterly opposed by at least by the lower orders in the city of Glasgow.<sup>44</sup>

Given that these earlier histories were written by merchants who would have benefitted, or hoped to profit, from the relaxing of the Navigation Acts, the opening up of English trade routes as well as the protection of the Royal Navy, the downplaying of the role of the 'mob' and their opposition to Union is understandable. According to the merchant Gibson, support from the British navy had hitherto not been guaranteed before union. Gibson also captured something of the belief in the improving nature of the age:

we may from this era date the prosperity of the city of Glasgow, whatever efforts the inhabitants had made, for the introduction and extension of commerce and manufacturers,

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<sup>43</sup> McUre, *A View of Glasgow*, 59.

<sup>44</sup> Pagan, *Sketches*, 56; Edinburgh and across Scotland saw similar protests, see C.A. Whatley, *Scotland 1707–1830: beyond Jacobitism, towards industrialisation*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 184-185.



prior to this time, they were but trifling and unimportant; by the Union, the trade to America was laid open...ever since that period, and to the introduction and improvement of manufactures have proved the means of raising the inhabitants of Glasgow to that affluent condition, which they are to be found at present.<sup>45</sup>

Later Glasgow histories took this approach simply repeating the line of argument, by which time the city's commercial and industrial prosperity was widely advertised, whether or not it was because of, or despite of, union. The union was viewed as central to Glasgow's growth and the important relationship with Britain and British identity was established. Denholm, for example, writing in 1804 during the early Napoleonic Wars, stated that 'the union was the era from which this city must date the extension of her commerce'.<sup>46</sup> Other writers followed Denholm's lead from McUre.<sup>47</sup> Even as late as the turn of the twentieth century, the idea remained that 'the Union really made Glasgow'<sup>48</sup> and became a key argument of this and many other of the city's later civic histories.

In contrast to this, many Edinburgh histories did not dwell on or celebrate the impact of union as had those of Glasgow. This was more understandable as both lost trade as well as the loss of the patronage of the Scottish Parliament before 1707 hit the city badly. This downside to Union was a feature of many of the Edinburgh civic histories in the period 1752 and 1842. Although Edinburgh remained quasi-significant as the seat of the Convention of Royal Burghs, the General Assembly, Law Courts, some still thought that 'from the Union...(Edinburgh) became nothing more than a

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<sup>45</sup> Gibson *The History of Glasgow*, 105 – 108.

<sup>46</sup> Denholm, *History of Glasgow*, 82. This point was directly lifted from Gibson, 105, further reinforcing the idea that civic histories were interdependent on the ideas contained in the earlier ones and therefore contained little re-examination.

<sup>47</sup> J. Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1816), Ch. 3 & 4.

<sup>48</sup> D. Malloch's *The Book of the Glasgow Anecdote* (London and Edinburgh, 1913), 4.

provincial town.<sup>49</sup> Other writers were even more pessimistic and reflected the fact that the city was bankrupt and struggling with administrative changes by the 1830s and that this had followed as a result of these earlier woes. Chambers wrote his first edition when Stark was also writing and noted that:

the city, however, can scarcely be said to be at present in a flourishing condition, as of late years, the retrenchments in the judicial establishments...and other causes, have contributed in no small degree to its pecuniary interests. Notwithstanding its favourable locality, Edinburgh possesses but few manufactures, beyond what are necessary for the comfort and luxury of its inhabitants.<sup>50</sup>

Other historical incidents, however, were reinterpreted and explained in the histories and were designed to downplay events and to show the cities and their history in a decidedly favourable light. The coverage of the treatment of the Malt Tax riots in 1725, provide a useful case study. These riots led to two days of riots in Glasgow, the destruction of Campbell of Shawfield's house and a street battle between the Glasgow inhabitants and the military in which two people were killed, several others seriously wounded, caused much grief and concern to those in Glasgow about its immediate and subsequent reputation. The event was also negatively portrayed in the Edinburgh histories, which largely viewed Glasgow in a less than favourable light and which demonstrated the rivalry between the two cities. While establishing Glasgow's sullied reputation for the events of the Shawfield Riot of 1725 there, those in Edinburgh's civic histories maintained firmly that the 'Scotch capital' was without any comparable disturbance. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* from 1797 continued Maitland's and

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<sup>49</sup> J. Stark, *The Picture of Edinburgh – a description of the city and its environs* (Edinburgh, 1831), (5th edition), 43. Maitland had made this point in his *History* and Stark used him in this and other editions of this guidebook including, the 1806 edition.

<sup>50</sup> Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, (1848) (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), 7.

Arnot's earlier interpretations of the Malt Tax that 'the loyalty of this city was still farther remarkable in the year 1725...all remained quiet in Edinburgh, notwithstanding the violent outbursts that were made elsewhere, and so remarkable was the tranquillity in the metropolis that government afterwards returned thanks to the magistrates for it.'<sup>51</sup>

Earlier, Book 9 of Maitland's *History* had noted that, 'the parliament, having laid a duty on Scottish malt, it occasioned great commotion in divers parts of the country, but especially in the city of Glasgow, where a dangerous tumult happened. But the Edinburghers, behaving themselves in a quiet and peaceful manner, their dutiful deportment was so very acceptable to the Government.'<sup>52</sup> Maitland reinforces that in a letter from Lord Townsend, Secretary of State to the Lord Provost, 'the King (has) received wise, steady and loyal conduct of his good city of Edinburgh at this time, when riotous and evil minded people have in a most outrageous manner obstructed the execution of the law at Glasgow.'<sup>53</sup> This confirmed that whatever the reality of the situation, Edinburgh writers distanced its position from Glasgow's and sought to reassure King and Parliament that all was well there, unlike in the west. The reply from the Lord Provost of Edinburgh to the king mentioned that 'it is with regret that we observe that the poverty of this country has furnished an opportunity to turbulent men among us.'<sup>54</sup> Maitland's line was that Edinburgh was peaceful and Glasgow was not was continued in an Edinburgh guide of 1800 that harks back to 1725 repeating what had by now become almost part of Edinburgh folk legend:

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<sup>51</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, V.VI, 1797, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 303.

<sup>52</sup> Maitland, *History*, Ch. 9,122.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

The loyalty of this city was still further remarkable in the year 1725, when disturbances were excited in all parts of the kingdom; particularly in the city of Glasgow, concerning the excise-bill; for all remained quiet in Edinburgh, notwithstanding the violent outcries of that were made elsewhere; and so remarkable was the tranquillity in the metropolis, that Government afterwards returned thanks to the magistrates for it.<sup>55</sup>

However, this account of Edinburgh's inhabitants' behaviour was simply not accurate and illustrates how in the histories there was a degree of 'spin.' In point of fact the Edinburgh's maltsters had been striking during 1725 and were imprisoned by the authorities for refusing to work.<sup>56</sup>

In their turn, and arguably in response to Edinburgh's position, the Glasgow histories defended what happened and strove to establish how the Town Council and inhabitants were wronged. The significance of the Malt Tax is not lost on modern historians, either. Whatley calls the incident 'arguably the single most important serious civil commotion in eighteenth century Scotland.'<sup>57</sup> Gibson's account of the Malt Tax riots and their aftermath, when the city's Lord Provost was taken to London to account for the magistrates and citizens' actions and when the city was subsequently fined, was trying to portray it as an event of no minor importance. There was a sustained effort to defend the actions taken by the city at the time and to show that Glasgow was as stable and prosperous a place as any other. Gibson narrated that the actions of the military had alarmed the people, and also explained something of the crowd's response,

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<sup>55</sup> *A Stranger's Guide to Edinburgh: containing a history and description of the city: with a particular account of its civil and political establishments* (5th edition, with considerable improvements), (London: J. Moir, 1807) 29.

<sup>56</sup> GUL Sp Coll. 2833, 'The present case of the brewers in and about Edinburgh stated and offered to their consideration,' (Edinburgh, 1725).

<sup>57</sup> C. Whatley, 'Labour in the Industrialising City c.1660 - 1830,' in Devine & Jackson, *Glasgow, Volume I*, 360-404, 379.

the people, seeing so many victims fall, were exasperated beyond all sense of danger; they began to procure arms and to retreat to the castle of Dumbarton.<sup>58</sup>

Moreover, Gibson was quick to add that the Glaswegian magistrates were exonerated by the crown of any wrong-doing.

Other Glasgow histories, including McUre and Gibson, reprinted the complete letters which emerged from the Town Council at the time in response to the crown charges against them. These letters defended their inability to control the situation and read the Riot Act, but newspapers written by Edinburgh men at the time drew attention to the way the affair was reported and which led to the city's magistrates being unceremoniously led to Edinburgh Castle where they were effectively held as prisoners until exonerated. The *Caledonian Mercury* was one newspaper that had blamed the city's magistrates for their inability to control the affair.<sup>59</sup> The town council replied that the actions of the military had inflamed the people and the actions of its captain, in particular, had encouraged the riot.<sup>60</sup> The line taken by subsequent Glasgow histories other than Gibson's supported this same interpretation through the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>61</sup> It was partly in response to the account of the riot in the Edinburgh papers and carried in the *Caledonian Mercury* and others in Edinburgh that led to Glasgow Town Council being arrested, dragged to the capital and interrogated, despite its protestations of innocence. Kincaid's discussion of the Malt

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<sup>58</sup> Gibson, *The History of Glasgow*, 110 -111.

<sup>59</sup> NLS, NRR *Caledonian Mercury* 1725-1727 Edinburgh, Monday, June 14th 1725 -5365, Number 812; Edinburgh, Tuesday, June 29th 1725, Number 819, 5393, 5395-5396.

<sup>60</sup> NLS, Pamphlets 1.14a (f.23) *A Letter from a gentleman in Glasgow to his friend in the country concerning the late tumults which happened in that city containing a true account of the plundering of Daniel Campbell of Shawfield's house, the slaughter of the inhabitants by Capt Bushell, the imprisonment of the magistrates, and their liberation by order of the Lords of Justiciary. Together with some general reflections upon the whole. Printed in the year MDCCXXV September 14th 1725.*

<sup>61</sup> See Oakley, *The Second City*.

Tax from an Edinburgh perspective adopts a similar account of Edinburgh's reaction to the Malt Tax as Maitland, his understanding of his city's reaction to the Malt Tax differed in that he maintained the city's loyal position and noted that 'the City of Edinburgh had been so quiet'...but...'it was still very far from being acceptable to the people.'<sup>62</sup> Glasgow's histories downplayed their communities' response to the Malt Tax with some blaming the riot on 'the lower class of people.'<sup>63</sup> The writers referred to the way the returning magistrates were welcomed once released and these histories made efforts to resurrect the city's reputation in this affair.<sup>64</sup> The whole thrust of the Glasgow histories is an attempt to redress the ill reputation given by Edinburgh people to Glasgow's reputation.<sup>65</sup> Modern historians suggest that 'despite the tensions arising from the Malt Tax riots, loyalty to the House of Hanover retained particular resonance in Glasgow, because the regime was so firmly identified with the Protestant succession.'<sup>66</sup> The histories of the two cities, therefore, offered symmetrical interpretation of the Malt Tax riots, but Edinburgh writers sought to avoid being implicated in the riots.

Edinburgh's Porteous Riot echoed Glasgow's Malt Tax riot in the way that the government responded and in how the civic histories portrayed the affair. On 14<sup>th</sup> April 1736, John Porteous, captain of Edinburgh's City Guard, was said to have ordered his men to fire on an Edinburgh crowd after they had assembled for the hanging of the smuggler Andrew Wilson. Several men and women were left dead and

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<sup>62</sup> Kincaid, *History of Edinburgh*, 85. Modern historiography concurs with Kincaid's account as in C. Whatley, 'An unflamable people' in Donnachie & Whatley, *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, 60, 62, 65, 66. Some modern Glasgow histories defended the city's response to the Malt Tax and argued that people were provoked by the military, I. Maver, *Glasgow*, 23 – 24.

<sup>63</sup> Gibson, *The History of Glasgow*, 110.

<sup>64</sup> Cleland, *Annals*, Chp.4.

<sup>65</sup> *Letter from the magistrates of Glasgow to a gentleman in Edinburgh giving an account of the late tumult which happened in Glasgow, Glasgow, June 30th 1725*, Kincaid's *History of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1787). 288-293. Many Glasgow histories included this letter and also tried to redress the balance; Gibson, *The History of Glasgow*; G. Eyrie-Todd, *History of Glasgow*, Volume Three, (Glasgow, 1934).

<sup>66</sup> Maver, *Glasgow*, 24.

wounded. The Town Council ordered the arrest of Porteous and an investigation into what had happened. When rumours circulated of Porteous' possible reprieve a mob got control of the city's jail and lynched the officer. The city's Lord Provost, Alexander Wilson, was summoned to the Tower of London and made to account for the conduct of his inhabitants. He was never allowed to hold the office again and the city was also fined to compensate Porteous' widow. For Edinburgh writers, the Porteous affair was glossed over in stark contrast to Glasgow's Malt Tax riots.

For example, while Kincaid's *History* made much of Glasgow's reaction to the Malt Tax and contrasted this with Edinburgh's comparative calm, he downplayed the Porteous affair, only 11 years after the event.<sup>67</sup> Kincaid's account was published in 1787 and it may have been influenced by the impact and recent loss of the American colonies, meaning he did not want to dwell on any question of Edinburgh's loyalty to Britain and Parliament, both past and present. However, this did not prevent Kincaid from taking the lead from earlier civic accounts about the incident. Book II of Arnot's *History* dedicated an entire chapter to the progress and present state of Edinburgh but offered scant attention to the riot.<sup>68</sup> Writing about the event only eleven years later did not entirely elide over it, as the entries in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* avowed the city's shame in this respect. It was noted that 'such an atrocious insult on government could not but be highly resented.'<sup>69</sup> By the 1820s, Walter Scott's account of the Porteous riot in his *Heart of Midlothian* had relegated the affair to fiction, with some books reproducing his account and turning the affair into one that more befitted its time. His account of the Porteous riot was one replete with romanticism and heroism, as was Scott's style.

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<sup>67</sup> Kincaid, *History of Edinburgh*, 288-293. Kincaid reproduced the entire letter in the *Caledonian Mercury* that condemned Glasgow's handling of the Shawfield Riot but only considers one page for Porteous, 288 – 293.

<sup>68</sup> Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, Book II, Ch.1.

<sup>69</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, V.V1, 1797, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 303.

By the 1840s, Scott's reinvention of the protagonist was complete, at least to Wilson's mind, who thought in Captain Porteous Scott had created a 'the hero, of the Tolbooth, to modern readers.'<sup>70</sup> The idea that whatever had happened in Edinburgh's past it was still a safe place was also fostered in guidebooks through the period with the idea that even, and especially, in the early 1800s 'the police of Edinburgh is well conducted, and in perhaps no city in the world are the inhabitants better protected in their persons and properties than in the Scotch metropolis.'<sup>71</sup> In both incidents, then, those who wrote Edinburgh's and Glasgow's histories explained and defended what they believed had happened. All were designed to portray both cities as stable, loyal, and moral places and these were ideas that were conveyed through other writing, such as guidebooks as well.

The impact of the Jacobite uprisings, the American and French Revolutions, and the Napoleonic Wars also spawned keen testimonies of loyalty in Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic histories. Claims of citizens' loyalty in both places were portrayed as to be as long-standing in both cities. Denholm's *History of Glasgow* portrayed the city as having a stream of successes and loyal traditions, as it fought off Jacobite challenges and contributed to the victory over the French. His *History* claimed that after the 1715, 'the city of Glasgow exerted itself in favour of the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, and with a praise-worthy loyalty, raised a battalion of six hundred men.'<sup>72</sup> Gibson also noted that, during the 1745 Jacobite debacle, Glasgow had raised two battalions of 600 men each and also advertised that Glasgow was open for business despite the American Revolution.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> D. Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, (Edinburgh, 1848), 194.

<sup>71</sup> Stark, *Picture of Edinburgh*, 176.

<sup>72</sup> Denholm, *History of Glasgow*, 32.

<sup>73</sup> Gibson, *The History of Glasgow*, 108.



The impact of the American Revolution did not pass unnoticed in Edinburgh's histories either. Arnot claimed Edinburgh was:

anxious to support the constitutional connection between the mother-country and her colonies, the citizens of Edinburgh in January 1778, made an offer to the King, to raise a thousand men for the support of government, which his Majesty graciously accepted.<sup>74</sup>

Yet, it was the impact of the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars which left the greatest impression of the two cities' loyalties towards Britain and her constitution. Written in 1803, Denholm's *History* appeared when Europe was descending into the Napoleonic Wars following the collapse of the Amiens Truce of 1802. Denholm captured something of the patriotic mood of the time when he said that Glaswegians were raising a voluntary yeomanry regiment and that 'his Majesty had been pleased to accept...many have already enrolled themselves for the laudable purpose of defending all that is dear to us as men and as Christians.'<sup>75</sup> This was classic loyalist rhetoric that reflected other contemporary propaganda efforts to portray Napoleon and the French as godless, ignoble, among some other less desirable qualities. Fear of a French invasion was very real in 1803, when Denholm compiled his *History*, and caricatures, in broadsides in particular, were circulating throughout Britain to steady nerves, heighten alertness, and to rally people to the British cause against Boney.<sup>76</sup> Of course, civic histories were not the only sources that carried this sort of propaganda. After Waterloo, there was a steady outpouring of material rejoicing about Napoleon's defeat. Civic poems were even penned in this vein, including *The Songs of Edina* which was written by Wilson Glass for the Royal Company of Archers. It began with a quotation

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<sup>74</sup> Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, Ch. VI, Chp. V, 100 – 102.

<sup>75</sup> Denholm, *History of Glasgow*, 106.

<sup>76</sup> S. Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (Yale: New Haven and London, 2004), 41 – 50.

from Edinburgh's most famous poet, Robert Fergusson and his *Auld Reekie*, in which he celebrated his native town. It also contained satirical songs about Bonaparte, his flawed character and his defeat.<sup>77</sup>

Edinburgh's commitment during the French Revolution was left in no doubt. The city was where the first Scottish Friends of the People had been founded on July 26th, 1792 and also where the trial of Thomas Muir had taken place.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, Edinburgh felt very content in its dealings with radicals and efforts were made in the civic histories to detract from this and establish loyalty as the prevailing image. One guidebook from 1806, while admitting to Edinburgh's involvement with radicalism, also stipulated loyalty to the Whiggish notion about the benefits of British liberty which many professed to:

The revolutionary and equalizing principles inspired by the French Revolution, occasioned in Edinburgh, as well as in other parts of the kingdom, several disturbances, and were the cause of the trial and condemnation of some deserving individuals...but some notions of liberty have long since given way to that real freedom, of which the British constitution is the guardian...the loyalty of the citizens of Edinburgh, and their zeal on behalf of the laws handed down to them by their ancestors have been gallantly demonstrated by their voluntary arming of all ranks from their unsullied preservation.<sup>79</sup>

However, Stark makes no mention of the King's Birthday Riot of June 1792 that has been portrayed as a direct challenge to the authority of Henry Dundas, Edinburgh's

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<sup>77</sup> *Songs of Edina*, (Edinburgh, 1816).

<sup>78</sup> H. Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1912), 86, 114, 131-34.

<sup>79</sup> Stark, *The Picture of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1806), 65.

Member of Parliament and James Stirling, the city's Lord Provost.<sup>80</sup> Therefore, as with the Malt Tax and the Porteous riots, there was a continued effort at whitewashing of Edinburgh's more unpleasant history, particularly in relation to those who had challenged authority, whether local and national.

Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic histories were not always accurate accounts though they still reflected local, national, and international contemporary concerns and nevertheless they are of immediate use for any evaluation and greater understanding of the past, as Clark has also noted for other histories.<sup>81</sup> The impact of recent events was clearly discernable and precedents were found for the cities' responses to earlier eras of trial and tribulation.

Another essential element, however, was that 'considerable importance was placed upon preserving emblems of former greatness, as well as cultural prosperity, and the antiquity of the town was an essential element in its cultural standing.'<sup>82</sup> Yet, to modern eyes, some of the claims to pedigree still appeared far-fetched and almost too enthusiastic in their efforts. However, it is important to remember that this was something that was again part of the normal style of discussion at the time.<sup>83</sup> *Edinburgh Past and Present* claimed that Edinburgh was mentioned in Stow's *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* from 989 B.C.<sup>84</sup> Pedigree was established in the civic histories as it gave kudos to those who lived there, gave some ammunition against those who would belittle the city and charge it with lacking a moral compass.<sup>85</sup> They also legitimized their present day claims. One way this was

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<sup>80</sup> Whatley, *Scottish society 1707 – 1830*, 285.

<sup>81</sup> Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community,' in Fraser & Sutcliffe, *Pursuit of Urban History*.

<sup>82</sup> R. Sweet, *The English Town 1680 – 1840, Government, Society and Culture*, (Harlow: Pearson Education, 1999), 260.

<sup>83</sup> M. Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1989). Andrews has shown this in the significance of the Arthurian legend.

<sup>84</sup> Gillies, *Edinburgh Past and Present*, 1.

<sup>85</sup> A. Lee, 'Perceptions of Cities in Britain and Germany, 1820-1914,' in Fraser & Sutcliffe, *Pursuit of Urban History*, Ch. 8, 152.

achieved was to remind the readership of Scotland's separate history from England's and, particularly of the distinctiveness of their cities from others, including their southern counterparts.<sup>86</sup> Even when the writers dismissed Scottish history before the union, the readers were still left with the impression that these two cities were central to Scottish and British history and that they enjoyed a long-standing inheritance from the past.<sup>87</sup> Of course, civic histories were not the only publications which furthered the idea of antiquity, but they did contribute to it.<sup>88</sup>

Contemporaries in the civic histories, guidebooks and other literature like the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* also portrayed their cities as active platforms of history. Civic histories advertised this and the guidebooks, in particular, encouraged visitors, among others, who had read about those famous men and women who had lived in Edinburgh and Glasgow to walk in their footsteps and recreate something of their lives there. This 'placed' worthies in the city so as to claim them. In this way, the two cities competed through their civic histories to establish their relative importance in Scottish history. This is why Maitland insisted 'the city of Edinburgh is the centre and heart of Scotland'<sup>89</sup> and why many of Glasgow's histories and guidebooks also adopted this line.<sup>90</sup> Arnot awarded Edinburgh prime position within Scottish history: 'the affairs of the kingdom and of its capital are so closely woven.'<sup>91</sup> He also reaffirmed Edinburgh's romantic reputation and political place and did so by echoing, as many other histories had, that Edinburgh was the capital for Scotland's history:

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<sup>86</sup> W. Scott, *History of Scotland* in two volumes (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1830).

<sup>87</sup> Hume, *History of England*; Robertson, *History of Scotland*; M. Fry, 'The Whig Interpretation of Scottish History,' Donnachie & Whatley, *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, 72 -89.

<sup>88</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (Edinburgh, 1842), (7<sup>th</sup> edition), 1842, referred to it as 'this ancient town,' 411.

<sup>89</sup> Maitland, *The History of Edinburgh*, 122; See also R.H. Stevenson, *The Chronicles of Edinburgh*.

<sup>90</sup> *Glasgow of Today – The Metropolis of the North: An Epitome of Results and Manual of Commerce, Business Men and Mercantile Interests and Wealth and Growth, historical, Statistical, biographical*, (Glasgow, London, Leeds, Bradford: Historical Publishing Company, 1888), 33.

<sup>91</sup> Arnot *History of Edinburgh*, preface, vi.

in a city where almost every square foot of ground is saturated with historical incident, where the heart-throb of Scotland has so long pulsated through its narrow streets, closes, and wynds.<sup>92</sup>

Some Whiggish writers, though, were less eager to sully their city's reputation with those incidents from the past. While Arnot clearly asserted the Scottish capital's historical importance, he also maintained the 'innocent bystander role' it had played in Scotland's darker past. This was achieved so as Edinburgh itself could not be blamed for the things that had happened there:

although the murders of Rizzio and Darnley were perpetrated in Edinburgh...these deeds of ferocity and darkness fall to be recorded in history, not of the city, but of the court, Edinburgh was unhappily the theatre of a rapid succession of the most atrocious crimes.<sup>93</sup>

Others took a different approach and, while clearly promoting Edinburgh as a former royal centre also tied the city's fortunes and their demise with those of the Stewarts who had resided there. The elegiac overtones of this are all evident here,

The capital of the Stuarts; it rose into importance with their increasing glory; it shared in all their triumphs; it suffered in their disasters, and with the extinction of their line, it seemed to sink from its proud position among the capitals of Europe, and to mourn the vanished glories in which it had taken so prominent a part.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> J. Reid, *New Lights on Old Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1894), introduction, unpaginated.

<sup>93</sup> Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 15.

<sup>94</sup> Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh*, 11.

Though Glasgow was not the political or historic royal centre, lacking both a castle and a palace which Edinburgh had, Glasgow had a cathedral and a university and the histories made something of this. In doing so, the civic histories revealed a confidence and pride in as well as a distinct attachment to Glasgow. The Union of 1707 also ignited claims to its title as the first city of Scotland 'Glasgow has long, and justly reckoned the chief town in the kingdom, the chief metropolis in Scotland.'<sup>95</sup> McUre's use of the term metropolis suggested he believed that Glasgow was the most important city in Scotland, both in terms of its economic influence and as a place of significant population. These factors qualified Glasgow to claim precedence over Edinburgh as *the* Scottish metropolis. McUre's comment shows how some in Glasgow at the time saw their city as superior to the Scottish capital. Others also laid importance on the ecclesiastical and educational origins of Glasgow, which were even older than Edinburgh's.<sup>96</sup> Others continued to ignore what had gone before the Union and saw the city in an even more elevated situation:

From an obscure retreat, an insignificant hamlet, and a noteless town, it has become a city, great, magnificent, and opulent, and in extent, commercial enterprise and population the SECOND CITY of the British Isles.<sup>97</sup>

Yet, by the 1840s, writers such as Pagan argued that it was an ancient and a modern city and that 'Glasgow, like all enterprising towns of the present day has a history to boast of.'<sup>98</sup> This demonstrated that whatever the commercial or industrial successes

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<sup>95</sup> McUre *A View of Glasgow*, 1.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, Book I.

<sup>97</sup> R. Chapman, *The Picture of Glasgow, or, Stranger's Guide, with a Sketch of a tour to Loch Lomond, Loch Ketturine, Inverary, and the falls of Clyde*, (Glasgow, 1812), 55.

<sup>98</sup> Pagan, *Sketches*, 1.

a city or town enjoyed, its historical pedigree remained important into the Gothic age and beyond. Later descriptions furthered the benefits of having both a distinguished past and successful present, ‘although Glasgow may be justly said to be one of the most ancient towns in Scotland, it is at the same time one of the most *modern* of the larger towns in Great Britain.’<sup>99</sup> This civic identity worked well for a large, commercial and industrial city into the nineteenth century, which wanted to reaffirm its ancient heritage and further its claims to greater political representation. Contemporary preoccupations in Glasgow of this were reflected by one guide which lamented the city’s lack of a single dedicated parliamentary representative before 1833 and asserted the city’s case for an M.P. with ‘it is to be regretted that the third city in the Empire for wealth, power, population, commerce and enterprise had no more political right and it obliged to club with these insignificant villages in the election of a representative to the grand council of the Nation.’<sup>100</sup> In this way, civic reputations and civic identities could be employed for political as much as for moral, cultural and economic reasons. Following the 1833 Reform Act (Scotland), Glasgow did receive its own Member of Parliament and a even more confident tone emerges in guidebooks and histories after this date. Of course, the city could not have it both ways and towards the end of the nineteenth century, its historic civic identity was somewhat confused in the literature. The city’s increasing boasts and emphasis on its *modernity* caused some later examples to lament its loss of antiquity and particularly when compared to Edinburgh. It was thought that, unlike ‘the grey metropolis of the north,’ Glasgow shows rather poorly in the history of Scotland...and yet Glasgow is an old city.’<sup>101</sup> Thus Arnot, Maitland, McUre, among others, allowed for a strong moral, political, and historic foundation for their cities

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<sup>99</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (Edinburgh: 1855), (8<sup>th</sup> edition), 648.

<sup>100</sup> Stark, *The Picture of Glasgow*, 151.

<sup>101</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (London, 1879), (9<sup>th</sup> Edition), Vol. X, G-GOT, 638-646, 638.

but their ideas did not always go without criticism. By the nineteenth century, later histories worked from these earlier accounts and reiterated some of their themes and demonstrated a process of received ideas, something that is yet further expressed in chapter five.<sup>102</sup>

Second only to pedigree and loyalty in the civic histories and guidebooks was their supposed religiosity. Glasgow's civic histories were especially faithful in establishing this idea and employed the past to reinforce that theirs was a leading Christian and Presbyterian city. Once again, McUre established the tone for others to emulate in his description of Glasgow:

ever since the beginning of the civil wars in the year 1629 has been the only city in all the kingdom, addicted to presbytery, and has done most for its support...Glasgow was...the most leading and forward of any other city in the kingdom.<sup>103</sup>

Gibson echoed McUre's sentiments that: 'the city of Glasgow which has ever distinguished itself in favour of the Protestant interest.'<sup>104</sup> Interestingly, Gibson used the term 'Protestant' rather than 'Presbyterian' and perhaps with an eye to British identity suggested a more British and Whiggish gleam to it by the time he was writing. Maitland's take on Edinburgh's response to the Revolution of 1688-89 was similar to McUre's and Gibson's in that, 'we have on all occasions since the reformation, and particularly in our last Parliament, testified a steadfast and unbroken zeal for the

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<sup>102</sup> Stevenson, *The Chronicles of Edinburgh*, 45. Maitland's interpretation of Edinburgh's earlier history was regurgitated; see also Pagan, *Sketches of the History of Glasgow*, who also looked to McUre and Gibson.

<sup>103</sup> McUre, *A View of Glasgow*, 60.

<sup>104</sup> Gibson, *History of Glasgow*, 100.



Protestant religion.<sup>105</sup> As the home of the Church of Scotland Assembly, it could do little else.

Edinburgh's approach in the mid-eighteenth century was very similar to Glasgow's, then. Arnot reinforced his city's loyal Protestant and religious convictions, but in 1778 after his *History* was published an Edinburgh mob proved just how 'loyal' they were when they burned down Catholic Bishop Hay's palace. Arnot's understanding of his city's role in the Reformation was clearly expressed in terms of George Buchanan's and not William Robertson's and showed how the influence of earlier Scottish national histories prevailed.<sup>106</sup> For this reason, Arnot talked about 'the zealous and able ministry of John Knox' and compared it to the return of Mary, Queen of Scots, which Arnot believed, as Buchanan had done, that 'Scotland being freed from the shackles of papal usurpation was well nigh subjected to a more formidable tyrant in the person of her deliverer.'<sup>107</sup> This bias and approach continued the narrative through the end of the seventeenth century when he asserted that, 'none were more forward than the council of Edinburgh in offering their services to the Prince of Orange.'<sup>108</sup>

Other Glasgow historians thought the city had also a tradition for defending its Presbyterian/ Protestant cause in the way Edinburgh's had. Writing at the same time as Stark during the Napoleonic Wars, Cleland demonstrated something of how seriously the city took its duties during past political and religious turmoil, 'when the convention of estates met at Edinburgh, to consider of the abdication of James II, the City of Glasgow raised a regiment of 500 men, and sent them to Edinburgh under the

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<sup>105</sup> Maitland, *History* 108.

<sup>106</sup> See G. Buchanan, *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stuart*.

<sup>107</sup> Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 11.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 19, 102. Arnot also talked about the joy in the city once Bonnie Prince Charlie had been defeated and glossed over the occupation of the town and the subsequent humiliation of the Lord Provost, Alexander Stewart in London, Ch. VI.

command of the earl of Argyll, to guard the Convention.<sup>109</sup> All of these writers were at pains to create the idea that Glasgow was as loyal in its religious identity as its past had illustrated.

Some later guides and histories, however, painted a different picture and reflected the changes to attitudes about religion and its role in the cities' history. A guide for Edinburgh in 1811 argued that the Scottish metropolis had many different denominations and was an altogether more tolerant place than had once been the case:

Almost all denominations of Christians, such as seceders, Anabaptists, Methodists, quakers, catholics, universalists, and Glassites, are to be met with in Edinburgh, which exhibits an amiable picture of the moderation of the present age, and forms a remarkable contrast to the hideous bigotry and fanaticism which characterised the period of the dawn and progress of the Reformation.<sup>110</sup>

However, this did not prevent later Glasgow histories from claiming credit for the Disruption, even though it was sparked by events that took place in Edinburgh: 'it might be said to have its origins in our city, for it was during his residence and out of his labours in Glasgow that the ideas were being formed in the bold and active brain of Dr. Chalmers.'<sup>111</sup> Edinburgh and Glasgow made claim to a central part in Scottish religious history. However, the religious disputes, divisions and polarisation of the nineteenth century meant that their religious past was no longer as keenly felt by those who wrote the histories, although it was still an important element of their identity.

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<sup>109</sup> Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow*, 21.

<sup>110</sup> Anon., *The New Picture of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1811), 85.

<sup>111</sup> Wallace, *History of Glasgow*, 122. Of course, Thomas Chalmers had been a minister in Glasgow from July 1815-1823 and had been called back to the city to lay the foundation stone to the city's statue to John Knox on 22nd September, 1825.

Not surprisingly, the two cities' contrasting civic identities emerged when discussing the respective economic interests and cultural stimuli. Much was made of Glasgow's rapid economic and population growth, which was attributed to the Union of 1707, but also to the determination and innovation of their citizens. McUre recalled Defoe's description of the city as 'the emporium of the west of Scotland, being for its commerce and riches, second to Edinburgh in this northern part of Great Britain.'<sup>112</sup> The idea of Glasgow as a 'second city' was a strong feature of many of its civic testimonies, including the histories. By 1812, the city was arguing with general acceptance that it be considered the second in Britain, at least for commerce and population.<sup>113</sup> Subsequent testimonies echoed this and paid tribute to 'the great boast of Glasgow is the ingenuity of her artisans, her scientific institutions, and her operative and mechanical establishments.'<sup>114</sup> The Clyde also merited attention and reflected the city's turn from textiles towards shipbuilding, 'as the river Clyde, in a commercial point of view, is of the utmost importance, not only to Glasgow, but to the western district of Scotland, a brief account of its improvements must therefore be interesting.'<sup>115</sup> The journalist James Pagan saw Edinburgh as the ancient capital but put 'Glasgow, the commercial capital of North Britain and in point of wealth and population, probably the second or third city in the Empire.'<sup>116</sup> In this way, those who wrote about Glasgow furthered these ideas.

In contrast, more was made of Edinburgh's intellect, culture, and the beauty of her position and architecture. This is why Arnot highlighted the architectural endeavours of the city's New Town which, he said, had been made possible by,

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<sup>112</sup> Daniel Defoe as quoted in McUre, *A View of Glasgow*, 319.

<sup>113</sup> *The Picture of Glasgow, or Stranger's Guide*, (1812), 51.

<sup>114</sup> *Glasgow Delineated Glasgow Delineated in its institutions, manufactures, and commerce, with a map of the city and thirty nine engravings of its principle buildings*, (Glasgow, 1827) (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), 6.

<sup>115</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (Edinburgh, 1842) (7<sup>th</sup> edition), 548; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1879), (9<sup>th</sup> edition) placed greater emphasis on shipbuilding and the Clyde, 640.

<sup>116</sup> Pagan, *Sketches of the History of Glasgow*, 1.

The spirit of the citizens of Edinburgh, expanded by the tide of liberty, which flowed through the nation, in consequence of a successful war and honourable peace, displayed itself itself...in the improvement of the city.<sup>117</sup>

In the years immediately after the first New Town was completed, Kincaid thought that 'few, indeed scarce any part of Scotland...had been equally improved with the metropolis.'<sup>118</sup> However, Kincaid, as an Edinburgh writer, obviously chose to ignore Glasgow's improvements which had included the laying out of the impressive thoroughfares Buchanan Street in 1776, Queen Street in 1777 and the fact that Glasgow had established the first Chamber of Commerce three years prior to that. Similarly, guidebooks lauded the intellectual aspects of Edinburgh and showed the optimism associated with it:

Edinburgh has been said to be 'a hot bed of genius.' The honourable station, however which this city holds among the seats of learning in Europe has been comparatively but lately obtained. The Gothic darkness which overspread Europe for many ages, likewise extended to Scotland, and though now a ray of genius illuminated the scene.<sup>119</sup>

Not all in the material of the civic histories was as self-congratulatory or as coloured in their interpretations. A later expression of this, was Pagan's demining accounts of parts of Glasgow, as echoed in Chadwick's Report. For example, Pagan thought that:

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<sup>117</sup> Annot, *History of Edinburgh*, 132.

<sup>118</sup> Kincaid, *History of Edinburgh*, 93.

<sup>119</sup> Stark, *Picture of Edinburgh*, (1806), 186.

notwithstanding the various regulations which have been made to improve the sanitary conditions of those dwelling places, disease and wretchedness are ever present, and perhaps no city affords more strikingly the contrast of wealth, splendour and refinement, and a degree of misery and debasement, which almost seems to exhibit that lower depth that no human agency can alleviate.<sup>120</sup>

Pagan presented himself as much as a concerned citizen as well as a journalist. Of course, the kinds of ideas that emerged in Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic histories were no different from other histories of localities which commonly adopted similar arguments.<sup>121</sup> For some, it was also a lucrative business to promote and praise their cities in particular ways. Many of the histories enjoyed several editions and adapted to changing demands. Denholm's *An Historical Account* from 1797, for example, ran for three editions and described itself more as a guide. McUre's *The City of Glasgow*, from 1736 was reprinted in 1810 but it enjoyed another earlier edition, in 1804, at the height of the Napoleonic Wars. Additionally, Arnot's *History of Edinburgh* was written in 1777, though it was only first published in 1779 in Dublin and to date has enjoyed five editions.

Robert Chambers, one of Edinburgh's best-known antiquarians, also enjoyed great success with his *Traditions of Edinburgh*, first published in 1824, and which ran through several editions, including one in 1868 and after his lifetime in 1912 and 1980. In 1833, he also produced *Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh* and his *Walks in Edinburgh* appeared two years later in 1835. Chambers, though born in Peebles, was certainly aware of his adopted city's advantages and, as a publisher, capitalised on it, making a lucrative career out of promoting the city to those at home and abroad.

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<sup>120</sup> Pagan, 105; See E. Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (London: Poor Law Commission, 1842).

<sup>121</sup> See Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community,' D. Fraser & Sutcliffe, *Pursuit of Urban History*, 118.

Glaswegians no less profited and forwarded their city's history through various accounts and editions but they ultimately could not compete with the idea of Edinburgh as a more historic place, as the former capital city and as the home of the Stewarts.

### *Conclusion*

By the end of the nineteenth century, then, both Edinburgh and Glasgow's history enjoyed a good deal of published attention. Increasingly, such accounts often highlighted the differences between Edinburgh and Glasgow's role in history, their respective civic identities and their rivalry. Both cities strove to establish their contribution to Scottish and to British history but they were viewed differently. A very late expression of this by the Glaswegian, Andrew Wallace, encapsulated this:

for centuries back its (Glasgow's) citizens have taken a leading part in all public movements and they have led in vain in commercial enterprise and scientific discovery. While the Metropolitan city, Edinburgh may have been the scene of a larger number of historical events than Glasgow have been, not even to Edinburgh must our city of the west give place to the claim in the precedence in respect of real historical influence and essential power. Edinburgh has done more in recording history and in enjoying the blessings probably of civilization and modern improvements; but Glasgow made history and been the originator of the means of advancing civilization and the amenities of modern life. The latter has laboured and the former has reaped the fruits of that labour.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Wallace, *History of Glasgow*, preface, June 1882.

The efforts of Wallace also echoed those of the earliest civic histories from the mid-eighteenth centuries and showed how civic pride, prejudice, and a concern with promoting Edinburgh and Glasgow through the past was a longstanding one. The civic histories from 1752 – 1842 charted the expansion of the public sphere and both civic and national consciousness in response to contemporary conditions. They also recorded how those in the two cities furthered particular ideas about them in respect of their pretensions to loyalty, pedigree, religiosity, and in their attempts to reinforce particular civic identities. While histories provided a greater understanding of their desire to do this, their value to professional historians may be tempered by their tendency towards boasting, exaggeration, and inaccuracy, but they are still important sources of evidence for how particular groups of people reacted to the changes and events in their lifetime. Houston's examination of Edinburgh's histories highlights their historical failings and illustrates how extensively they were plagiarised from earlier editions:

Subsequent overviews tended more or less to use the same material contained in Maitland and Arnot often without critical comment. The shameless borrowing in Alexander Kincaid's 1787, Stark's *Picture* of 1806, Stevenson's *Annals* (1839), and Wilson's *Memorials* (1847) become abundantly and frustratingly clear upon detailed comparison.<sup>123</sup>

In this respect, this has also been shown too for Glasgow's civic histories. Yet, contemporaries were well aware of this and some even criticised this at the time. Moreover, the very repetition of received ideas reinforced civic identities.

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<sup>123</sup> Houston, *Social Change*, 9.

James Wallace may have viewed civic histories as mere pandering to the audience, but it was an audience with an appetite for civic histories that was both sustained and which, in turn, encouraged others to write positive accounts in the florid language of their time. In this way, civic histories were not only good for the image of a particular town or city but for their business, as they encouraged tourism.<sup>124</sup> From the 1750s, Edinburgh's and Glasgow's civic histories were also another example of the kind of exercises that the middling sort and elites conducted in order to unify the city, not only by reinforcing the fact that they lived in a place with a historic pedigree but also that this was an ideal city with a sense of community and particular religious, moral and historic inheritances. These ideas were conveyed to and were meant to be shared by all who cared to read about Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Essentially, this chapter underlines these ideas and it confirms what Asa Briggs has argued that the civic histories revealed much about civic identity and how those in towns and cities established them. Rosemary Sweet's suggestion that civic histories were necessary attempts at reaching a greater understanding of civic culture is also shared in the examples considered for Edinburgh and Glasgow. Civic histories were written and reproduced in response to the rise in literacy and an ongoing fascination for the past over the course of the period and they reflected wider political developments and contemporary concerns.<sup>125</sup> Improvements to transport and communication also brought people in closer contact and narrowed the psychological as well as the physical distance between them. In fact, Edinburgh and Glasgow, as different as they were in their social, economic and physical structures, shared similar cultural ambitions as much as any other British town.

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<sup>124</sup> Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community' in Fraser & Sutcliffe, *Pursuit of Urban History*, 117.

<sup>125</sup> B.P. Lenman, 'From the Union of 1707 to the Franchise Reform of 1832,' in R. A. Houston and W.W.J. Knox, *The New Penguin History of Scotland* (London: Allen Lane 2001), 336-338.



One final point was that Edinburgh's and Glasgow's civic histories and guidebooks also promoted them against the other and so, too, fostered their rivalry. In their promotion of Edinburgh and Glasgow's particular civic identities they were both testimonies to the two cities and to the idea of Scotland and Britain. The civic histories were part of a wider trend of such testimonies which included appeals to Parliament seeking support for various improvements to their built environment and also written accounts forwarding yet more loyal, patriotic rhetoric and which at the same time furthered positive ideas about the two cities' reputations. The next two chapters explore such phenomenon and consider how such examples of national-civic testimonies and civic testimonies. In these other testimonies, the two cities shared a common practice of employing written symbolism to convey potent cultural messages about themselves. The intention was, however, that the messages would speak not only to their own times but to future generations.

## Chapter Two: National-civic testimonies

The Burgesses of Edinburgh have an honest pride in their roll of citizenship, emblazoned with names illustrious in rank, renowned in arts and in arms, and distinguished in the various walks of science and literature...in you, my Lord, we recognise the worthy son of a race of patriots, who have defended and watched over and fostered the glorious plant of British liberty and watered it with their blood (cheers)...<sup>1</sup>

### *Introduction*

The sentiments expressed above are to Lord John Russell, who received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh on November 3rd, 1845. As a Liberal, Russell was one of the keenest supporters of the 1832 Reform Act and he was also for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Russell had attended the University of Edinburgh and his connection with the city is expressed in his words above. The positive reaction from the crowd suggests their sympathies with his strongly anti-Tory gesture. These words are also what can be described as a national-civic testimony. There is evidence for many such testimonies in the period from 1750 to 1842. While a testimony is a formal statement about something you know, or have experienced, and which is usually given in a court of law;<sup>2</sup> a national-civic testimony is a public expression admitted in the public sphere of loyalty to and pride in Britain, and/or Scotland. It suggests concentric loyalties. It also

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<sup>1</sup> ECL, Cowan Bequest, qyz 325 B62/42516, 'Presentation of the Freedom of the City to Lord John Russell on November 3rd 1845.'

<sup>2</sup> *The Oxford English Dictionary* (6<sup>th</sup> edn) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976)

conveys attachment to towns and cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow hence national-civic testimonies demonstrate both national and civic commitments at one and the same time. National-civic testimonies are also much more than official declarations as they can be written, and often defend, promote and display, commitment to the idea of Britain, Scotland and either city. National-civic testimonies are usually, but not exclusively, published, and emerge in a variety of literature, including public speeches, newspapers, journals, magazines and pamphlets. They can also appear in private correspondences and discussions and could also be manifest in other cultural displays such as in the erection of statues and monuments and other forms of commemorations. However, not all national-civic testimonies convey positive ideas about the 'nation,' or 'city' and can be employed as a means of protest, particularly by those who were excluded from the formal political processes. As Houston has noted for the period 1660-1760 for Edinburgh, given the remarkable physical, economic and social changes experienced by those in the city, it became increasingly difficult to maintain a sense of community.<sup>3</sup> The same can be argued for Glasgow. Houston maintains that 'increasingly, city-wide identity or 'community' was created by incidental factors and artificial constructs.'<sup>4</sup> National-civic and civic testimonies should be viewed with this in mind as both cities grew in their population and became more exposed to the wider world.

The period 1750 - 1842 was prone to such displays, and the experience of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, economic and social upheaval and the campaigns for parliamentary and burgh reform, keenly stimulated such practices. Other British and Scottish towns and cities offered national-civic testimonies which

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<sup>3</sup> Houston, *Social Change in the Age of the Enlightenment*, 45.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

could have a localised dimension. For example, in Edinburgh and Glasgow, such things as a desire to improve their built environment and the Radical War of 1819-20 provided more localised motivations. Periods of stress and uncertainty therefore encouraged such responses and the rhetoric conveyed clearly expressed how those in Edinburgh and Glasgow, especially their elites and middling sort, responded. National-civic testimonies forged cultural links between local and national identities and bound the cities, and its citizens, to wider events and causes. They project particular local attributes and national sentiments and are different from civic testimonies, the subject of chapter three, which, in their turn, affirm local loyalties, commitments and promotions but do so without the national references.

Both kinds of testimonies had audiences within as well as beyond Edinburgh and Glasgow. National-civic testimonies were more than an expression of national loyalty and civic pride, but they are closely bound up with a desire to project particular ideas about each of the cities. They are, therefore useful sources for the study of both national and civic identity, as well as the political aspirations of the elites and middling sort. This chapter affirms that by the 1840s, the elites and middling sort of Edinburgh and Glasgow, like elsewhere in Britain, had become practised communicators of such testimonies. This revealed something of how they perceived their cities, of their relationship with them and of their 'place' and 'contribution' to Scottish / British society and the 'nation' as a whole. In this sense, it adds to research already undertaken about how cities were viewed, but it does so with a specific focus on the discourse employed.<sup>5</sup> This is not to say that the rest of the population were disinterested or uninvolved bystanders in Edinburgh and Glasgow, but that the urban elites and middling sort were more vocal and successful, had the means and

opportunities to express their views and assert their opinions about their cities and the nation.

As the introduction to this thesis has already highlighted, the impact of the Enlightenment, the growth of civil society and the public sphere, changing ideas about citizenship, the advent of Romanticism and the ‘Gothic’, as well as the individual experiences of industrialisation and urbanisation in different cities, all contributed to shaping ideas about Edinburgh and Glasgow, Scotland and Britain. That class of society’s relationships with their towns and cities intensified after the 1830s and 1840s, particularly in response to social commentaries: ‘they were horrified and fascinated by larger industrial cities.’<sup>6</sup> Writing about their cities was one way for people to become engaged with them and provided them with a means to instruct others about their city’s pedigree, reputation, achievements and ambitions. It also offered some the chance to establish their individual sentiments about what was happening there and in society as a whole.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, Edinburgh and Glasgow’s national-civic and civic testimonies are important sources for what people thought about the impact of particular events of their lifetime, especially during times of stress and social upheaval. Much of the writing on Edinburgh and Glasgow before 1842 was from antiquarians, some of whom have been understandably dismissed by historians for their inaccuracies or mundane attention to detail. As a result of this, it is important to select sources critically and dismiss ‘a vast amount of descriptive and polemical

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<sup>5</sup> Clark, ‘Visions of Urban Community’ in Fraser & Sutcliffe, *The Pursuit of Urban History*, 105 – 125.

<sup>6</sup> Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 12.

<sup>7</sup> A. Lees, ‘Perceptions of Cities in Britain and Germany 1820 – 1914,’ in Fraser & Sutcliffe, *The Pursuit of Urban History*, 151 – 167.

writing.’<sup>8</sup> This chapter attempts this by critically assessing only those examples which portray national-civic testimonies.

Yet, some authorities have found in them more valuable indicators about reactions to urban change and social upheaval. Asa Briggs, in particular, identified two kinds of civic writing that provide a useful model for the present study. Firstly, and as the civic histories have shown, there were the antiquarians who sought to ‘give cities long pedigrees.’ Presumably, the antiquarians extended the idea that the towns and cities were rooted in the past and therefore had ancient associations and credibility on the Scottish or British national historic platform.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, Briggs highlighted the ‘boosters’ pens, who marked out their town’s future and reflected the concerns and influences of their time. Both antiquarians and ‘boosters’ can be found in Edinburgh and Glasgow’s national- civic and civic testimonies. They also support the notion of concentric-loyalties, which Christopher Smout, among others, has already established.<sup>10</sup> If one accepts the idea that ‘by 1750...most “thinking Scots” were prepared to perceive themselves as both British and Scottish in a way that was positive and unproblematic, such national-civic and civic testimonies are better understood. Some of the rhetoric expressed ideas that extend Graeme Morton’s notion of unionist-nationalism and shows that it predated the 1830s in that the experience of some in Edinburgh and Glasgow saw their ‘place’ and ‘contribution’ to British society within a pro-Union and pro-Scottish vein.<sup>11</sup> Other ideas are closer to the kind of Britishness

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 151 – 167, 153.

<sup>9</sup> Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 50.

<sup>10</sup> Morton, *Unionist - nationalism*, 16.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 18.

Linda Colley has suggested and who explained that ‘identities are not like hats. Human beings can and do put on several at a time’ is supported here.<sup>12</sup>

This and the next chapter, therefore, extend the ideas of Brigg, Smout, Colley and Morton in that national-civic and civic testimonies were an articulation of antiquarian and ‘booster’ ideas about national and civic pride and in that they also offer a deeper understanding of their commitment to ideas about national and civic identity. Briggs suggested that for antiquarians and ‘boosters’, ‘the civic pride which they demonstrated is just as interesting an urban phenomenon as the social problems of the city which have captured most attention from general historians.’<sup>13</sup> Others, such as Richard Rodger and Joanna Herbert, also contend that ‘oral sources can aid a deeper and richer understanding of the experience of urban life.’ However, Rodger and Herbert are also concerned that, among other problems, ‘oral testimonies are essentially based on what people decide to tell.’<sup>14</sup> In this instance, those who left national-civic and civic testimonies are useful additions to the interpretation of studies on the impact of nation, locality and their relationship in a Scottish-British mould but they are not without their limits.

Of course, there were earlier examples of efforts at such local and local-national commitment. In Scotland, the medieval period witnessed how the elites within the burghs formulated religious and royal testimonies which furthered their beliefs, commitments, pride, and loyalty, not only to their burghs but to successive popes and monarchs. Many of them were early national-civic testimonies, within a Scottish context. Such testimonies from within the Scottish Roman Catholic Church and dated

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<sup>12</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 6.

<sup>13</sup> Morton, *Unionist – nationalism*, 52.

<sup>14</sup> R. Rodger & J. Herbert, *Testimonies of the City: Identity, Community and Change in a Contemporary Urban World*, (London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007), 3, 8.

from the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. These were fundamental in establishing and fabricating ideas about Scotland's ancient claims of independence.<sup>15</sup> The impact of the Reformation also saw those in burghs, like Dundee and St. Andrews, express their separateness and declare their pride and duty to their town, the Scottish 'nation', as well as the new reformed religious ideology.<sup>16</sup> The National Covenant also fostered examples of this.<sup>17</sup> Yet, with the establishment of parliamentary Union in 1707 and the House of Hanover in 1715 and especially after the Jacobites were defeated in 1746, Scotland's and England's elites settled down into a relatively stable period that saw new concentric loyalties emerge. Other challenges cemented their relationship, including the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. According to Linda Colley, many elites and middling classes reasserted their loyalties to the union, to Britain and to each others' shared religious convictions in response to such events.<sup>18</sup> By the 1840s, then, there were many different kinds of writing and commentaries which suggested other kinds of national-civic and civic testimonies. Whether such literature was written by antiquarians or 'boosters', the images conveyed in this writing were largely positive and progressive and were in keeping with the concerns of the age of 'improvement' into the early nineteenth century, when Romanticism and the 'Gothic' movements took greater hold. Most of the evidence for national-civic testimonies considered here are almost universally positive accounts and this can be explained by the fact that they were published accounts and were therefore conveyed in the public arena. It would be interesting for

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<sup>15</sup> E.J. Cowan, 'Identity, Freedom and the Declaration of Arbroath' in Broun, Finlay & Lynch, *Image and Identity*, 38 – 69.

<sup>16</sup> M. Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, (London: Pimlico, 1992), 198.

<sup>17</sup> See D. Stevenson, *The Covenanters: the National Covenant and Scotland*, (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 367.



further research to examine whether the private correspondence and reflections contained similar or a more critical account of the idea of national-civic testimony.

Most of the national-civic testimonies, as with the civic testimonies, stemmed from members of Edinburgh and Glasgow's middling, commercial, industrial, and professional groups. They included merchants, journalists, lawyers, ministers, other university-trained men and professionals, as well as lord provosts and other members of the town councils. Edinburgh and Glasgow occupied fairly compact geographical spaces before 1750 and many of these people would have known each other, attended university together, worshipped in the same Kirk parishes, and even worked and lived within close proximity of each other.

Other cultural factors at work in this period brought such people into closer contact and in the new critical arenas that emerged for their discussions, including clubs and societies, coffee houses, and the growth in newspapers and other kinds of magazines, many of which took on a decidedly political tenor. Arguably such meetings were among like-minded individuals, with shared interests including, similar religious, economic, and political experiences. Peter Clark articulates that this encouraged their greater efforts at political change, but also, in the context of the social debates on cities, greater cultural recognition for themselves and their towns. In Scotland, this was particularly the case as 'Scotland's cities were large enough to foster a cosmopolitan urban culture, yet small and homogenous enough to sustain an unusual degree of camaraderie and social cohesion among men of letters.'<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Clark, *British Clubs and Societies* as quoted in R. Rodger & R. Colls, *Cities of Ideas- Civil Society and Urban Governance in Britain, 1800 – 2000*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 9.

<sup>19</sup>A. Murdoch & R.B. Sher, 'Literacy and Learned Culture,' in T.M. Devine & R. Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland, Volume I, 1760 -1830*, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishing Ltd, 1988),127 – 143,131.

The national–civic and civic testimonies are therefore to be viewed as exercises within the public sphere, where they furthered ideas about commitment, loyalty, pride, and attachment to their cities as much as to their ‘nation’. Arguably, local identity was as important as Scottish or British identity.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the elites and middling sort worked together to achieve a particular goal, as Stana Nenandic argues:

At certain moments in time, in response to significant events or circumstances which posed threats to their political or property interests, or generated pride in their achievements, there can be little doubt that the middle classes in Glasgow, as elsewhere, did articulate a strong sense of collective interest.<sup>21</sup>

The elites and middling classes presented themselves in the garb of concerned citizens and in doing so, portrayed themselves and their cities as the nation’s, or sovereign’s, most ardent supporters. One explanation for this kind of posturing is clearly political as Edinburgh’s *Proposals* of 1752 and c. 1790 reveal. Another example is the case for the campaigns for local and national political reform, as it was this section of society which, along with the emerging working and industrial classes, had been excluded from the political process before 1833. Therefore, the elites and middling sort had much to gain from reform, both before and after 1833 and if their national–civic testimonies could further their cause, then so much the better.

Enfranchisement was forthcoming for much of the wealthier, middling classes after the first Reform Act of 1832 and the Burgh Reform Act (Scotland) in 1833. For Colley, it came at just the right time. She argued that the middling sort presented particular qualities and characteristics as a means to claim access to fuller citizenship

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<sup>20</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 1.

and there is certainly evidence for this in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Her evidence suggests that in this, many different groups within Britain worked together before 1833 and from Scotland, England and Wales to campaign for reform.<sup>22</sup> Common goals were achieved through collective action and the furthering of shared values could be rewarded.

Contemporaries campaigned on national platforms that may have reflected a unified middling sort with shared values, as others have argued how this social group was ‘invented’.<sup>23</sup> Among the evidence for this, Clark cites the M.P. Charles Buller, who had argued in favour of an extension of the franchise before 1832 and who identified the middle classes as ‘the possessors of the wealth and intelligence of the country (and) the natural leaders of the physical force of the community.’<sup>24</sup> By 1835, Clark argues ‘the invention of middle class values’ was almost complete and was best conveyed by Robert Peel, who argued about their ‘qualities of diligence, of the love of order, of industry, of integrity in commercial dealings.’<sup>25</sup>

Edinburgh and Glasgow’s middling sort asserted something of these values in their national–civic and civic testimonies. They promoted distinct ideas about citizenship and about how moral, respectable, cultured, industrious, and loyal Edinburgh’s and Glasgow’s citizens were. This was also something that contributed to wider debates about citizenship, and about the role of civil society, as well the values or challenges

<sup>21</sup> S. Nenandic, ‘The Victorian Middle Classes’ in Fraser & Mavor, *Glasgow, Volume II*, 265.

<sup>22</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 336.

<sup>23</sup> G. J. Crossick, *The Lower Middle Classes in Britain, 1870 – 1914*, (London: Croom Helm, 1977); R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: the Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds, 1820 – 1850*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); T. Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750 – 1850*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>24</sup> C. Buller, *On the Necessity of a Radical Reform*, (London, 1831), 19, as quoted in Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 394.

<sup>25</sup> R. Peel, *Speech of Sir Robert Peel, Bart, delivered at Merchant Tailors’ Hall, 11<sup>th</sup> May, 1835*, 8th edition, London, 1835, p.9, as quoted in Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 404.

of cities at the time.<sup>26</sup> Contemporary ideas about citizenship were devised from classical republicanism, the Enlightenment and from the influences and impact of the American and French Revolutions, as well as the burgeoning British Empire. This continued after parliamentary and burgh reform and after 1833, when efforts were renewed and further amendments to the political system were called for, finding focus in the Chartist campaigns of the 1840s.

Edinburgh's and Glasgow's published national-civic testimonies drew on anything that promoted and celebrated their city and, by extension, themselves and their 'nation'; whether Scottish, or Scottish-British or British. All of this was, at times, intentionally designed to increase people's awareness of their cities' greatness and to further their individual and collective ambitions. All of this becomes clearer when examining some examples of national-civic testimonies. Such writing fostered ideas that the elites and middling sort were particularly valuable citizens who contributed to society and in whose cities were the foundations of the nation's progress. Recognitions for such efforts, then, were repeatedly demanded by Edinburgh and Glasgow from Parliament in London.

#### *The built environment and improvements*

One area that instigated national-civic testimonies was Edinburgh and Glasgow's built environment and their plans for development. The two cities' projects were presented as national undertakings that would be of benefit to the British nation as a whole. Of

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<sup>26</sup> Coleman, *The Idea of the City in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 6, 8.

course, behind such rhetoric it was hoped that some funding would be forthcoming, as in the case of Edinburgh's *Proposals* of 1752 and c.1790.

From the second half of the eighteenth century, Britain's towns changed. Citizens' aspirations, aesthetic fashions and historic influences were at work and showed that, in part at least, 'the objective in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and 19<sup>th</sup> century cities was not a balanced, comprehensive plan but a narrower policy - the fulfilment of the desire of the privileged minority to live in elegant surroundings.'<sup>27</sup>

Edinburgh and Glasgow embarked on ambitious building projects, including extensions to their royalties and other particular architectural endeavours that provided the elites and middling sort with new kinds of accommodation and which saw much public and commercial buildings and thoroughfares emerge.<sup>28</sup> This was part of a wider movement within Britain and Europe which saw many places plan new urban expansion, public spaces and erect monuments and statues as well as introduce improvement acts that were designed to improve the everyday experience of those who lived there.<sup>29</sup> What allowed this to occur were several factors that included, as Thompson believes, the retreat of the aristocracy in Britain from the towns, with the exception of London, and so: this contraction of the aristocratic element in urban society and its near total concentration on the capital and just one of two other towns, in some ways left the stage open for the non-traditional, non-landed, upper middle classes to supply the dominant urban elites.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See Naismith *The Story of Scotland's Towns*, passim.

<sup>28</sup> See A. Gomme and D. Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow* (London: Lund Humphries, 1968); Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*.

<sup>29</sup> A.J. Briggs, *The Age of Improvement 1783 – 1867* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1959). Between 1785 – 1800, 211 local Improvement Acts, many of which were concerned with such things as better lighting, sanitation, water supply and market provisions, were passed, 46.

However, in Edinburgh and Glasgow's case, aristocrats still held some influence over the decisions in their towns. Among those who were involved in both of Edinburgh's *Proposals* of 1752 and c.1790 were the aristocrats, Gilbert Elliot of Minto and the involvement of Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville.

The middling sort of Edinburgh and Glasgow had as much an enthusiasm for national-civic testimonies. The slow retreat by the elites and the wealthier middling sort from their traditional medieval centres to new developed areas encouraged change within the urban fabric. Yet, despite this, many of the principal buildings associated with Edinburgh and Glasgow's older areas remained part of their urban scene until well into the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>31</sup> The eventual move, often westwards, to new areas and outlying suburbs, rather than their previous experience of communal living within the old medieval centres, changed their social cohesion but it did not always dislodge the psychological attachment to the historic areas and their cultural inheritances.<sup>32</sup>

The move westwards and southwards in Edinburgh and Glasgow was something that did not happen overnight, of course, as it took time to build and establish new areas, including Edinburgh and Glasgow's first New Towns. The 'age of improvement', therefore, impacted variously on the two principal Scottish cities and their architectural endeavours but it was intermittent, as the experience of the building of Old College in Edinburgh demonstrated. Ambitions for Old College were interrupted by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and periods of economic

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<sup>30</sup> F.M.L. Thompson, (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750 – 1950 Volume One: Region and Communities*, (Cambridge, 1990), 37.

<sup>31</sup> A. Lees & L. Holden Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe, 1750 – 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 16.

<sup>32</sup> C. McKean, 'Twinning Cities' in Edwards & Jenkins, *Edinburgh*, 42 – 63.

stagnation in its aftermath.<sup>33</sup> However, what both cities shared was an interest in projecting common architectural styles that had been appropriated from the Classical and Renaissance cities of the past. The elites and middling sort identified with these styles because of their experience of such things through education and travel. There were deeper philosophical reasons for adopting these styles as well. Ideas about cities like Rome and Athens had a profound influence on the elites and educated middling sort of the age.<sup>34</sup>

New civic identities reflected the penchant for the neo-classical, with Edinburgh mimicking Athens from the later eighteenth century in its Grecian monuments, such as the National Monument on Calton Hill, the Royal Institution and later the National Gallery of Scotland. The city's leading architects, Charles Robert Cockerell and his pupil, William Henry Playfair, were largely behind these designs but it was the city's elites that enabled them to come to fruition. Competitions were often held for the designs for public buildings, statues and monuments, with votes cast and the most popular choice decided upon. However, the inspiration and organisation, including the location and design and the raising of capital for these structures, were often decided by a committee of influential and important citizens who held sway over much of what happened. When Glasgow sought inspiration from the past, Venice was one of its templates, as well as ancient Greece and Rome. From the early nineteenth century, this can be seen in many of its public buildings, culminating in its masterpiece to the past in the form of the City Chambers, opened with much pomp and acclaim in 1888.

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<sup>33</sup> McKean, *Edinburgh*, 145.

<sup>34</sup> See Ayres, *Classical Culture and The Idea of Rome*; C. L. Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers* (New Haven, Yale, 1932).

However, this was not something that occurred instantaneously and, as much of the two cities' urban forms were not part of one design or general plan for the city, they should be viewed as more immediate responses to individual endeavours and investments and as responses to such things as population growth and commercial and industrial development. For such changes to occur, however, no matter what the ambition, regulations largely lay within the permission of the local town and burgh councils. Yet, some of their appeals, especially for boundary, or in Scotland, royalty extensions, lay within the auspices of Parliamentary control. In order to be successful, those behind Edinburgh's proposals orchestrated them as essentially national-civic testimonies. Edinburgh's proposals from the second half of the eighteenth century showed how some of their elites and middling classes employed particular political and cultural ideas about themselves, their cities and their nation in order to enlist the support of those who held power.

### *Edinburgh's Proposals*

#### *1752 Proposals*

The *1752 Proposals for Undertaking Certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh* were designed in response to similar proposals elsewhere. Dublin had already successfully approached Westminster for government funding. This encouraged those in Edinburgh to submit their *Proposals* to London in 1752. The *1752 Proposals* argued for a number of improvements to the city, including an extension to its royalty so that the city could be expanded with a new town area, new bridges to link the new area with the old, the granting of a new building for the merchants to trade in and also



a new depository for Scotland's legal and other important documents. To this end, the *Proposals* argued that any forthcoming improvements in Edinburgh were for the benefit for all in Scotland and Britain and were to be paid for from a 'national contribution.'<sup>35</sup> In this, the 1752 *Proposals* are clearly a national-civic testimony. In order to achieve success, the *Proposals* of 1752 flattered London and its aristocratic audience in Parliament. London, it was said, 'affords the most striking example...its healthful, unconfined situation...the beauty and convenience of its numerous streets and open squares...inspiring the whole population with the greatest ardour and emulation.'<sup>36</sup> In contrast to this, Edinburgh, despite being the second city of Britain, was presented as a city in a state of disrepair and how its geographic situation made for 'a great want to air, light, cleanliness, and every other comfortable accommodation.'<sup>37</sup> While most civic testimonies conveyed a largely positive image of the cities they were describing, sometimes the opposite was called for. The *Proposals* of 1752 were decidedly unflattering in their portrayal of Edinburgh and conveyed it in such a way as to engender embarrassment and action from their intended readership of aristocrats in London and Westminster. The *Proposals* had to do this in order to engage the sympathy of those who held political and financial power and to be shamed into aiding Edinburgh in its plight. The *Proposals* projected the idea that Edinburgh wanted to be another London and could only do so with help from those in the metropolis.<sup>38</sup>

Other language and methods of persuasion were also employed. Strong patriotic language was projected in the paragraph that praised the benefits of the Union of

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<sup>35</sup> Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, 9.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

Crowns and of Parliaments between Scotland and England in 1603 and 1707 and the final point left the readership in no doubt of the benefits to those who would come to Edinburgh's aid:

the leading men of a country ought to exert their power and influence...what can rebound more to their honour? What prove more beneficial to SCOTLAND, and by consequence to UNITED KINGDOM?<sup>39</sup>

Although it was noted that Union had benefitted certain parts of Scotland 'from trade and manufactures' but in Edinburgh, there was only 'stagnation' since that time and the adoption of the *Proposals* would help reverse this.<sup>40</sup>

Particular references were also made in respect of the proposals to Dublin, with which the Scottish capital had been vying for 'second city' status in terms of population and prestige throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Edinburgh's *Proposals* of 1752 demonstrated the Scottish capital's awareness of Dublin's status as 'another capital' and how it had benefited financially from Parliament. In this, those in Edinburgh were aware that Dublin had received the sum of some £45,000 towards the building of Trinity College in 1752, as well as a further £10,000 towards the cost of its police.<sup>42</sup> It was hoped that Edinburgh, as Britain's second city, would enjoy similar political and financial support for its projected civic projects including its 1752 *Proposals*.

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid,7-8,12.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 6, 8.

<sup>41</sup> Daiches, *Edinburgh*, 207. Daiches cited Edinburgh's population as 90,768 in 1801. However, Craig put Dublin in 1750 at 130,000; M. Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860*, (London, 1992: a reprint from 1952), 180.

<sup>42</sup> Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860*,180.

The language of the *Proposals* conveys these ideas and how a clever combination of suggestions resulted in political and financial support from Westminster and London. Included in an array of ideas was flattery to the nobility and to London. It was said that London:

affords the most striking example...its healthful, unconfined situation, upon a large plain gently shelving towards the Thames...the beauty and conveniency of its numerous streets and open squares, of its buildings and bridges, its large parks and extensive walks.<sup>43</sup>

The threat of the dangers of doing nothing to promote trade and by promoting the idea of a unified Britain, with London as the capital and the benchmark was furthered, and as the appeals were properly worded in this way they were successful. The document also encapsulates the ambitions of those who wrote it to re-create in Edinburgh a city worthy of Britain and on a par with other European cities such as Turin and Berlin.<sup>44</sup> One extract conveys something of the ambition of those in Edinburgh and their focus on the idea of helping the second city as a national duty:

Whoever is warmed with a sincere concern for the prosperity of his country, will cheerfully contribute to so national an undertaking...what can redound more to their honour? What prove more beneficial to SCOTLAND, and by consequence to UNITED BRITAIN?<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Youngson, 4.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 11-12.

Edinburgh's elites and middling sort were behind the proposals. These included the city's lawyers, university professors, merchants, and aristocrats. McKean explains the reasons why the *Proposals* of 1752 were successful and how the improvements were paid for from the revenues taken from exiled Jacobite estates. He lists details of those men involved in this set of proposals, including Dr. Webster, minister and author of the first Scottish census of 1755, Drummond, who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh six times, Adam Smith, professor of Logic at Glasgow University, and Gilbert Elliot Junior, Earl of Minto. McKean considers these men as 'modernisers', or Moderates or Whigs against those 'improvers', who sought to focus mainly on the Old Town.<sup>46</sup> Their particular 'view' of their city's 'place' within the pecking order of Britain in the later eighteenth century was, according to them, second only to London.

The acceptance of Edinburgh's *Proposals* of 1752 from London meant that a merchant exchange was erected, the lawyers got their library, an extension of the royalty was granted, bridges were built linking the south and west of the city, and a new depository for Scotland's and Edinburgh's records was completed. The city was also presented as loyal but one whose former status as another ancient capital and aristocratic centre showed it could be on a par with London and was therefore worthy of London's support.<sup>47</sup> The 1752 *Proposals* were therefore extremely successful in that all that was put forward was realised, though they were written with little attention to historical and factual truth.<sup>48</sup> However, it was the timing of these *Proposals* which contributed to their success, as Britain was not at war when they were submitted. In

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<sup>46</sup> McKean, 'Twinning Cities,' in Edwards & Jenkins, *Edinburgh*, 42 – 63, 44 – 45.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 5.; NLS NRR, RB.m.328, *Proposals for the erection of a new jail, of a Bridewell and a New College in the City of Edinburgh c. 1790* which originated as, 'A Letter to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas on the proposed improvements in the City of Edinburgh and the means of accomplishing them', (Edinburgh: D. Wilson, 1785), 1 – 47, 46.

<sup>48</sup> McKean, 'Twinning Cities,' in Edwards & Jenkins, *Edinburgh*, 45.

addition, money was available from exiled Jacobite estates to pay for them. Other proposals for improvement were not so fortunate.

### *1790 Proposals*

The 1790 efforts were permeated with ideas from those of 1752 as well as notions of pride and commitment to Edinburgh and the 'nation'.<sup>49</sup> The *Proposal for the erection of a new jail, of a Bridewell and a New College in the City of Edinburgh c. 1790* hoped to stimulate a similar positive response to those of 1752. Both sets of proposals consciously flattered London and Westminster and were styled in a suitably deferential tone towards those in the metropolis and the Government. Parliament's duty, they implied, was to come to Edinburgh's aid as the only other chief metropolis of Britain, especially because it was an ancient capital and home to other members of the nobility, which, its authors hoped, would have given it an immediate appeal.<sup>50</sup>

The *Proposals* of c.1790 also called for financial support, but this time the aim was for a jail or Bridewell, suggesting an increase in crime, or at least more awareness of this. The 1790 *Proposals* called for improvements to the city's university, but noted 'while the university is itself the boast of our city and our country, the buildings belonging to it are a disgrace to both'.<sup>51</sup> It was argued in these *Proposals* that the university was in desperate need of repair and that the number of students there now approached about one thousand.<sup>52</sup> Edinburgh's university, it was said, had been

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<sup>49</sup> Youngson, *Making of Classical Edinburgh*, 1-20.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 1-20, 10.

<sup>51</sup> 'A Letter to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas on the proposed improvements in the City of Edinburgh,' 1-47. Dundas was also reminded in this letter about the increasing student numbers at the University of Edinburgh, 3.

<sup>52</sup> A figure that roughly equates to modern research into the University of Edinburgh's student numbers in Anderson, Lynch & Philipson, *The University of Edinburgh*, 82-82. The figure of matriculated

founded without anything of the income that the colleges at Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews had received from their share of patrimony and landed estates set up at their foundations, whereas the *Tounis College*, dating from 1572 during the Reformation, did not benefit from the same land rights as those universities founded before this date.<sup>53</sup> Of course, these older universities were religious foundations and Edinburgh University was a civic affair, having being founded by the town council.

Moves to establish a jail and improve the university originally dated from at least 1785,<sup>54</sup> but nothing had been secured for it four years later. Influential men who had connections to the city and had attended the university were therefore enlisted to assist in this endeavour. Henry Dundas, Scotland's Lord Advocate and the government's manager within the country was approached in order to solicit support for these *Proposals*.<sup>55</sup> However, despite an appeal and rhetoric similar to those employed in the 1752 appeals, the proposals of 1790 were of limited success, with only £5,000 received this time.<sup>56</sup> Reasons for this lay with Britain's war with the American colonies which had put pressure on London's generosity. Any monies from the forfeited Jacobite estates had presumably already been expended. Therefore, no amount of appeal born of national-civic pride and flattery could compete with momentous events like this when Government resources were already stretched by war.

Given the tensions of the period, the 1790 proposals offered a salient reminder to London and Westminster of Edinburgh's sacrifice of its Parliament to create a more

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students is quoted in 1793 as 751, but the fact that not all students, especially those from the Faculty of Arts, matriculated may have put this figure nearer to the 1,000 mark.

<sup>53</sup> A Letter to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas on the proposed improvements in the City of Edinburgh,' 1 -47, 11.

<sup>54</sup> Youngson, *Making of Classical Edinburgh*, 122.

<sup>55</sup> See M. Fry, *Dundas Despotism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 134.

<sup>56</sup> Stevenson, *The Chronicles of Edinburgh*, 436.

united and stable kingdom. Edinburgh was again placed on a par with Dublin, (even though Ireland maintained its own Parliament from 1782), as the following extract identifies, and confirms it as a national - civic testimony, conveying commitment to Edinburgh, Scotland and Britain:

this work would benefit...as a national undertaking. The City of Edinburgh, the metropolis of an ancient kingdom differs in no circumstance of consideration from London or Dublin but the want of a Parliament...In short it is the residence and resort of the first peoples of the kingdom and daily advancing in magnitude...While magnificent national works in London and in Dublin have been erected at the expense of the Public, and by the most liberal assistance from the Government, Scotland has had no favour of that kind since the union with England, excepting the Register Office, nothing has been demanded on behalf of North Britain or its Capital...<sup>57</sup>

The 1790 proposals were also deliberately presented in an altogether cautionary tone and argued that aid was required for Edinburgh's civic plans to build a jail in order to maintain citizens' safety. Recent events may have also stimulated this when, following attempts at Roman Catholic relief, an anti-Catholic riot broke out in Edinburgh in 1779, in a prelude to the Gordon Riots in London in 1780. Both events showed that the dangers facing the two metropoli were not dissimilar.<sup>58</sup> The *Proposals* of c.1790 played on Government and people's fears about the 'mob' in light of these recent events. Apart from the anti-Catholic tensions, the proposals of c.1790 were also

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<sup>57</sup> NLS, NRR, MS354A, Melville Papers 71, *Proposal for the erection of a new jail, of a Bridewell and a New College in the City of Edinburgh c.1790*. This appears to be in draft form among Melville's private papers.

<sup>58</sup> J. F. McMillan 'Mission Accomplished: The Catholic Underground', Chp. 6, 90-106 in T.M. Devine and J. R. Young *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999).

offered up to Parliament in the immediate aftermath of the outbreak of revolution in France and in light of the storming of the Bastille in July 1789. The inclusion of sentences that described Edinburgh as it 'swarms with idle and profligate youth of both sexes' and that 'the magistrates and citizens daily experience that a toleration of these vices are the sources of the crimes and misdemeanours which distress society'<sup>59</sup> must have had some additional resonance with those in power at the time and though it does not fit with the image of the classical city, it still conveys the desire to create a peaceful and prosperous place where education and law prevail.

Therefore, the *Proposals* of 1752 and those of c.1790 served several purposes: they reminded the government of Edinburgh's position in the kingdom, as against other cities. They highlighted how loyal Edinburgh's citizens were and the sacrifices they had made. They argued for the need for providing the nobility and other elites, including those from the middling sort, with appropriate security, accommodation, and an appropriate higher educational establishment for their sons. These *Proposals* appealed to central government and can be considered as an effective national-civic testimony. There were limits to their success, however, as it was not simply the basis of their tone and language which was considered but they were also very dependent on particular political and economic conditions at the time. The final drafting of the c.1790 *Proposals* sums up all the ideas considered above and puts the case forward why Edinburgh's improvements required support:

Let it be remembered, that when, by the Union, the seat of our National Government was removed from Edinburgh, it lost what alone had made it a great city: that, from its situation,

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McMillan noted that Edinburgh took the lead from similar rioting in Glasgow, 90. For an account of the Gordon Riots see G. Rudé, *Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Collins, 1970).



and various other circumstances, it can never be the seat of manufacturers. Nor of great commerce, nor consequently of such wealth as these alone can bestow; but that it is still the seat of the General Assembly of our National Church, and of the Annual Convention of our Royal Boroughs, and of several Boards for managing the different branches of the Public Revenue. Or, these faint shadows of its former dignity be not thought deserving of attention, let it be considered, that it is still the seat of Law, and the seat of Learning; that it is the place of education the most esteemed in Scotland, and one of the most esteemed in the world; and that it is the favourite residence of most of our countrymen, who, by their station, their education, their sentiments, and their manners, are qualified to form an elegant and rational society, and to enjoy the sweets of it.<sup>60</sup>

The letter argues with some prejudice, therefore, that, Edinburgh had lost the parliament and the court so it could no longer compete on these bases alone, nor could it vie on the basis of its commercial transactions. There were some hints in this letter, then, at developments within Glasgow and Dublin, and an awareness of growth in other commercial and industrial British cities, which is why it argued for a more competitive edge for the city in order for it maintain its 'place' within the Scottish and British arenas. One way to achieve this, then, was through improvements in architecture and the built environment and the letter, of course, deliberately appealed to Henry Dundas, not only as an influential man of law, aristocracy and government, but as an Edinburgh man who was a former student of its University.

Edinburgh's improvements meant that, even if not all the money was forthcoming from London, the city achieved fame in respect of its New Towns, its neo-classical

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<sup>59</sup> NLS, NRR, MS354A Melville Papers 71,105, *Proposal for the erection of a new jail, c.1790*.

<sup>60</sup> NLS, NRR, R.B.m., *A Letter to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas on the proposed improvements in the City of Edinburgh and the means of accomplishing them* (Edinburgh, 1785), 46, 'Pamphlets on Edinburgh politics,'328.

forms such as Calton Hill, and its fortunate topographical setting. However, bankruptcy by 1833 effectively put paid to the dream of a complete classical city, as the reality of the cost of creating one had set in.<sup>61</sup> Despite this, some still viewed Edinburgh's improvements as a reflection of greatness of the city and the nation and believed, 'where all things, however presently grand, serve only to impress one with a sense of growing greatness of the Scottish capital; the which I trust may be fairly viewed as typical of that of the whole nation'.<sup>62</sup>

However, not everyone was content with the city's civic ambitions and cautioned against further public burdens so not everyone were as convinced of national-civic testimonies.<sup>63</sup> At times, however, national events unified Edinburgh society and directed them from such woes. One such example of this was the visit by George IV to the Scottish capital in 1822. The event triggered more national-civic testimonies from amongst Edinburgh's elites and middling sort and confirmed the city's ambitions to re-establish its place as a 'national metropolis'.<sup>64</sup> The event also showed, as chapter four argues, how by the 1820s Edinburgh as no longer simply a second city as had been portrayed in the 1750 *Proposals* but the city was a national capital in its own right. The impact of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars encouraged this move towards a more confident civic identity for Edinburgh and showed how cities like

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<sup>61</sup> Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, 262.

<sup>62</sup> P. Rooney, 'Impressions of Edinboro', *Blackwoods Magazine*, Vol. XXXI, Jan-June (Edinburgh, May, 1832), 787.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, Questions were raised about who should pay for improvements, such as the *Considerations submitted to the Householders and Shopkeepers of Edinburgh on the Nature and Consequence of the Edinburgh Improvements Bill* from 1827 laid out and objected to plans for speculation to the west of the Castle and St. Giles that required a bridge to built along the south ridge of Castle Rock to the Lawnmarket, 177 -182.

<sup>64</sup> I. Duncan, 'Edinburgh, capital of the nineteenth century,' pp.45 – 65 in J. Chandler & K. Gilmartin, *Romantic Metropolis: The Urban Scene of British Culture, 1780 - 1840*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 48.

Edinburgh and Glasgow fostered ideas about the ‘nation’ and about their ‘place’ within Scotland and Britain.

### *French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*

The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars also engendered national-civic testimonies. Some historians have argued how these Wars, in particular, furthered the idea of Britishness and there is evidence that the two cities did this in their written accounts of it.<sup>65</sup> One poem, written about Edinburgh in 1805, during the Napoleonic Wars, but after Trafalgar, heralded Edinburgh’s contribution to the fight and it also promoted the city’s improving environment.<sup>66</sup> In this sense, the poem praised Edinburgh’s contribution to Britain’s war efforts and that, because of this, it was continually improving. The reality, of course, as has already been argued, was somewhat different. These wars had interrupted building work in Edinburgh, notably that of Adam’s University buildings. Glasgow also produced such patriotic poems at this time. One Glasgow poet, William Harriston, who had had fought in the Napoleonic Wars and in Ireland and who had wrote of his experiences with much pride had, on his return to Glasgow recalled in one testimony to the city: ‘though scenes far distant from my native town, I joy’d whenever I heard fair Glasgow nam’d, and for her great commercial spirit fam’d.’<sup>67</sup> In such ways, civic testimonies were also conveyed.

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<sup>65</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 318 - 319.

<sup>66</sup> *Address to Edinburgh or An auld wife's visit to the new town of Edinburgh; and Verses on Esk Water.* (Edinburgh, 1805). Appendix G

<sup>67</sup> W. Harriston, *The City Mirror; or Glasgow in miniature-a series of descriptive poems, containing a review of some of the characteristic features of the city of Glasgow*, (Glasgow, 1824), 15.

Even after victory was assured in the French Wars, national-civic and civic testimonies emerged, as one Edinburgh guidebook, published in 1817, demonstrated. It extended the idea that during the wars there was a tremendous level of support for the nation from within the city:

The municipality and the most respectable of Edinburgh (with the exception of some misled individuals) from the commencement of the French Revolution have steadily supported the measures of the British government... They have cheerfully supported the great burdens rendered necessary by a war... so glorious in its final results.<sup>68</sup>

However, efforts to downplay any suggestions that the city was anything but resolutely loyal to the nation's cause did not hide the fact that Edinburgh had seen the first Scottish Society of the Friends of the People formed there and that it had been prone to disturbances, notably during the King's Birthday Riot in June 1792.<sup>69</sup> In light of these events, some elites within the city strove to rebuild Edinburgh's reputation, citing such things as the numbers of loyal citizens ready to take arms against the nation's enemies.<sup>70</sup> Those in Glasgow were no different in their efforts to project ideas about their loyalty and stability, as the example of the Radical War showed.

### *The Radical War of 1819-20*

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<sup>68</sup> *The Stranger's Guide to Edinburgh, containing a history and description of the city, with a particular account of its civil and political establishments and a sketch of the country in the vicinity of Edinburgh*, (6th Edition), (Edinburgh, 1817), 182.

<sup>69</sup> H. Fraser, 'Patterns of Protest,' in T.M. Devine & R. Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland, Volume 1, 1760–1830*, (Edinburgh: John Donald Ltd, 1988), 289 – 292, 283; See Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution*.

Glasgow also provided its national-civic testimonies, such is shown by the following extract, which deflected bad press about the city during the Radical War and was designed to restore its reputation by reassuring those on the outside, and especially those in power, of its loyalty and commitment. The city's Town Council proclaimed its national-civic allegiances during the height of the 'Radical War', which affected many urban centres across Britain, but especially acute in the west of Scotland.<sup>71</sup> The city was under especial scrutiny for the threatened radical disturbances there at the time and its faithful addresses to the King and Parliament attested to how its citizens were all law-abiding. The appeals were sent because the Town Council was keen to show that it was in control of the city,<sup>72</sup> even though research has revealed this to be more nuanced.<sup>73</sup>

In the atmosphere surrounding the build-up to Peterloo, in August 1819, as well as the radical rising in Glasgow, in April 1820, one letter also uncovers something of the nervous tensions felt by some at the time. One Edinburgh lady, writing in late December, 1818, feared that radical ideas from Glasgow and the west would soon spread there:

entreat that by telling me...that none of you have died of fright of the Radicals. When we were kept in such consternation last week...The newspapers were so cautious, that they mentioned nothing, but bare facts, so that every scope was left for every exaggeration and conjecture, and people really seemed like children telling ghost stories round the fire to

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<sup>70</sup> E. V. MacLeod, 'A City Invincible?: Edinburgh and the War against revolutionary France,' *British journal for eighteenth-century studies*, v.23, no.2, Autumn 2000, 153-166.

<sup>71</sup> J.F. McCaffery, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1998), 22.

<sup>72</sup> GML, Monteith correspondence, G.1.2.12, 'Letters of Henry Monteith, Lord Provost of Glasgow and Archibald Campbell', the letter from Lord Sidmouth attested to the fact the loyal address had been laid before the King and he was pleased, 25<sup>th</sup> February, 1820.

<sup>73</sup> Whatley, *Scotland 1707 – 1830*, 308-309.

delight in terrifying and alarming each other. The day the troops were all marched out of the Castle for the west, our neighbour Mary, Lady Clerk, as she styles herself, came in, absolutely weeping with the agitation the poor old lady was in, and I have no doubt, at the moment she fancied her head upon a pike, like the other nobles during the French revolution...<sup>74</sup>

The letter echoed something of the recent fears about the mob, the Terror of the French Revolution and the fact that some guidebooks and accounts of Glasgow had painted it as an unstable city. By contrast, Edinburgh's relatively peaceful nature was projected in literature. Victory over France and Napoleon had apparently not stopped some from panicking about a radical takeover and even a revolution closer to home. Lord Henry Cockburn, a Whig lawyer, who wrote a popular account of his childhood in Edinburgh recalled the unsettling time but noted that all was quiet and peaceful in Edinburgh, unlike in the west. He commented that,

Edinburgh was as quiet as the grave, or even as Peebles; yet matters were so managed, that we were obliged to pass about a month as if an enemy had been drawing his lines round our very walls. The only curiosity in the affair now is the facility for spreading panic.<sup>75</sup>

Fear of revolution encouraged civic testimonies like this and some citizens, like Cockburn stressed their city's loyalty to the established order and to the nation. In fact,

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<sup>74</sup>GCA, TD1/1142/1, Edinburgh, December 20<sup>th</sup>, 1819 Letters 1817-20, Letters from Miss Grant to Mrs McCall of Ibroxhall.

<sup>75</sup>H. Cockburn, *Memorials of his time*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), 363-4.

Edinburgh had taken part in Chartist activities and was one of the main centres of the Radical Association but both these facts were downplayed in such civic testimonies.<sup>76</sup>

### *Conclusion*

National-civic testimonies were heavily influenced by their immediate historical context and local circumstances. Yet, they were concerned with maintaining an appropriate civic and national reputation. In light of all of this, they were often devised to project a particular individual or group's viewpoint and further their ambitions. They were much more than simple national-civic lauding, then, as the examples from Edinburgh and Glasgow above showed. Whether it was vying for financial support from Westminster for Edinburgh's *Proposals* or maintaining claims of loyalty during War and periods of social unrest, such as during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and in the Radical War, Edinburgh and Glasgow sought to portray themselves as loyal to Scotland, Britain and as stable as any other Scottish or British city. Of course, something of this was part of the expected rhetoric of the time, but there was also a concerted desire to promote Edinburgh and Glasgow within a Scottish-British context. It was also a desire to raise the national profile of these two cities among the people who read them. As Chapter Four argues, the building of monuments, erecting of statues and royal visits also carried overtones of national-civic testimonies and they are further examples of the preponderance of such rhetoric in the period. In contrast to the national-civic testimonies, civic testimonies were focused in

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<sup>76</sup> A. Wilson, 'Chartism in Glasgow,' in A. Briggs, (ed), *Chartist Studies* (London and Basingstoke, 1959), 250, 249 - 288.

their meaning and sentiments on Edinburgh and Glasgow and they conveyed the significance of these two cities above others in Scotland and Britain.



### Chapter Three: Civic testimonies

Aberdeen has not only the benefit of a keen wit and word sharpening air, it is much more metropolitan, and has been longer metropolitan than any other town in Scotland. The Modern Athens is but a thing of yesterday compared with it...Glasgow wants taste.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike national-civic testimonies, which were concerned with linking civic pride to national loyalty, many civic testimonies carried as much pride and attachment to a particular place as the example above. This was often achieved at the expense of other cities and may even appear ridiculous to modern eyes. Many of Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic testimonies carried as much a degree of prejudice and pride as the example for Aberdeen in 1833. Civic testimonies also reveal (as much as national-civic testimonies) the political and cultural perspectives of those who had penned them, when and why. Civic testimonies were as much a part of the elites and the middling sorts' rhetoric during this period as their national-civic testimonies. In this sense, they reflected contemporary preoccupations and showed how some 'boosters' sought to promote particular images and ideas about their two cities. Among the many concerns of Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic testimonies in the period 1750-1842, were efforts to further the call for parliamentary and burgh reform. Although, these were, by definition, national-civic testimonies, the demands for political reform could often arise from specifically local issues. Therefore, these demands were sometimes expressed primarily in local, civic terms. They also show how the Town Councils attempted to counter-argue such appeals. Civic testimonies could therefore carry specific arguments.

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<sup>1</sup> ECL, YAP 4, E23M, B2656, Vol. 1, No. 20 Saturday September 21st, 1833, 21, *The Edinburgh Magazine*.

Those who wrote civic testimonies, from among the elites and middling sort, are as revealing a phenomenon as when they were written. Consideration of the civic testimonies' context helps explain something of Edinburgh and Glasgow at the time, as well as why particular civic rhetoric was used. The Town Councils were especially prone to such activities in the period, as their civic testimonies were employed to instil ideas that they were the cities' natural protectors and the ones most likely to defend their civic and national reputations. Glasgow Town Council's responses during the Radical War of 1819-20 has already highlighted this and Edinburgh Town Council, too, instigated similar kinds of civic and national-civic testimonies. However, only when someone, or some other interested party, was engaged in defending, promoting and portraying claims of pride and loyalty to the two cities could they be construed as civic testimonies. An example of this came in the aftermath of the hanging of Robert Johnstone in Edinburgh in December 1818.

*Robert Johnstone's hanging in Edinburgh, 1818 and political reform*

The period had numerous public executions but one, in particular, was used to berate Edinburgh's Town Council. The public hanging of the carter and convicted thief, Robert Johnstone, in Edinburgh on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1818 was carried out against a backdrop of economic distress and social tensions in the build-up to the Radical War in Scotland. Christopher Smout calls the period 1816-20 'particularly dangerous' and permeated with much public protest and radical activity.<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh's Town Council's

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<sup>2</sup> T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830 – 1950*, (Glasgow: William Collins & Sons, 1990), 233.

employed the language of civic testimony to defend its decisions and to respond to the overtly political references to contemporary reform activities that were contained in some of the discussions surrounding Johnstone's hanging.

Edinburgh Town Council responded to charges of poor conduct following the bungled hanging of Johnstone. The rope which was used to hang Johnstone was too long and the young man of 24 was left on his tiptoes while he suffocated in front of a large crowd, many of whom were said to be sympathetic to him. The assembled crowd shouted and threw stones at the executioner and the magistrates. They managed then to cut down Johnstone and take him away before the 88<sup>th</sup> Regiment from the Castle was called to return the thief though he was barely alive, and then completed his sentence by hanging with a rope of the correct length as to expediate his death. The Town Council was subsequently criticised by, among others, *The Scotsman* and *The Reflector* newspapers for causing a near-riot to occur following the prolonged hanging. This was due mainly to his tall height and the relative shortness of the rope. His prolonged agony, it was claimed, only served to increase the crowd's displeasure. Many perceived the event as an act of cruelty on the part of the Town Council. *The Times* also covered Johnstone's hanging and compared it to the Porteous Riot of 1736 and commenting that: 'it was one of the most disgraceful scenes that ever took place in the city.'<sup>3</sup>

Some in the newspapers argued that the city fathers' conduct only strengthened calls for political reform. The campaign for burgh and parliamentary reform intensified from at least the 1760s, and was heightened in the aftermath of victory in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. In fact, appeals for reform originated

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<sup>3</sup> *The Times* (London, England), Tuesday, Jan 05, 1819; pg. 3; Issue 10562.

much earlier than the 1760s but the Wars' impact underlined such campaigns,<sup>4</sup> with local newspapers, magazines and pamphlets becoming overt arenas for debates over reform.

Town Councillors in Edinburgh made use of these media to reply to claims of their mismanagement of the Johnstone affair, as well as to retort to those on a reform platform. The Councillors published a defence of their actions which argued that the mob had prevented them from carrying out their duties. Their response also showed more than a passing concern for the city's reputation. Such a defence of the Town Council's actions should be construed within the context of a civic testimony, operating within the public sphere.<sup>5</sup>

The Edinburgh magistrates played directly to many people's deep rooted fears by enlisting the idea of the mob. The tract also informed its readers that the world was watching what was happening in Edinburgh; arguing that it was important to maintain a respectable civic reputation for the city. The pamphlet also served as a guarded reminder to those in Edinburgh about their civic responsibility towards supporting their magistrates and to do so, despite any differences they held regarding the current political status quo. The appeal was a clear example of a civic testimony aimed at promoting loyalty to the city, expressing a concern for its reputation, both now and in the annals of history, as was the wont of many such 'boosters,' while marrying this to feelings of loyalty towards the Town Council, who were projected as the natural guardians of the community:

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<sup>4</sup> See McCaffrey, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*; also J. Cannon's *Parliamentary Reform, 1640–1832*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

<sup>5</sup> See Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere*.

when good men would have looked on in silence, to commit that which will blacken the inhabitants of the city of Edinburgh, both at home and at distance, as an uncivilised, an unchristian, and an unthinking mob...that while you treat your Magistracy with contempt, you countenance the commission of unheard of crimes...Citizens! This is not the time to start about party-feelings, not to quibble about insignificant points; but you should consider, that the transactions of the day *must* be recorded in the pages of history...<sup>6</sup>

In this, Edinburgh's citizens were being called on to defend their city's respectable civic veneer which, it was argued, must be maintained above all other concerns in such uncertain times. It was in this manner that ideas about the city, civic duty and, in this instance, the role of the Town Council's expectations of support from its citizens.

In contrast to Edinburgh's Town Council's action in the period prior to the Burgh Reform Act (Scotland) 1833, Glasgow's town councillors appeared more adept at repelling pleas for reform and were more successful when it came to maintaining their position as a self-perpetuating oligarchy.<sup>7</sup> However, other concerns about the political status quo also emerged in some of Glasgow's civic testimonies. Many of these lamented the fact that the city had no Member of Parliament following the Union of Parliaments in 1707. The Union had granted Edinburgh its own Member of Parliament, but it left Glasgow sharing representation with three other satellite burghs. However, by the 1820s, Glasgow had a more extensive population than Edinburgh's, and the city's commercial and industrial successes were considered among some of the main reasons why the city should have its own Member of Parliament. One guidebook

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<sup>6</sup> *Address to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh or the outrages committed on the 30th December and the statement in various publications regarding the conduct of the civil power by Amicus Veritatis Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1819).

<sup>7</sup> Maver, *Glasgow*, 21, 25.

from 1812 captured some of these attitudes and also the way the city perceived its place and lack of political representation:

It is to be regretted that the third city in the Empire for wealth, Population, commerce, and enterprise has no more than this paltry political right, and is obliged to club with these insignificant villages in the election of its representatives, to the grand council of the nation.<sup>8</sup>

Glasgow eventually received its own parliamentary representation after the 1833 Reform Act (Scotland) and McCaffrey has argued the civic testimonies played some part in the success of the campaign.<sup>9</sup>

Both cities' civic testimonies, therefore, allowed those from within, as well as some of those from outside the cities' formal political life to have some political influence within their communities. Moreover, following limited political reform in 1832 and 1833, civic testimonies remained a vital link thereafter in the campaigns for further political reform. William Miller argued that since the Reform Act, 'Glasgow and Edinburgh have not only tended to support different parties and expressed their rivalry in nakedly geographic, as well as ideological terms.'<sup>10</sup> Other historians concur with Miller's findings and have shown that throughout the first half of the nineteenth century there is evidence that, in Glasgow, Whig and liberal views were largely, (but not exclusively) favoured.<sup>11</sup> Edinburgh's limited electorate favoured more aristocratic,

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<sup>8</sup> Chapman, *The Picture of Glasgow*, 151.

<sup>9</sup> McCaffrey, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, 25.

<sup>10</sup> W. Miller, 'Politics in the Scottish city 1832 – 1892,' 180, in G. Gordon, (ed), *Perspectives in the Scottish City*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985), 180 –211.

<sup>11</sup> Maver, *Glasgow*, 143.

landowning, Tory and Conservative concerns.<sup>12</sup> The ongoing aristocratic influence was somewhat reflected in both cities' Lord Provosts, who were often imposed by influential aristocrats in this era. Some of these Lord Provosts also became Members of Parliament for the two cities, with the aristocrats retaining some interest in their election. Of course, even if Edinburgh and Glasgow differed in respect of their political and economic focuses, there is more than an element of cultural competition and this also emerged in their civic testimonies. Discussions of their respective civic identities, in particular, as well as their perceived 'place' in Scotland and Britain were apparent in them, as was the influence of the past.

### *The influence of the past*

Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic testimonies portrayed their identities in cultural terms. From the second half of the eighteenth century, the neo-classicism and then, in the first half of the nineteenth century, Romanticism and the 'Gothic,' inspired new identities for Edinburgh and Glasgow just as they did for other British cities and towns.<sup>13</sup> Renaissance cities such as Florence and Venice provided good templates for British cities and showed how a union of commerce, culture and a desire for political autonomy appealed.<sup>14</sup> For London and other British cities, including Edinburgh and Glasgow, the city of ancient Rome was one of these ideal places and it was used by their elites and the middling sort as an example of how strong political and military

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<sup>12</sup> I. G. C. Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland 1832-1924, Parties, Elections and Issues*, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1986), 8, 14.

<sup>13</sup> See T. Hunt, 'Civic thought in Britain: c.1820 – c. 1860,' (University of Cambridge D.Phil thesis, 2000).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

leadership could build an Empire with the values of a republic. This was an especially potent inspiration for those in London who were marvelling at the expansion of the British Empire and the successes of the British Navy and the East India Company at the time. In contrast, Edinburgh settled on Athens for its preferred model from the later eighteenth and into the early nineteenth centuries as it complimented its topography and the good reputation of the city's university and its intellectual community. Other British cities like Liverpool sought out Florence for their ambitions in the second half of the eighteenth century,<sup>15</sup> while Glasgow preferred itself as the 'Venice of the North,' a reference which appeared in some of its literature in the second half of the nineteenth century, in particular.<sup>16</sup>

The elites and middling sort drew some these ideas from the 'Grand Tour' and their classical education. Architects and artists realised these ambitions. The Classical and Renaissance past was particular fodder throughout this period, as it also provided an escape from the realities of life in emerging industrial towns and in new kinds of urban spaces. This past also conveyed potent messages about what it meant to be a member of such a community, a citizen, and also about what cities should represent. Adam Ferguson articulated something of these ideas in the later eighteenth century and suggested the benefits of civil society.<sup>17</sup> Education had also contributed to this with its strong emphasis on classical education in the burgh grammar schools. The works of

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<sup>15</sup> A. Wilson, 'The Florence of the North? : the civic culture of Liverpool in the early nineteenth century' in Kidd and Nicholls, *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism*, 34-46; P. Lucas, 'Second in Time, Place and Value' delivered at the Second Cities Symposium, University of Glasgow, May 2004, (unpublished), University of North Carolina at Greensboro; *Glasgow Herald*, 19 October 1832, as quoted in McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow*, 125.

<sup>16</sup> *Stratten's Glasgow and its environs- a literary, commercial, and social review past and present with a description of the leading mercantile houses and commercial enterprises. With illustrated and descriptive tour of the highlands*, (London, 1891), 8; MacKenzie, 'The Second City of the Empire,' in Driver & Gilbert, *Imperial Cities*, 215 – 238, 217, 218, 221.

<sup>17</sup> A. Ferguson, *An essay on the history of civil society* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), passim.



Aristotle and Socrates were still taught in Scottish universities at this time and they too inspired the drive towards the notion of good citizenship.<sup>18</sup>

By the second half of the eighteenth century, however, the study of commerce and other disciplines, including history, reflected changing attitudes and experiences, especially in Glasgow.<sup>19</sup> This may explain why Venice was eventually considered a more appropriate example for that city.

### *Edinburgh's civic identities*

Partly as a result of the influence of the past, Athens was adopted as a recognisable model for Edinburgh. This was not only because of the physical similarity,<sup>20</sup> but also because it was considered a great centre of intellect, boosted by the Enlightenment.<sup>21</sup> Literary works also encouraged comparisons. The idea of Edinburgh as a Northern or Modern 'Athens' was particularly encouraged in some of its civic testimonies. By modelling itself rather pretentiously on that celebrated ancient centre of influence and intellect, Edinburgh also basked in the associated antiquity and glory of a politically independent city from another time. However, Edinburgh had lost its Parliament in 1707 and by the 1820s the city was even ridiculed for the on-going comparison.<sup>22</sup> Not all, then, accepted their city's projected civic identities and internalised it. Some others, however, supported the ideas put forward about their city. Thomas H.

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<sup>18</sup> See D. Allan, *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2002).

<sup>19</sup> D.J. Witherington, 'Education and Society' in N.T. Phillipson & R. Mitchison, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 169-199, 174.

<sup>20</sup> See Allan, 'The Age of Pericles in the Modern Athens', *The Historical Journal*, 44, 2, (2001), Cambridge University Press, 391-417.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> R. Mudie, *The Modern Athens; A Dissertation and Demonstration of Men and Things in the Scotch Capital. By A Modern Greek.* (London, 1825).

Shepherd's *Modern Athens*, a series of drawings on Edinburgh, first published in 1829 in London, marked a concerted effort by him, not only to profit from the popularity of his city's adopted Athenian civic title, but also to offer an enduring civic testimony to it. Shepherd summed up Edinburgh as a city of history, of beauty, of importance, and as unrivalled within Britain and Europe. This civic testimony encapsulated the idea that Edinburgh, with its physical landscape, was also a natural place and not fabricated, so it also fitted into the moral debates about cities, their benefits and limits, or against those of the countryside.<sup>23</sup> Something of this idea is demonstrated here:

But Edinburgh owes at least as much to nature as to art, as is one of the few large collections of the works of man in full accordance with the scenery around: one whose situation may be supposed to have been selected with a happy prescience of what art would add and ages accumulate, and in whose striking features every moment of human greatness mingles with a magnificence yet more unquestionable and enduring.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, by projecting Edinburgh in this way, those in the city also knew by the 1820s that they could not compete economically or demographically with Glasgow, so other positives, including its fortunate topography, intellectual and literary focus and historic claims, were mustered to ensure that London and others took notice. This is why many writers in Edinburgh consciously maintained the notion of Athens throughout the nineteenth century. Tremendous efforts were expended in order to

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<sup>23</sup> Coleman, *The Idea of the City in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 4.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

reach this goal, notably the building of the National Monument and the festivities during the visit of George IV in August 1822.<sup>25</sup>

The social differences between Edinburgh and Glasgow and their competing civic identities encouraged their rivalry and emerged in some of their civic testimonies. This also explains why Edinburgh's civic testimonies often referred to the city's capital status, its royal, historic and intellectual pedigree, as much as its claims to Athens and why much was made of Edinburgh Castle, Holyrood Palace, and the city's University, which were lauded throughout Edinburgh's civic testimonies. As early as 1806, most guidebooks argued that, 'in point of external elegance and grandeur, Edinburgh is generally allowed to excel every other city in Europe.'<sup>26</sup> By the 1870s, a claim that, 'every true Scotsman believes Edinburgh to be the most picturesque place on the world',<sup>27</sup> sums up how some in the city felt, and the degree to which this had become the prevailing civic identity in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Civic confidences and insecurities, then, were wrapped up in Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic testimonies and also revealed the levels of purported conceit towards each other and other places. A letter to a Glaswegian publisher, possibly from Mr. McLaren, the radical politician and editor of *The Scotsman*, consolidated some of the ideas posited above that:

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<sup>25</sup> See Duncan, 'Edinburgh, capital of the nineteenth century' in Chandler & Gilmartin, *Romantic Metropolis*, 45-65.

<sup>26</sup> *Picture of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1806), 66. Other guidebooks similarly boasted of this, *A Strangers' Guide to Edinburgh: containing a history and description of the city, with a particular account of its civic and political establishments*, (London, 1807), 144.

<sup>27</sup> J. Middlemass, *A Guide to Edinburgh and neighbourhood*, (Edinburgh, 1871), 10. Interestingly, the guide keenly argued that, Edinburgh, though not a city of industry, was a city nevertheless, 11.

as a publisher you must certainly not have Glasgow on your title page if you can help it your town is not yet known in the literary world - tho' as in punch and other good things it only requires to be known to be valued..<sup>28</sup>

There was something in McLaren's comment, as Glasgow's publishing houses were not yet as successful as Edinburgh's by the early nineteenth century, but the tone remains one of humour and condescension.<sup>29</sup> Edinburgh's printing and literary fame extended from the sixteenth century when it first received a royal warrant for printing. By the mid-1700s, Edinburgh was well established as a publishing and printing centre, which was continued by William Smellie, the editor of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and publisher of the poetry of Robert Burns. Into the early nineteenth century, the *Edinburgh Review*, from October 1802, and *Blackwood's Magazine* were founded and fostered political debates and encouraged further publications. Whether the advice to omit the word 'Glasgow' from the title page of the publication reflected this Edinburgh man's friendly advice, or whether he could not help but remind his Glaswegian friends that was a literary backwater in comparison with Edinburgh remains unresolved.

Another later example of this from a letter, written in early 1856 to Duncan McLaren by Joseph Smith (a former Lord Provost of Edinburgh) was more forthright and summed up the extent of Edinburgh's civic identities by teasing Glasgow with notions of the capital's superior, historic and royal character. It also clearly demeaned those who lived in the city of the west:

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<sup>28</sup> GCA, TD68.2, Literary correspondence with several eminent persons during the years 1826-1840, Edinburgh, 20th January, 1828, 24.

<sup>29</sup> Hook & Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, 12 – 13. Edinburgh's printing and literary fame extended beyond the days of William Smellie, the editor of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the poetry of Robert Burns. Into the early nineteenth century *The Edinburgh Review*, from October 1802, and *Blackwood's Magazine* fostered political debates and encouraged further publications, as quoted in Daiches, *Edinburgh*, 171 - 172.

the Glasgow people are generally considered vulgar therefore I am not surprised you found them so.<sup>30</sup>

Tensions continued between some in the two cities, especially after 1850, when some Edinburghers, who may not have wanted to appear jealous of Glasgow's commercial successes, betrayed their deep-seated resentment of the 'second city'. A speech by the prospective Lord Provost of Edinburgh, James Cowan, while campaigning in the 1870s, was carried in *The Courant*, a Tory and Established Church of Scotland newspaper (published in Edinburgh until 1886). His comments betrayed how little he thought of the more Liberal and commercial city of Glasgow, by invoking his city's pedigree as against that of the city of the west:

When I think of this town of Edinburgh, being the capital of Scotland, to which all eyes in Scotland more or less turn for guidance, for tone, and for example. We are no new city sprung up into opulence and wealth by manufacturers; but we are inheritors of ancient fame, a fame which shall never die.<sup>31</sup>

Edinburgh's later civic testimonies, then, though still mindful of Glasgow's successes, echoed these tones. Further attacks on Glasgow were forthcoming, overtly challenging the city's claims as a place of culture, and consciously separating it from Edinburgh, which, it was touted, was a place of relaxation, refinement, and education.

Middlemass' guide revealed how some in Edinburgh viewed the larger, commercial and industrial cities like Glasgow and Birmingham:

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<sup>30</sup> NLS, MS 24782, 185ff, .87, 1st March 1856 letter from Joseph Smith to Duncan McLaren.

<sup>31</sup> *Courant*, 9th November, 1872.

Edinburgh is less a place of manufacturing activity than the majority of modern cities, and the impression of repose it creates suggests ideas of culture, rather than of rough-handed industrial life...there are few cities which offer equal advantages for stimulating the intellect, educating the taste, and enlarging the heart...<sup>32</sup>

Some in Edinburgh also warned of the dangers of large cities like Glasgow, as one guidebook from 1850 suggested. Given the recent economic slump and the accompanying Chartist disturbances, especially in Glasgow, its readers were reassured that Edinburgh was a much gentler place, where only the wealthy and quiet citizens resided. It was noted that as 'it had no very extensive manufacturers, the city is exempt from those sudden mercantile convulsions of so much misery in many other of the great towns of the kingdom'.<sup>33</sup> This was echoed in other literature and during particularly trying times.

Civic testimonies, therefore, may have considered the cities' strengths, excellences, and comparative positives but they also unveiled something of their vulnerabilities. In better economic times, Edinburgh's luxury goods were a point of pride, as a guide from Edinburgh in 1834 argued. It was also recorded after the intermittent slump that had followed the end of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and the commentary showed that cities like Edinburgh, with a limited manufacturing and trading concentration of luxury items, including cabinet making, carriages, and shawls suffered greatly, particularly as they were in competition with other important cities like Paris.<sup>34</sup> With an obvious nod to cities like Glasgow, it said that: 'Edinburgh is not dependent upon ship building, commerce, or manufacturers, with the single exception

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<sup>32</sup> J. Middlemass, *A Guide to Edinburgh and neighbourhood* (Edinburgh, 1871). The guide argued that although Edinburgh was not a city of industry, it was a city nevertheless, 10.

<sup>33</sup> *Black's Economical Guide through Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1850), (4<sup>th</sup> Edition), 6.

<sup>34</sup> See D. Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris* (California: University of Berkeley, 2002).

of shawl-weaving, for which it is unrivalled.<sup>35</sup> It also added that the Scottish capital's historic and educational prowess made it superior to all others. Such kinds of conceit in the civic testimonies ignored the realities and revealed the vulnerabilities that Stana Nenadic refers to in her article comparing the earning and spending power of those in the two cities.<sup>36</sup> The above examples from Shepherd, MacLaren, Smith, Cowan, Middlemass and *Black's Economical Guide* and *Pollock's New Guide* all can be construed as varying examples of civic testimonies. They promoted Edinburgh over other cities, and implicitly Glasgow, they sometimes explicitly repeated particular ideas about the Scottish capital that contributed to its changing identities and they revealed the extent of the jealousy felt over developments in Glasgow. Of course, civic testimonies also uncovered Glasgow's changing civic identities and how some there responded to Edinburgh's status.

### *Glasgow's civic identities*

Some of Glasgow's earlier civic testimonies and its visitor accounts from the second half of the eighteenth century showed it was concerned with rivalling Edinburgh for its architectural beauty. However, by the first half of the nineteenth century there was a sense of promoting Glasgow as a place of success in commerce and industry, as well as an emphasis on its growing population, both of which contributed to its unofficial claims as Britain's 'second city.' At the same time, there is some evidence for an

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<sup>35</sup> *Pollock's New Guide through Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1834), 15.

<sup>36</sup> S. Nenadic, 'Domestic Consumers and Domestic Cultures in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720-1840', *Past and Present*, No.145 (Nov 1994), 122-156.

emphasis on the city's historic foundations and the cultural benefits to be wrought by wealth. Unable to compete with Edinburgh's astounding topographical and picturesque qualities, Glasgow focused on its other attributes. There was, however, an awareness of how large cities were perceived, which also explains why those in Glasgow promoted their place as one of culture as much as that of the city of the east.

Civic testimonies also appeared in guidebooks. One from 1827 articulated something of Glasgow's strengths and thought that the city closely resembled London, suggesting that Edinburgh was no longer the British capital's only benchmark. Glasgow was a place of work and industry and not simply one of beauty:

Glasgow has a manifest advantage over the metropolis; though for the same reason it falls short of it in bold and picturesque grandeur... a miniature of the great metropolis of the British Empire.<sup>37</sup>

Some of Glasgow's civic testimonies consciously struggled to compete with the 'Athens of the North' and promoted other positives, including the practicality of its modern form and how its Venetian temples of commerce and industry were a feature for pride and cultured veneer. Moreover, Glasgow's self-proclaiming as the 'second city' of Scotland, Britain and later, and controversially, as 'the second city of the Empire,' only to be compared with London, meant that it could easily dismiss Edinburgh's Athenian and picturesque qualities.<sup>38</sup>

Glasgow's city fathers had allowed as much speculating and building work as Edinburgh but the various extensions to its royalty during the first half of the

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<sup>37</sup> *Glasgow Delineated*, (1827)3, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Fraser & Maver, *Glasgow Volume II*, 2, Introduction.



nineteenth century betrayed something of its obsession with population and the associated difficulties. The city had failed to address the problem of adequate and healthy housing for its burgeoning population. The associated social problems were being noticed by those outside as well inside the city. Edinburgh was also not without its problems and this meant that it was as much derided as Glasgow.<sup>39</sup> Through it all, the elites and middling sort in Glasgow were still proud of the city's commercial and industrial successes and adopted a more imperial identity to Edinburgh's 'national' identity. Glasgow was an emporium that reflected how the city competed beyond the confines of Scotland, Britain and Europe as the nineteenth century wore on.<sup>40</sup>

The advent of statistics also benefitted cities like Glasgow and furthered civic ambitions. Civic testimonies employed them in their claims to show Glasgow's numerical superiority. Though aware of Edinburgh's capital city status, one later example from a Glasgow guide of 1860 still outflanked Edinburgh in this respect and captured the extent of its civic identity at the time. The guide was keen to remind its readers that Glasgow was not without some historical and picturesque qualities:

as Edinburgh, the political capital of Scotland, is the memorial of much of its past history and the type of its intellectual culture, GLASGOW, its commercial capital, is the emblem of its business activity and the vast material and mechanical progress characteristic of the present time.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> See M. Flinn (ed.), *Edwin Chadwick's Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain by Edwin Chadwick 1842* (Edinburgh, 1965) in Devine & G. Jackson, *Glasgow, Volume One*, 404.

<sup>40</sup> MacKenzie, 'The Second City of the Empire' in Driver & Gilbert, *Imperial Cities*, 215 – 238.

<sup>41</sup> *Oliver & Boyd's Scottish tourist Guide to Glasgow, and its neighbourhood and Lanark, the Falls of Clyde, and the watering-places of the Firth of Clyde, with plans of the city and six engravings on steel* (Edinburgh, 1860), 1.

Such ambitions to become Scotland's commercial capital were long-held ones, as the first edition of the *Glasgow Advertiser* demonstrates. Later known as the *Glasgow Herald*, the newspaper noted in 1783 that the city was 'the foremost commercial city in Scotland'.<sup>42</sup> Glasgow's claims to being the 'Scottish commercial capital' did not end there and further claims as 'the second city of Britain' argued that it had outdone other larger commercial and industrial cities, including Birmingham for the 'title'.

From as early as 1812, *The Picture of Glasgow*, which was dedicated to the merchants and people of Glasgow, claimed that it was:

... now placed in the conspicuous and honourable position of the SECOND CITY within the British Isles.<sup>43</sup>

There were those in the city who had pushed the limits of these claims even before people started referring to Glasgow as the 'second city of Scotland' from the 1730s<sup>44</sup> The city's growth was unprecedented and not beyond notice even today.<sup>45</sup> Testimonies to Edinburgh and Glasgow's competing civic identities and rivalry can also be found in the writing of prominent citizens who, in their turn, were also offered some recognition from the two cities for their efforts at promoting and instilling pride in them.

*Robert Reid, James Cleland, Henry Cockburn, Robert Chambers and James Begg*

### Robert Reid

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<sup>42</sup> *The Glasgow Herald: 150th anniversary edition, 1783 - 1933*. GCA, TD 445/1 (4) N. 1 issue, Monday January 27th, 1783.

<sup>43</sup> *The Picture of Glasgow*, (1812), preface.

<sup>44</sup> McUre, *A View of Glasgow*, 1.

<sup>45</sup> Maver, *Glasgow*, 28.

The good citizens, then, were those men and women who had offered some service to Edinburgh and Glasgow, be it in their work, writing, and the examples of their public service. They included members of Edinburgh and Glasgow's Town Councils, but also writers, intellectuals, artists, and journalists, with some singled out for special civic celebration that included dinners, ceremonials, the posthumous unveiling of statues, all to honour their services. At some time, all of them had contributed civic testimonies. Among those who promoted Glasgow in this way was the journalist, Robert Reid (aka *Senex*) (1773–1865). Reid was a merchant, antiquarian, and journalist who wrote his reflections of life in Glasgow in his youth which were later published in *The Glasgow Herald*. Reid was also author of *Old Glasgow* published in 1864, when he was 91 years old. Of Edinburgh and Glasgow's rivalry, he had said in the 1850s that, 'I would take up resolution to defend Glasgow out-and-out on my return against everyone who would venture to give Edinburgh a preference.'<sup>46</sup> His civic pride was not in doubt, then, and Reid was rewarded for his civic labours with a dinner in his honour which celebrated him, as much as it did the tremendous growth and achievements of Glasgow within his lifetime:

When Reid was born in 1773 the population was about 46,000...now it is ten times greater, being upward of 400,000. There were only about ten streets...now there are more than five hundred streets...only one bridge...now three...no pavements, no street lamps, no police, no water companies, only one newspaper, no barracks...only ten churches...now there are one hundred and fifty churches.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> J. Pagan (ed.), *Glasgow Past and Present embracing loose memoranda on Glasgow subjects* (Glasgow, 1856), 383-393.

<sup>47</sup> NLS, MS2675, 'Letters between the father of John Irving, who worked in the Herald Office and James Buchanan,' 136, u.d.

The final point adhered to here about the number of churches contributed to is yet another kind of civic promotion for Glasgow at the end of the nineteenth century, when many civic testimonies portrayed it as in essence a Christian city.<sup>48</sup>

### James Cleland

Apart from Reid, other positive civic testimonies about Glasgow came from James Cleland in the early nineteenth century. Cleland's work in promoting Glasgow, especially through statistics contributed to justifications of the city's claims to be the 'second city,' first of Scotland and then of Britain. From the late 1700s, statistics were one of the newest tools used to promote the cities, as Edinburgh and Glasgow's OSA showed. From 1801, the Government conducted a census every ten years amid fears of population growth and triggered by the need to establish how many eligible young men were available for military service during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.<sup>49</sup> In Glasgow, Cleland's role was to gather data for the 1831 census. At this time, Cleland had recently been made a Fellow of the Statistical Society and a Member of the Civil Engineers in London. The 1831 census findings of 1821 confirmed that Glasgow's population had overtaken that of Edinburgh's. His statistical endeavours for Glasgow and his role as Superintendant of Public Works were recognised in a dinner held in his honour in 1842. A testimonial to Cleland was also published. Prominent Glaswegians recorded that:

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<sup>48</sup> B. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820 – 1920: with a comprehensive list of the Scots and Americans who created the connection*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), 147.

<sup>49</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 289-90

It is well known that to Dr. Cleland's exertions Glasgow is indebted for many of its improvements, and that his unwearied and gratuitous Statistical Labours have shed a lustre on this City which few others can boast of.<sup>50</sup>

As was the form on such civic occasions, other influential Glaswegians and Scots paid tributes to Cleland. They included Dr. Thomas Chalmers, the minister who had encouraged some of the church-building programme and who would later instigate the Disruption of 1843, and Thomas Telford, the celebrated engineer. Aristocrats and other elites also oversaw affairs at such times. In this instance, the Duke of Hamilton spoke and reaffirmed his noble connections to Glasgow and the Reverend McGill, who had served Glasgow as a minister for some seventeen years, also thought that. 'I can scarcely conceive a man more devoted to the best interests of Glasgow than he'.<sup>51</sup>

Cleland's works in this included the *Annals of Glasgow*, which had been published in 1816, the year after victory in Europe and in it was carried much of his sentiment that 'Glasgow is a great commercial and manufacturing city'.<sup>52</sup> However, despite recognition and rewards, even good citizens fell foul of contemporary events and politics. Cleland paid the ultimate price for his Tory sympathies in the Liberal city of Glasgow when he was ousted after the First Reform Act. However, this did not prevent him from organising celebrations for Robert Peel's election as Rector of Glasgow University in November 1836. Men like *Senex* and Cleland had more than enthusiasm for Glasgow and were eager to paint a positive veneer on such things as the consequences of great economic changes. Arguably, it was perhaps more

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<sup>50</sup> *Testimonial to Dr. Clelland*, (Glasgow, 1834).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> J. Clelland, *Annals of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1816), Two Volumes, 1.

convenient and more the practice to laud the number of one's bridges than the number of one's paupers in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

### Henry Cockburn

Not all who praised Edinburgh and Glasgow were as positive in their civic testimonies and some even offered criticisms of certain events. Sir David Dalrymple, 'an improver,' lamented the changes to Edinburgh's cityscape and the abandonment of the Old Town, and, like Cockburn, 'parodied the Proposals word for word, to argue that if the Old Town had problems, they should be remedied.'<sup>53</sup> In the 1820s, the circuit judge and Whig, Henry Cockburn, wrote of how Edinburgh was a city superior to all other cities, however, he was a vocal critic of the city's improvements.

Cockburn's *Memorials of His Time* were written in the 1820s when many of Edinburgh's plans in the New Town area were being realised. The book was an autobiography and a backward glance at life in the Scottish capital in the second half of the eighteenth century. Cockburn saw Edinburgh as, 'the Queen of the North', yet in *Memorials* he also railed that 'there were more schemes, and pamphlets, and discussions, and anxiety about the improvements of our edifices and prospects within ten years after the war ceased, than throughout the whole of the preceding one hundred and fifty years.'<sup>54</sup> Cockburn also expressed an obvious pride in Edinburgh in *Memorials* but he too mourned the impact of the loss of Court in 1603 and Parliament in 1707, as others had done. Despite this, he believed Edinburgh remained 'the chief

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<sup>53</sup> McKean, 'Twinning Cities' in Edwards & Jenkins, *Edinburgh – The Making of a Capital City*, 45.

<sup>54</sup> Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*, 86.

seat of (Scotland's) influence'.<sup>55</sup> When discussing the building of Parliament House in 1640, Cockburn conveyed the idea that public spirit and civic pride were of paramount importance to Edinburghers but that not all of the decisions were worthy reflections of its status and glory as a capital and place of history.

One of the ways Cockburn also communicated his strength of feeling about Edinburgh in his civic testimony was through employing biblical references. He likened his civic ambition to make the Scottish capital another fertile city of the Israelites, 'a city of Goshen'. As with other civic testimonies, Cockburn set Edinburgh first among other cities, even London<sup>56</sup> and *Memorials* carried something of his political argument for reform of Parliament at the time.<sup>57</sup>

### Robert Chambers

Robert Chambers, originally from Peebles, was sent to Edinburgh with his brother, William, as apprentice booksellers when young boys and they became successful printers and later served on the Town Council. Robert wrote a number of popular antiquarian accounts, including many about his adopted city. *Traditions of Edinburgh*, first issued in 1824, was re-published the following year in two volumes, and that was followed by *Walks in Edinburgh*, the same year *Traditions* was published. Some of his commentary about the city was serialised in local magazines and much of his work is evidence for civic testimony. Like Cockburn, however, Chambers mocked something of Edinburgh's modern and improving ways:

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 107.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 107, 213, 470.

The Edinburgh of the present day is not the Edinburgh of the past generations; it has walked out of town, it has taken to gadding and finery. It is like a good old gentleman of the old school who has suddenly become fond of modern tastes and modern fashions.<sup>58</sup>

Writing in the 1820s, when Edinburgh's first New Town was all but complete, Chambers recalled how unceremoniously the city had grown. In this, Chambers' account contrasts well with Reid's and Cleland's, who were both proud of the way Glasgow had developed and showed how Edinburgh's identity was rooted in its history and not its modernity. Chambers' position on Edinburgh's improvements carried into his second edition of *Traditions of Edinburgh* when he lamented, in true Whiggish and humorous tone:

Edinburgh by-and-by felt much like a lady who, after long being content with a small and inconvenient house, is taught, by the money in her husband's pockets that such a place is no longer to be put up with.<sup>59</sup>

However, not all shared Cockburn and Chambers' views about Edinburgh's improvements in their civic testimonies and were as vocal in their criticisms about what was happening there.

Another example of the subject-matter of Chambers' civic testimonies was his congratulations on Edinburgh's literary focus and the fame of the city's university. This was something that others had already done and would continue to do in their efforts to secure a positive impression of Edinburgh and secure its rightful position

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<sup>58</sup> *The Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. 1, July 1st - October 19th, 1833, 57.

<sup>59</sup> R. Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh* (1868), 4-5.



amongst other British cities. By the early 1800s, the University of Edinburgh, in particular, had gained a well-deserved reputation, but the University of Glasgow was not without some notice either.<sup>60</sup> Those in Glasgow who boasted about their university and its celebrated individuals pitched their claims against the Scottish Capital's. It was said by some that the city of the west enjoyed more academic freedom than at Edinburgh, which remained strictly under the control of the burgh council.<sup>61</sup> However, in Chambers' account, he was careful to heed current circumstances when he wrote in the 1840s that 'Edinburgh has long been celebrated as a seat of learning...the city, however, can scarcely be said to be at present in a flourishing condition.'<sup>62</sup> Chambers was not afraid to expose the reality of life in Edinburgh. In this, he was not alone, as guides and other civic writing also addressed the realities of urban life in the two cities as well as across Britain.

Chambers also sought to find some solutions to Edinburgh's problems in the 1840s and to counter concerns about the city's narrow manufacturing base by arguing that improved transport communications with the more successful city of Glasgow might help. Writing at the height of the European Revolutions and Chartist disturbances, Chambers lamented Edinburgh's limited economic focus but still looked encouragingly towards the west for some relief: 'as a railway has been formed between Edinburgh and the flourishing city of Glasgow, and as various others connected with the city are now in progress, it is hoped that it will soon be, in some degree, restored to its former glory.'<sup>63</sup> Chambers saw it as his civic duty to suggest

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<sup>60</sup> Hook & Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, passim.

<sup>61</sup> See Anderson, Lynch & Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh*; R.E. Emerson, 'Politics and the Glasgow Professors,' in Hook & Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, 24, 21 – 39.

<sup>62</sup> Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, (1848), 7.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

solutions to the city's problems and improvements, even if this meant cooperation with one's rival and commercial superior.

### James Begg

Other Edinburgh contemporaries were even more disapproving about how the New Town was developing and over the city's lack of concern for its poor. The Reverend James Begg, a minister and native of Edinburgh, argued in his civic testimony for the right of all to have access to Edinburgh's Princes Street Gardens. Writing in the later 1840s, at the same time as Chambers, James Begg raised an interesting observation about the changing nature of citizenship and how Chartist activities and social reform campaigns had impacted on ideas about cities and the people within them:

there can be no public spirit except on the basis of admitted public rights...men care little about contending for beauty unless they can call that beauty their own; and the principle is applicable to all wholesome public feeling of every kind.<sup>64</sup>

According to Begg, then, all should have the right to civic amenities like public spaces because it engendered civic pride and a sense of community. This showed how civic testimonies reflected wider social changes and how ideas about what a citizen was had changed. Those, like Begg, who agreed with such ideas, saw beyond the narrow confines of the perceived rights of the elites and middling sort, as expressed by those in the *Proposals* from the later eighteenth century. They represented a more

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<sup>64</sup> J. Begg, D.D. 'How to Promote and Preserve the beauty of Edinburgh with a few hints to the Hon. Lord Cockburn' (Edinburgh, October 24th, 1849), 6.

encompassing idea of citizenship that was awakening in response to the impact of democratic ideas and the broader idea of citizens as ‘inhabitants of a city’. Begg knew that the wealthier middling sort had won the right to vote in national and local elections from 1833 and that they could afford the cost of living in the wealthier New Town areas but, for people like Begg, access to perceived communal spaces was for all who had a stake in the city.

Begg’s argument should also be examined in light of ideas about the benefits of public parks, something that was debated throughout the nineteenth century, and in that he advertised that in other cities all people including those within London, Paris and Brussels used public parks and that Edinburgh should have this as well.<sup>65</sup> He even evoked the civic pride that other Scottish cities had in their public spaces:

The people of Glasgow fight for their Green, and the people of Perth for their 'level Inches,' and one is left to blush when returning to Edinburgh, he finds little public spirit, because, whilst crushed down with unequalled local burdens, the people have little left.<sup>66</sup>

Changes and improvements within the cities, then, undoubtedly fostered civic testimonies, both positive and negative, as the examples of Reid, Cleland, Cockburn, Chambers and Begg highlight. Some of the civic testimonies, however, were clearly blended within the individual’s political concerns in order to engender some change in the status quo. Further evidence of civic testimonies were contained in Edinburgh and Glasgow’s entries in the Old and New Statistical Accounts and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and other guidebooks.

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<sup>65</sup> I. Maver, ‘Glasgow’s Public Parks and the Community, 1850-1914: A Case in the Study of Civic Interventionism’ *Urban History*, December 1988, Vol.25 Issue 3, 323-347.

<sup>66</sup> J. Begg, ‘How to Promote and Preserve the beauty of Edinburgh,’7.

*Old and New Statistical Accounts, Encyclopaedia Britannica and the guidebooks*

A number of published innovations were witnessed in the period, which included the compiling of material for the *OSA* and *NSA* and the publication of editions of an *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Guidebooks, too, increased in number as demand required and as illustrated by the numerous editions of *Strangers' Guide*, *Black's Economical Guide*, *Glasgow Delineated* and also *Pollock's New Guide*. The *OSA* and *NSA* were the work of Church of Scotland ministers, which is reflected in their religious overtones, and were essentially descriptions of parishes across Scotland from the later 1780s and 1840s. The information contained in them was dependent on the compilers' skills and, as no clear guidelines were given about what level of detail should be contained in them, they are often limited and varied in content and focus. However, the *OSA* and *NSA* still provide some very useful insight into the parishes and Scotland in their time. The returns for the City of Edinburgh and of Glasgow clearly demonstrated more than a simple attachment to both cities, and the *OSA* and *NSA* also drew on earlier burgh histories to convey a deeper sense of civic pride and success in their parishes. For all of these reasons, even the chief compiler, Sir John Sinclair, warned of the danger of 'using documents as historical sources' at the time, much as John Wallace had done for visitors' accounts during the same period.<sup>67</sup>

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was first published from 1768-1771 and was largely edited by an Edinburgh scholar, William Smellie under the directions of Colin

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<sup>67</sup>*The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-99*, (Wakefield, 1975), introduction, as quoted in Cook, 'Visions of the Urban Community' in Fraser & Sutcliffe, *The Pursuit of Urban History*, 120.

Macfarquar, a printer, and Andrew Bell, an engraver. This alphabetical English language source was compiled partly in response to France's *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* from 1751-1772, which was edited by Diderot and D'Alembert. Examples from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*'s entries concerning Edinburgh and Glasgow from the first through to the eighth edition, in 1855, are considered below. All four sources, the *OSA*, *NSA*, guidebooks and *Encyclopaedia Britannica* considered the cities' positives and listed their celebrated famous citizens. The *OSA* and *NSA* entries, in particular, left Georgian and early Victorian, as well as later audiences, in no doubt of the important contributions made by such famous people connected to the two cities. Among them were included Adam Ferguson, David Hume, Robert Adam, Dugald Stewart, Robert Black, Adam Smith, James Watt, Walter Scott, and Archibald Alison, as well as other important figures and heroes from Scottish history such as William Wallace, Robert Bruce, and Mary, Queen of Scots.<sup>68</sup> Edinburgh's *NSA* entry turned its attention to the more recent past and listed the city's connections and tributes in the form of monuments to Lord Horatio Nelson, Robert Burns, and Sir Walter Scott.<sup>69</sup> By associating the city with these characters it reflected well on them.

Guidebooks also naturally carried positive accounts of Edinburgh and Glasgow, including the second edition of *Glasgow Delineated in its institutions, manufactures, and commerce, with a map of the city*, published in 1827, which carried a detailed listing of the University of Glasgow's famous graduates and teachers. Among those included were the sixteenth-century scholar, George Buchanan, the chemist, Joseph

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<sup>68</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1842), (7th edition), VIII DIA-ENG NLS EB15, 411 – 428, 411.

<sup>69</sup> *City of Edinburgh Second Statistical Account, Presbytery of Edinburgh Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*, known as *The New Statistical Account 1834 – 1845*, (Edinburgh: West Port Books, 1998), (July 1845), 45 – 210, 83, 84, 85.

Black, the medic, William Cullen, and the military hero, General James Wolfe.<sup>70</sup> It failed, however, to mention that both Black and Cullen had deserted the city's university in favour of Edinburgh's. The guidebook was published some six years after Glasgow had officially been recognised as Scotland's largest city, a point it keenly reiterated. Many of these personalities, as will be shown, came to be the reasons visitors ventured into Scotland and her two principal cities and therefore it is not surprising that frequent references to them were also made in their civic literature.<sup>71</sup> There were also suggestions of what their good citizens had achieved and they advertised and celebrated the work they had done to promote their cities.

#### OSA and NSA

It has already been shown how such literature conveyed particular ideas about the cities' connections to influential individuals. They also reflected other changes. The *OSA* was written at the very end of the eighteenth century and mirrored Glasgow's commercial growth in contrast to Edinburgh's literary prowess. The *NSA* continued something of this optimistic tone, as it was compiled in the fairly prosperous period of the 1840s before the crisis of 1846-47. It, too, projects supposed civic confidences, however, and other ideas, including the fact that Edinburgh and Glasgow were loyal and patriotic cities. Much attention in the *NSA* was afforded to Edinburgh, though Glasgow is heralded in it as an alternative great commercial capital. However, the *OSA* was not so detailed in its Edinburgh entry, something that has been lamented by one prominent Scottish historian, who concluded that the entry may begin with a useful

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<sup>70</sup> *Glasgow Delineated in its institutions* (1827), 3.

<sup>71</sup> ECL, YDA 1862, 807/ T72176, 139-144, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1842), (7th edition), 537.

account of the capital's demography but 'degenerates into a shamble of notes'.<sup>72</sup> In contrast to this, Glasgow's entry was more extensive and clearly designed to herald the latter city's growth and successes.

Volume VII of the Glasgow *OSA* entry also used previous Glasgow's civic histories by the merchants McUre and Gibson which again indicates their limits, as with any other primary sources which imposed the writers' concerns on its readership. Perhaps Edinburgh's *OSA* account was brief because it stemmed from a belief at that time that no other information was needed on so famed a city. If visitors felt it unnecessary to add any further description of the capital, with comments such as, 'Edinburgh has so often been described by other writers that it is impossible to say anything new on the subject, therefore the reader must by no means expect it', from the 1780s,<sup>73</sup> then why should her citizens now?

The capital appeared unconcerned with other Scottish cities in its *OSA* entry and this revealed something of the confidence there. It loftily compared Edinburgh with Rome, the ancient capital of the 'civilised' world and a concern amongst other British cities at this time.<sup>74</sup> The *NSA* entry also exposed more concern with the metropolis. London was therefore the considered yardstick for Edinburgh and, in relation to the former city's literary and publishing achievements it was thought that 'by degrees Edinburgh began to rival London as a literary and publishing movement.'<sup>75</sup> Incidentally, Glasgow's entries demonstrated as much concern with London.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> NLS, Melville Papers, MS 1080, 'Journal of a Tour in Scotland, 1789.'

<sup>74</sup> See Ayres, *Classical Culture and The Idea of Rome*.

<sup>75</sup> *The new statistical account of Scotland by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society of the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy, Vol. 6, Lanark*, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1845), 694. (Hereafter NSA).

<sup>76</sup> *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-99*, (Wakefield, 1975). (Hereafter OSA)

The Scottish capital's *OSA* entry also touched on the city's improvements, another of its common boasts. The entry contained three letters from the publisher, William Creech, who enthused over Edinburgh's improvements in the last twenty years and thought that, 'when the plans at present in contemplation are completed, Edinburgh will be the most beautiful and picturesque city in the world'.<sup>77</sup> Creech, like Chambers, was never more aware of the benefits of playing to an audience. Apart from the change in detailed content and concern with London, the tone of Edinburgh's *NSA* report was radically changed, spurred perhaps in response to Glasgow's extensive first entry, and this time it ran to one hundred and forty five pages. As with Glasgow's *OSA* entry, Edinburgh's *NSA* one was dependent on information contained in the city's earlier histories provided by the lawyers, William Maitland and Hugo Arnot. It also carried the city's Presbyterian and British patriotic tone and placed Edinburgh definitively at the heart of Scotland's historical progress from the Reformation until after the Union, demonstrating a suitably progressive Whiggish tone which was still enthusiastic on the city's improvements and which could be construed at times as decisively national-civic in its testimony.

The tone of Glasgow's *OSA* and *NSA* descriptions also mirrored the national-civic testimonies undertaken by Edinburgh's and ideas about Glasgow's loyalty, Britishness and Protestant values were projected. However, some differences still emerged between the entries for the two cities. Glasgow's *NSA* compilation, as with its descriptions in guidebooks around this time, focused, not on its historical inheritances, as Edinburgh had done, although this was hinted at, but as a city that was newer, more fashionable and successfully commercial than the 'other' Scottish metropolis.<sup>78</sup> Some

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, 21.

<sup>78</sup> *The Account of the Principal Pleasure Tours in Scotland* (9th ed.) (London, 1834), 120.



guidebooks had striven to establish this: ‘Glasgow is one of the most ancient towns in Scotland; but from the rapid increase and flourishing state of its trade and manufactures, it has risen from an inferior town to a spacious and elegant city, containing many public and private buildings worthy of the opulence and prosperity that have attended it.’<sup>79</sup> In keeping with contemporary charges against such commercial cities, the city’s wealth was said not to have diminished its charitable nature.<sup>80</sup> Glasgow’s commercial success was noticeably furthered when it drew on ideas from the merchants, McUre and Gibson, and their histories. The *NSA* also built on earlier material from Denholm, another Glasgow historian and Cleland.

These individuals were cited because contemporaries were familiar with them and their work, attesting to the awareness of Edinburgh and Glasgow’s civic histories and their historians. Therefore, by referencing such men more kudos was added to the validity of the *OSA* and *NSA*. Those who were responsible for writing them were also lauded. The introduction of Glasgow’s *NSA* noted that among the contributors was the Reverend Duncan MacFarlon, the Principal of the University of Glasgow, 1823-1857. Therefore, it legitimised how it was compiled, as did the words ‘from the communications of several respectable inhabitants of the city’.<sup>81</sup> There were references to the University of Glasgow’s achievements which offered proof of this institution’s ongoing influence within the city and emphasis was placed on its right to appoint an M.P. from 1832, as was already the case already for Edinburgh University. Therefore, the *NSA* account was an attempt to balance Glasgow’s influential commercial politicians with its other elites, which represented the changes the 1833 Burgh Reform

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<sup>79</sup> *Descriptions of Glasgow from supplement to Pinnock’s Guide to Knowledge*, No. 170, 30 April 1835, London, 155.

<sup>80</sup> *NSA*, 314-5.

<sup>81</sup> *OSA*, introduction.

Act (Scotland) had heralded. Perhaps its emphasis on the university was also stimulated by the University of Edinburgh's completion of its New College in the 1840 and when that university's reputation was somewhat waning.<sup>82</sup> These ideas are summed up below:

That the citizens of Glasgow have ever been loyal, patriotic, and generous, may be collected from the foregoing brief account of the city...since the commencement of the present century, Glasgow has greatly increased in scientific knowledge and many of her citizens have rendered essential service to their country.<sup>83</sup>

Glasgow's *OSA* entry was also directly concerned with Edinburgh, including the often quoted Act of Parliament of 1690 from William and Mary that granted 'the power of choosing their own magistrates, and other officers of the burgh, as fully and freely as the city of Edinburgh, or any royal burgh'.<sup>84</sup> Although, in keeping with the nature of such petty comparisons, it also included the fact that Glasgow's rainfall was less than Edinburgh's.<sup>85</sup>

### Encyclopaedia Britannica

As the first *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was published in Edinburgh in three successive volumes from 1768-1771, it is no surprise that both the first and the second editions contained extensive entries on Edinburgh, and certainly in contrast to what was included in the *OSA* entry on the city. Equally, not much was made of Glasgow in the

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<sup>82</sup> I. Donnachie & G. Hewitt, *The Dictionary of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh: Harper Collins, 2001), 102.

<sup>83</sup> *NSA*, 225, 234.

<sup>84</sup> *OSA*, 288.

<sup>85</sup> *NSA*, 103.

first edition and there was scant even reference to the city in the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Published in 1797, the 3rd edition's Edinburgh description ran to twenty-two pages and echoed Edinburgh's cultural dominance within Scotland. It also carried Creech's comments on Edinburgh's improvements: 'it is to be questioned whether any city in Britain will be able to vie with Edinburgh in elegance and beauty'.<sup>86</sup> In contrast to this, Glasgow's third edition entry ran to only nine pages but it also took care to portray the city in flourishing and improving conditions including new streets and bridges. Something of its tone is captured in this extract which suggests how Glasgow was improving:

the manufacturing-houses, the increase in people carrying on the manufactures, the means and encouragement which these afford to population, and the wealth hence derived by individuals, as well as accruing to the community have all tended lately to increase and daily increasing the extent of the city and the elegance of the buildings<sup>87</sup>

Later examples of the entries also capture the concerns of the time in which they were written, as suggested by the content of the entry for Glasgow, in 1856, only five years after the census, condemned the supposed irreligion around the country. Partly in response to this, the 8<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* touted Glasgow as both an ancient and a modern city, a bustling and cultured place with a Protestant, hard-working, loyal population who were all dedicated to their tasks.<sup>88</sup> There was only the briefest nod to the recent Chartist disturbances there. The image of Glasgow in this vein was carefully managed and permeated much of the second half of the nineteenth

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<sup>86</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (3rd Edition), Vol VI, DIA-ETH, (Edinburgh, 1797), 305

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, Vol, VII ETM-GOA, 762.

<sup>88</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 8th edition, (Edinburgh, 1856), Vol X, 645-657.

century. By then, Glasgow became a veritable *Portable Utopia*, whose enviable reputation as a well-managed and Christian city attracted representatives from American cities including Chicago and New York who came to learn from the city's astute civic practices and its moral considerations.<sup>89</sup> Other later examples including one from a guide from 1860 rekindled the city's religious pedigree at the expense of St. Andrews and Edinburgh:

Here the cross was planted, here was ground blessed for Christian burial by a Christian bishop, while Iona was yet still an unknown island among the western waves, while the promontory of St. Andrews was the haunt of wild boar, only smoke from a few heather wigwams ascended from the rock of Edinburgh.<sup>90</sup>

Apart from the religious focus, there was also some promotion of Glasgow's economic attributes and other of the city's successes. By the sixth edition, from 1823, Edinburgh was still attracting twenty six pages to Glasgow's ten and both repeated much of the earlier entries' content.<sup>91</sup> However, the seventh edition, from 1842, marks a concern to re-establish Edinburgh's prominence within Scotland as a 'national' capital based on its ancient, royal, educational and legal establishments. There was a consciousness in it that the city was no longer the commercial capital but also a reassertion that it still held credibility over the country's commercial transactions through its banks: 'although not an extensive trading or commercial town, Edinburgh exerts great

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<sup>89</sup> Maver, 'Glasgow's Civic Government,' in Fraser & Maver, *Glasgow Volume II*, 443. Maver argues that 'an absence of party competition was conducive to fostering this sense of common purpose among the town councillors.'

<sup>90</sup> Mr. Joseph Robertson, *the Quarterly Review*, 134-137, as quoted in *Oliver & Boyd's Scottish tourist Guide to Glasgow and its neighbourhood and Lanark, the Falls of Clyde, and the watering places of the Firth of Clyde, with plans of the city and six engravings on steel*, (Edinburgh, 1860), 4.

<sup>91</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Sixth Edition, (Edinburgh, 1823), Edinburgh Vol VII, CTE – ELE, 514-550; Glasgow, Vol IX, FOR-GOT, 735-745.

influence over all branches of commerce in Scotland, by means of its banking system, which supplies capital to almost every industry in the country.’<sup>92</sup>

This year, the railway had geographically, if not psychologically, shortened the distance between the cities, Glasgow had overtaken the capital to twenty eight pages over seventeen and this reflected its importance within Scotland as well as Britain at this time. As if to reflect this, the River Clyde now had its own section and there is an extensive listing of the city’s manufacturing, trade and commercial involvements. Cleland’s hand is again detected in the attention given over to statistics for the early to mid-nineteenth century and the religious section attests to the city’s particular commitments, with a mention of the number of Jews and Baptists in the city, but no mention at all of the Roman Catholic population or any other denominations. As it was twenty years since Catholic Emancipation, religious tolerance was apparently growing in the city, in response to evangelicalism and the growth of the temperance movement but the absence of the number of Roman Catholics suggests there was still some way to go.<sup>93</sup> Again, the city’s loyal tone is constantly expressed.<sup>94</sup>

By the eighth edition, Edinburgh’s entry was lessened to eighteen pages while Glasgow’s had diminished to eleven. In this edition, the changes to both cities were noted, particularly with reference to the impact of the Disruption and also the railways and population growth, as was to be expected. The sections on the civic institutions had grown considerably and again mirrored its time, with innovations to policing, lighting, health, prisons and water supply, among others, all covered. These entries are therefore civic testimonies as well as useful indicators of social change.<sup>95</sup> Glasgow’s

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<sup>92</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Seventh Edition, (Edinburgh, 1842) Vol VII, DIA-ENG, 411-428, 426.

<sup>93</sup> Maver, *Glasgow*, 108.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, Col X FRA-GRO, 534-561.

<sup>95</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eight Edition, Vol X, (Edinburgh, 1856); Edinburgh Vol VIII, DIA-ENG EB 16, (1855), 390-408; Glasgow Vol X, FRA-GRA, (1856) 645 – 657.

entry, however, is particularly striking in its self-confidence, as well as in the other established themes of loyalty and religious righteousness:

Its banks are crowded with the abodes of industry and a thriving population...on the side of religious liberty.<sup>96</sup>

The ninth edition, and the last to be published in Scotland before it moved to London, appeared in 1879 and helped establish Glasgow's reputation as a well-run city with an honest council dedicated to its people and improvement. It also mirrored the electoral changes at the time, 'the corporation of Glasgow, since it has been popularly elected, has shown great and enlightened interests in the welfare of the city.'<sup>97</sup> The writers behind many of these entries until the eighth edition from 1853, were some of Edinburgh's most prominent citizens and publishers, some of whom became Lord Provost for the city. This included Archibald Constable, a friend of Sir Walter Scott, Charles Maclaren and Adam Black.

### *Conclusion*

Civic testimonies emerged in a variety of different material, from Town Council pamphlets to individual appeals, letters, newspapers, autobiographies, guidebooks and other collections, such as the *OSA* and *NSA* and the entries in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Civic testimonies therefore the constant threads of local identity which indicated how deep-rooted this was and how sentiments of attachment, pride and prejudice were continually expressed towards Edinburgh and Glasgow and their

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<sup>96</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eight Edition, Vol X, (Edinburgh, 1856), 645 – 647.

<sup>97</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, (London, 1879), Vol X, G-GOT, 638-646, 640-641.

particular civic identities in the period. Often this was done so by engaging with earlier, received ideas about Edinburgh and Glasgow, as was the case in the *OSA* and *NSA*, which drew on the works of earlier civic histories for their information. However, civic testimonies revealed that local identity was an important and deep-seated part of the elites and the middling sort's experience. At times, commitments to local identity were more in evidence than those of national identity, or at least, they ran alongside it, as the national-civic testimonies emerged, or were more prominent in times of national distress or celebration, such as during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822.

Civic testimonies were also important indicators of levels of local as much as national confidences and insecurities, especially during trying periods of economic and social unrest, as the example of Robert Johnstone in 1818 and Cockburn's references to Edinburgh's difficulties in the 1840s showed. In them, one city was often pitted against others and at particular times, such as when Glasgow could no longer compete with Edinburgh's picturesque nature but still could further its superior population and economic prowess. They also uncovered changing civic identities, such as the classical influences and which saw Edinburgh's Athens replaced by a more historical emphasis and when Glasgow's 'second city' claim extended beyond Scotland and saw itself as another 'Venice'. Therefore, no matter how trivial they may at first appear, civic testimonies cannot be so easily dismissed as they also say much about who was involved in constructing them and what was happening in the cities. Civic testimonies had good reason to emerge and in this they were responses, less to particular moral than to immediate political and economic concerns.

Civic testimonies were also discussions and echoed wider ideas including a surge in ideas about civil society, citizenship, and how the classical past and the cities of Rome,

Greece and the Renaissance were held up as good examples to be emulated. Civic testimonies also mirror the impact of the Scottish and European Enlightenment which forged and reaffirmed ideas about the role of cities and the expectations of their citizens.<sup>98</sup> These ideas permeated the works of Adam Ferguson, David Hume, and Adam Smith, whereby the staple reflection of any civilised society was people's participation in it, what de Tocqueville had called the 'local public spirit'.<sup>99</sup> Edinburgh's *Modern Athenians* like Cockburn and Chambers, and Glaswegians such as Cleland and Robert Reid, believed it was their civic duty to write about their cities, contribute to them and laud their past, present and future and 'boost' their respective 'places' within British pecking order.

They also signalled the beginning of what Graeme Morton considered an important aspect of the nineteenth century, when local government proffered itself as the 'guardian of civil society'.<sup>100</sup> However, the evidence for the responses to Robert Johnstone's hanging in 1818 showed that this was not unchallenged. The Town Council was subjected to criticism from within civil society as a result of the botched hanging and the riots that followed. What the affair shows is that there was a struggle within the public sphere for the moral high ground. In their turn, those who were sympathetic to burgh and national reform employed civic and national-civic testimonies as mechanisms against the oligarchies of the burgh town councils and their limited national representation. Therefore, those on the inside, who had no formal input in the political direction of their cities and nation, had some means of influence through their testimonies before 1833. For the professional and middling sorts,

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<sup>98</sup> See Heater, *Citizenship*.

<sup>99</sup> I. Kramnick, *Democracy in America: an annotated text, backgrounds, interpretations*, (New York and London: W.W. Norton & company, 2007).

<sup>100</sup> G. Morton, 'Civil Society, Municipal Government and the State: Enshrinement, Empowerment and Legitimacy, Scotland 1800- 1929,' *Urban History* Vol 25, Issue 3, December 1998, 348-367, 354.



especially, until they could wield more political power, civic testimonies were one way the un-enfranchised could get involved in their city, to have a say in what happened there and to have some control over the civic image that was being projected.

Civic testimonies, then, incorporated an array of complicated influences and ideas and sought to influence and promote particular ideas about the cities, their qualities and those of their citizens. At the same time they conveyed a sense of superiority and moral authority by those who lived there. Their pride and prejudice are therefore almost as important as their revelations about how the emerging middling sort sought to partake in and influence civil society through their participation in voluntary societies.<sup>101</sup> It also reflected their growing influence within and without their cities in the build up to 1833 and immediately afterwards.

It is important to remember that though civic testimonies often were florid and exaggerated appeals, this was the style of the language at the time. It may appear contrived to modern eyes but it was the expected and established form of communication. It is another example of how discourse analysis is an important tool for understanding the past. Therefore, unlike Fraser's earlier claim, in the civic testimonies, Glasgow was concerned with Edinburgh in the nineteenth century and Glaswegians bragged as much as those in Edinburgh in their civic testimonies, especially about their successful civic projects, such as the later example of the Loch Katrine Water scheme and the city's River Clyde, both potent symbols of their local pride and sanitation in the later nineteenth century.<sup>102</sup> Any of the city's social failures were further detracted from by pointing out that the city of the west had not gone

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<sup>101</sup> Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, 64.

<sup>102</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, (London, 1879), 642, 614.

bankrupt, unlike Edinburgh.<sup>103</sup> However, in doing so, they advertised only their levels of conceit and protracted jealousy.

The idea of attachment to a particular city like Edinburgh and Glasgow was especially orchestrated by the antiquarians and boosters,<sup>104</sup> who both asserted their city above all others, and who most strongly conveyed civic testimonies. Yet, as this chapter argues, it was by no means their territory and many publishers, writers, journalists, town councillors, merchants, academics, and lawyers all had a hand in conveying civic testimonies. Edinburgh's and Glasgow's civic testimonies served to further such ideas about the two cities and to extend the ambitions of particular groups who penned them.

Civic testimonies were therefore dialogues with earlier writing about the cities. They fed into contemporary debates about the cities and what was happening in them. In an era of industrialisation, it was important for cities, particularly manufacturing ones like Glasgow, to promote their more cultured veneer and offer reassurances about their commercial and money-making focus, particularly when ideas about their poverty, public disturbances, and poor sanitation were advertised as being the norm there.<sup>105</sup> The stability, moral value, and cultural contribution of large cities versus their volatility, depravity, and their uncultured natures were intermittent debates over the course of the period and were dependent on perceptions of how well the economy and society as a whole was doing. Edinburgh's and Glasgow's experience and their efforts to detract from such poor press was part of what their later civic testimonies were about, but it was also something that other places of a similar ilk identified with.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, 262.

<sup>104</sup> See Briggs, *Victorian Cities*.

<sup>105</sup> See Flinn, *Edwin Chadwick's Report* in Devine & G. Jackson, *Glasgow, Volume One*, 404.

<sup>106</sup> Coleman, *The idea of the city in nineteenth century Britain*, 2.

Therefore, civic testimonies were essentially a means of public expression within the public arena, in this case, the two cities, that bore witness to and celebrated the elites and middling sorts' commitment to the city, while at the same time allowing them to attack or defend a particular event or to discuss what was happening within their city. Other examples of such testimonies emerged in the celebrations surrounding the erection of monuments and statues to both national and local dignitaries, heroes, and literati. This is the concern of the next chapter, which considers how visual symbolism also reflected ideas about civic identity and citizenship.

## Chapter Four: Civic and National Commemorations

### *Introduction*

This chapter is concerned with the significance and discussions surrounding the erection of statues and monuments, the granting of freedoms of the cities and royal visits by monarchs to Edinburgh and Glasgow in the period 1750 – 1842. For statues and monuments, there are indications that the two cities' middling sort and elites as well as their Town Councils competed and controlled the choice of subject, style, location and design of these edifices. They also managed the finances by organising the publicity calling for subscriptions and by also arranging the civic celebrations and the content and delivery of the speeches from the laying of the foundation stones to their unveiling ceremonies. There is evidence that it was also from within this group of people it was decided who was worthy of the honour of their cities' freedom and it was they who also stage managed both the royal visit of King George IV in 1822 to Edinburgh and the subsequent commemorations of the affair.<sup>1</sup>

In some cases, the elites, middling sort and Town Councils retained fuller control over these commemorations by limiting who could partake in the ceremonies. Some of the ceremonies, for example, were closed door affairs and this occurred despite the fact that a broad cross-section of society had subscribed to the cost of the statues and monuments.<sup>2</sup> Careful control was also maintained in such things as who could march

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Meadowbank, for example, orchestrated the campaign calling for public subscription towards the erection of a statue to George IV commemorating his visit to Edinburgh in 1822.

<sup>2</sup> A later example was Edinburgh's statue to David Livingstone, which was unveiled on August 15<sup>th</sup> 1876 but it was only those subscribers who could afford 4 shillings for the entry tickets who were invited to attend, as highlighted in the *The Dundee Courtier and Argus*, Wednesday, August, 16<sup>th</sup>, 1876: Issue 7196. It is interesting that 4 shillings was close to the average daily wage for many unskilled workers at the time, W.W. Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, culture and Society in Scotland, 1800 – present*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 91.

in the processions and in what order and who was allowed to attend the unveiling. In the period before 1833, before political and burgh reform, involvement in this way was clearly one way for the middling sort, in particular, who had otherwise been excluded from the formal political processes, to influence their city, the form that its cityscape took and thereby for them to lay greater claim to citizenship to Britain, Scotland and to their cities. It was also a way for them to foster some influence over their city's particular civic identity at the time of their involvement.

Commemorations were essentially as much a celebration as a remembering, sometimes a posthumous honouring, or simply a means to mark an important event. They were triggered by such things as a monarch's visit, his/her death as well as military victories following British successes in the Napoleonic Wars. Scottish heroes and famous literati were rewarded with statues and monuments as were local worthies associated closely with Edinburgh and Glasgow. This shift from more national figures such as monarchs and British military heroes to include local notables reflected an increased level of civic confidence felt by some in cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow. At the same time it suggested how some were as concerned to promote their cities heroes and others considered worthy of this kind of acclaim. In doing so, the elites and middling sort reflected something of their perceived standing within, and their commitments to, their city as much as to Scotland and Britain. It was their national ideas that ran parallel to the desire to herald a distinct local identity. This made for a much more complex claim by the elites and middling sort of multiple attachments to the nation and locality. By promoting those individuals from within or who had a strong attachment to the cities it was yet another means for the elites and middling sort to advertise Edinburgh and Glasgow to those outside as much as to those within. In

doing so, they forwarded their particular ideas about the cities and they also betrayed their particular ambitions, civic pride and competitive natures.

Of course, the erection of statues and monuments in Edinburgh and Glasgow either on a Scottish/British or local spectrum was by no means particular to these places and were part of a wider patriotic and civic display throughout Scotland and Britain at this time, with many other towns and cities also conducting similar commemorations and celebrations.<sup>3</sup> Yet, there are some obvious parallels throughout Scotland and Britain in who was remembered and what kind of individual was considered worthy of such an honour. Significant changes in the period can also be detected as, originally, monarchs were the main focus of such attention and many statues and memorials continued to adorn towns and cities throughout the nineteenth and later centuries to them.

Edinburgh and Glasgow erected statues to monarchs, including earlier examples of one to King Charles II in Edinburgh in 1685 and one to King William III in Glasgow in 1735. This chapter focuses on the visit of King George IV in Edinburgh in 1822 and the statue to him, raised in Edinburgh in 1831. King George IV's statue also signalled change in the way monarchs were remembered. The statue was not an equestrian one, as others to monarchs had been, but was cast in the pedestrian and more informal style. Both cities supported the raising of the statue to King George IV after 1822 but some in Edinburgh objected to the relaxed style of the statue. The two cities cooperated on another commemorative venture that was more controversial because it failed.

Attempts to build a National Monument to the fallen Scottish heroes of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars from 1822 in Edinburgh was not without debate, even from its inception, especially as both cities had paid for and were planning individual memorials to other British military heroes who had fought in the

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<sup>3</sup> R. Price, *British Society 1680-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 311.

Napoleonic Wars, including ones to Lord Horatio Nelson and Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington.

Whether to royalty or to military heroes, those in Edinburgh and Glasgow reaffirmed their British/ Scottish and local commitments in the sentiments conveyed in the speeches that were penned to mark these occasions, whether it was in those for the laying of the foundation stones or in the actual unveiling ceremonies. One notable change in the period in the individuals considered worthy of such an honour. By the early to mid the nineteenth century Scottish literati were featured among other statues and monuments including the philosopher, Dugald Stewart, the scientist, James Watt and the writer, Sir Walter Scott. Even when the focus was on Scottish figures such as these, commitments to the idea of Britain, Britishness, Scotland, Scottishness and to Edinburgh and Glasgow were strongly furthered through the discussions and speeches that were carried in the press and in journals that reached an audience in and beyond the cities' geographic limits. In all the rhetoric conveyed, there is evidence of unionist-nationalism as posited by Graeme Morton, especially in the commemorations for Walter Scott in both Edinburgh, where the foundation stone of the Scott Monument was begun in 1840, and also in 1837 in Glasgow, where a colossal statue to him was raised in George Square. Arguably Scott's Tory sentiments demanded unionist-nationalist sentiment, but it was also a sentiment that was *de rigueur* at the time.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, if those being commemorated in these ways had any specific connection to the two cities, whether they were born there, had attended the two universities or worked in, or had even simply visited either city in their lifetime, then this too was highlighted to tie their personal achievements to Edinburgh or Glasgow more closely. It was important, however, that the sentiments conveyed, whether in the discussions

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<sup>4</sup> G. Morton, *Unionist-nationalism*, passim.

for the statues and monuments or in the ceremonies surrounding them were advertised in such outlets as the local and national press. Many of the statues and monuments carried classical imagery through their style and in the language to describe what they represented and also reflected other influences including those wrought by the Enlightenment. Edinburgh and Glasgow keenly asserted their local individuality and highlighted their specific civic loyalties by honouring their worthy Enlightenment citizens who had contributed to their cities' intellectual successes during this period. Edinburgh honoured the philosopher, Dugald Stewart(1753-1828) in 1831 with a monument to him on the city's Calton Hill. Stewart had been widely respected and represented the city's intellectual and literary prowess throughout the later eighteenth century. Later, in 1832, Glasgow chose the engineer James Watt (1736-1819) to echo the city's reputation for the marriage of science and industry. Such commemorations reflected, and at the same time, reinforced the two cities' diverging characters. In such commemorations, it will be argued that local identity and pride emerged as an even more potent element than national identity. The discussions and speeches betrayed how some in Edinburgh and Glasgow encapsulated civic and national-civic testimonies as well as other characteristics including ambition and competition.

The particular sentiments of those involved are clearly apparent and revealed other influences and preoccupations of the period, including why particular subjects attracted attention and had been selected and how certain individuals were examples of what the elites and middling sort considered the ideal citizen, whose role model was to be followed and revered. Discussions and speeches surrounding the unveiling of statues and monuments projected particular moral instructions to the citizens of Edinburgh and Glasgow as well as to their future generations and this was something



that continued through the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The nineteenth century may be known as the ‘golden age of monumental sculpture in Great Britain,’<sup>6</sup> with explanations for this ranging from a desire to adorn towns and cities with appropriate examples of those considered worthy of emulation as well as a reflection of some people’s commitments to ideas of Britishness, Scottishness and to other claims of local pride. However, the Georgian era had already heralded the kind of commemoration rhetoric that later celebrations built on and so the undercurrents from the earlier period followed on in the later ones. Nenandic has also highlighted in her examination of the middle classes in the Victorian period in Glasgow that:

statues were positioned in prominent places such as squares and parks to draw overt associations between the city and great men, heroes of local and national affairs... the middle classes were devoted to remarkable levels of ritualised public display.<sup>7</sup>

Nenandic’s argument also holds true for Edinburgh in the period 1750 – 1842, but there remain some distinctions between the two cities’ reasons for fostering such activities which can be explained by the different social makeup of the groups involved in the commemorations as well as by the two cities’ contrasting civic identities and ambitions. Moreover, by the 1840s, Maver contends for Glasgow that

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<sup>5</sup> A later example of this is David Livingstone. Livingstone’s achievements in the field of exploration and his Christian missionary work, which exposed the horrors of slavery, led to his being given, among others, the freedom of the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1857. Glasgow, in particular was keen to assert its associations with the missionary explorer. Livingstone had attended the University of Glasgow and the town council instigated a public subscription for a memorial to him within a year of his death in 1873. The unveiling ceremony of Glasgow’s statue to Livingstone in March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1879 revealed something of the moral sentiments such men conveyed to those at the time. James White of Overtoun. Sheriff Clark acted for the Town Council and said of him ‘is there among this vast crowd...any young man, any boy, who feels the difficulties of struggling forward in life...let him look at this statue... the people of Scotland will come and contemplate this statue, and give thanks that they were privileged to have such a countryman as Dr. Livingstone,’ *Glasgow Herald*, Friday, August 21<sup>st</sup>, 1874; Issue 10811, 63.

<sup>6</sup> F. Pearson, *Virtue and Vision: Sculpture and Scotland 1540-1990*, (National Galleries of Scotland: Edinburgh, 1991) 73.

‘the dominantly business background of councillors made them acutely aware of the need to project a positive image in order to instil a sense of pride and demonstrate that Glasgow could compete with other cities.’<sup>8</sup> This chapter agrees with this while furthering evidence for Edinburgh’s professional middling sort and elites who also were as aware and responded to the success of other cities like Glasgow by competing with them in their statues and monuments but before the Victorian era. By the 1800s, in Edinburgh’s desire to reaffirm the city’s national status is clear and this subsequently drove many of their commemorations.<sup>9</sup> Commemorations, then, helped advertise a particular city’s ability to hold its own before and during the Victorian age and reaffirm local and national commitments. Yet, they also suggested that no matter how different the two cities were, there was a desire to promote and project a positive image through such civic projects and activities. Glasgow’s statues and monuments were also about, both projecting an appropriate image for the city and advertising it, and about the ability of its citizens to employ their considerable financial pull and put it to good use. The involvement of its wealthier merchants and industrialists demonstrated that they in Glasgow could realise such edifices as well as the elites of any other city and that Glasgow was a city of culture, a potent message in an age when large cities were under the moral microscope.<sup>10</sup> This was manifestly apparent in a very late example from the third quarter of the nineteenth century. John Ure, Glasgow’s Lord Provost from 1880-1883 oversaw the erection of a statue in Castle Street to Revd. Dr. Norman McLeod, the minister of the Barony Parish. McLeod was noted for his good works with the poor and Ure highlighted how it was also important to decorate the city with statues as as ‘nothing so readily strikes a stranger as evidence of

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<sup>7</sup> S. Nenandic, ‘The Victorian Middle Classes,’ in Fraser & Maver, *Glasgow Volume II*, 265 – 299, 293.

<sup>8</sup> Maver, *Glasgow*, 79.

<sup>9</sup>See Duncan, ‘Edinburgh, capital of the nineteenth century,’ in Chandler & Gilmartin, *Romantic Metropolis*.

refinement and taste in any community as beautiful statuary in their public places.<sup>11</sup> Commemorations inspired those to adorn their cities, then, but also had an aesthetic as well as a moral and civic purpose. In large industrial and port cities like Glasgow, the desire to promote the aesthetic was manifested by the examples of statues and monuments raised from the romantic era. Yet, earlier ideas about towns and cities representing a union of the successes of commerce and industry with cultured arenas within them stemmed from the Enlightenment and classical ideas about what a city should represent. The concerns of the middling sort and elites of both cities are shown in their commemorations and reflected aesthetic influences and a desire to live in a pleasant city that echoed particular cities of the past.

*The influence of the past in the style and location*

Edinburgh and Glasgow were not alone in revisiting the past in their extent of classical remodelling and appropriation of ideas from the past in their built environment. A commentary about Dublin's statues to Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, from 1818 underlines this:

If the ancients are our supreme masters in any science or art, it is in architecture. The more we deviate from the specimens left by them, the more we run into obscurity and deformity.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Coleman, *The Idea of the City in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 5.

<sup>11</sup> Anon. 'Unveiling of the Statue to Dr. McLeod', (Glasgow, 1881), as quoted in R. McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 17.

<sup>12</sup> In reference to Dublin's Wellington Trophy or 'testimonial,' J. Warburton, *History of Dublin* (London, 1818), 1105.

The architectural styles of the classical past were viewed as important features in the consideration of the style of statues and monuments and especially so in the Enlightenment. The contemporary influence of classical education played some part in this, with the belief that cities had appropriate cultural templates from the cities of the past. Pamela Pilbeam argues that was part of a European-wide trend, showing that 'classical education was the norm' in countries as diverse as France, Germany, Italy and Russia.<sup>13</sup> The examples of Athens and Rome, but also the Renaissance cities of Florence and Venice, were therefore particularly emulated. Speeches and discussions at commemorations again uncovered the hold this classical civil society had on some contemporaries and was it not only particular to Britain and Europe. McLaughlin Green articulates that Washington D.C. was planned on classical style and ideologies and that:

her eighteenth century founders, statesmen, familiar either by travel or by study with the great cities of Europe, envisaged the American capital as...a carefully prepared...new republic.<sup>14</sup>

Evidence for a reflection of the classical past, in particular, can be seen in Edinburgh and Glasgow's statues and monuments. The styles of statues and monuments were also important indications of their cultural influences. Classical notions were apparent in the cities' architecture from the later seventeenth through to the nineteenth century and can be seen not only in Edinburgh and Glasgow but across Britain. The National Monument on Calton Hill, Edinburgh, (1828) drew its inspiration from the Parthenon

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<sup>13</sup> P. M. Pilbeam, *The Middle Classes in Europe 1789 – 1914* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1990), 176.

<sup>14</sup> C. McLaughlin Green, *Washington- Village and Capital 1800 – 1878* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962), vii.

in Athens and also in Edinburgh, the city's monument to Robert Burns, erected at a cost of £3,000 and designed by Thomas Hamilton had its cupola modelled on that of the Lysistratus at Athens.<sup>15</sup> In London, Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square (1843)<sup>16</sup> was based on Rome's Trajan's Column. The period concerned here also saw the formalisation of architecture as a craft<sup>17</sup> and a rise in the patronage of many artists, designers and sculptors by monarchs and aristocrats.<sup>18</sup> Their patronage can be traced from the earlier Georgian period to the Victorian period and by which time Town Councils and the wider public become supporters of such civic endeavours and the monuments and statues were less state-driven than arising from public demand. This was a symptom of the transition from the government to the public as the ultimate arbiter of taste. However, in the period concerned, the elites and the middling sort still predominated.

The artistic skills used in making statues and monuments were also highly sought after and encouraged competition between cities, which is another reason why their monuments and statues were often realised using common architectural styles. Cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow also drew on earlier Enlightenment ideas about civil society for their inspiration, as other illustrations and chapters also contend.<sup>19</sup> Chitnis explained how the experience of the Enlightenment in the cities made the Scots keener to adorn and use commemoration in their cities than others in Britain and how Scottish intellectuals came more to terms with their cities than those in England. This he based

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<sup>15</sup> Appendix H, .See C. Rodgers, *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland*, Two Volumes, (London, 1871) .

<sup>16</sup>Nelson's Column, Appendix I.

<sup>17</sup>The Institute of British Architects was formed in 1834 and elevated to royal status in 1837. Ten years later, the Architectural Association was founded in 1847. Scottish architects and sculptors sought membership of the prestigious Royal Academy, founded in London in 1768, before Edinburgh's Royal Scottish Academy was set up in 1826.

<sup>18</sup> See Cruickshank & Burton, *Life in the Georgian City*.

<sup>19</sup>See T.W. West, *A History of Scottish Architecture* (London, 1976) and Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*. Chapters Four and Five, in particular, convey something of the classical influences on the two cities.

on the fact that the universities were centred in the Scottish cities and the Scots' different experiences from the English, including the disasters of a rural, Highland society, the impact of the climate, poorer terrain and the lower prestige of the nobility.<sup>20</sup> Neo-classical, Grecian moulds are detected in both cities from the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century and were to some extent challenged by the penchant for the Gothic medieval tradition of the mid-1800s and when early nineteenth century romanticism and its seductive draw impacted on the idea of the Gothic. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the Scott Monument in Edinburgh.<sup>21</sup> Architecture and the aesthetic were employed to convey particular messages about the city and each helped reinvent it.

Of course, this was nothing different from what was happening in other cities at this time. Liverpool's reinvention of itself as a 'Florence of the North' in the early 1800s, followed from attacks for its slave-trading practices. American cities equally sought out models from the past.<sup>22</sup> Athens, Venice, Florence, and Rome were easily identifiable and recognisable civic identities for the elites and middle classes and were the templates for cities from the later 1700s, including Edinburgh and Glasgow. Perhaps one of the best examples of this was George IV's plans to remodel London on the designs of Augustus' rebuilding of Rome.<sup>23</sup> In this way, the historic civic identities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were realised in their architecture as much as their built environment and public spaces.

Even their location was carefully selected and uncovered specific ambitions and influences. Something of Rome's public forums can be seen in Edinburgh and

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<sup>20</sup> See Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment*.

<sup>21</sup> Scott Monument, Edinburgh, Appendix J.

<sup>22</sup> A. Wilson, 'The Florence of the North?': the civic culture of Liverpool in the early nineteenth century' in Kidd and Nicholls, *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism*, 34-46; also Lucas, 'Second in Time, Place and Value', 'The Second Cities Symposium, University of Glasgow, May 2004', (unpublished).

<sup>23</sup> Lees & Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe*, 249.

Glasgow's public spaces as this, too, had advertised the city's heroes and monarchs portrayed as modern emperors. Their example was raised for public display and they drew their inspiration from many private statues before 1800.<sup>24</sup> Not just subjective matter but public space, then, became an important platform for the promotion of the particular civic values in itself adhered to by Edinburgh and Glasgow's middling sort and elite citizens.<sup>25</sup> If 'the objective in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and 19<sup>th</sup> century cities was not a balanced, comprehensive plan but a narrower policy - the fulfilment of the desire of the privileged minority to live in elegant surroundings',<sup>26</sup> then the location of the two cities' monuments and statues betrayed this goal for the elites and the middling sort. By the Victorian period, there was a change in that by then ideas such as social functionalism suggested a change in how cities could be designed so that public streets, gardens and spaces encouraged social interaction from among all the classes and it created a greater sense of purpose and community to the urban fabric.<sup>27</sup> James Schmeichan charts the emergence of public, as opposed to private space, and how this, at least in Glasgow, 'was based on the optimistic dual premise that a new material age had made it possible for more people to move up or down the social ladders of respectability and that since all men and women were naturally capable of developing good habits and good thoughts, everyone needed access to a virtuous environment.'<sup>28</sup> For Glasgow, Schmeichan also extends the idea that 'the ancient and but traditional scenes and buildings could evoke sympathy for ancient institutions and lessen the alienation which many people faced and which was a major ideological premise in

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<sup>24</sup> See Ayres, *Classical Culture and The Idea of Rome*, 63.

<sup>25</sup> See Heater, *Citizenship: the civic ideal in world history* and Habermas' *The structural transformation of the public sphere*.

<sup>26</sup> See Naismith *The Story of Scotland's Towns*.

<sup>27</sup> J. Schmeichan, 'Glasgow of the Imagination: Architecture, Townscape and Society,' in Fraser & Maver, *Glasgow Volume II*, 486 – 518, 490.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, 490, 497, 492.

Glasgow's nineteenth century townscape.<sup>29</sup> However, in the period before this, these ideas were emerging but were not yet fully articulated.

Glasgow and Edinburgh planned new public spaces in the later 1700s as part of the 'age of improvement' with their emerging city centres somewhat removed from their older medieval centres. This was done to represent the interests of their merchants and professionals who deliberately reinvented their cityscape to suit their needs, as much as those of other elites. This is why many of Glasgow's monuments and statues were located in George Square, which was somewhat removed from the previous medieval centre around the High Street, Cross and Trongate area. The laying out of George Square in 1787, dedicated to King George III, was done close enough to the old medieval area about the Saltmarket and High Street to be familiar, but also reaffirmed the important psychological, historical, and commercial connection of this area to the Merchant City. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, a significant move westwards for the middling sort into the city's new town area of, among others, Blythswood, took place.<sup>30</sup> This move, accompanied by further population explosion would eventually led to the relocation of the city's university away from the old, medieval city to the west end and now home to where the elites and middle classes, as if to further illustrate this point.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 490.

<sup>30</sup>N. J. Morgan, 'Building the City,' in Fraser & Mavor, *Glasgow Volume II*, 8 – 51, 8; See also Gomme and Walker, *The Architecture of Glasgow*.



The location of Glasgow's statues and monuments around George Square was not as removed from the wider populace as Edinburgh's.<sup>31</sup> Many of the Scottish Capital's statues and monuments were to be found on Calton Hill, dubbed Edinburgh's 'Acropolis', and in and around the New Town, especially in Princes Street Gardens. This, too, represented something of a break away from the Old Town medieval centre on the High Street and echoed the elites and professionals' determinations as realised through the city's first New Town. Yet, the choice of location also emphasized contemporary debates between the improvers and the modernisers<sup>32</sup> and was also indicative of a practical aspect in that this location altered the space for displaying grand monuments and statues, which will be examined later. In this, those in the two cities reinvented other inherited public spaces and demonstrated their ambitions for what Nenandic has dubbed the 'cultured arena'. Glasgow reemployed its Green, the traditional public space, and Edinburgh selected the city's Calton Hill to these ends. The location of statues and monuments there and on Calton Hill and in and around the Edinburgh's New Town were especially significant as, though the 'virtuous environment' may not have been immediately accessible for all, these edifices were still to be appreciated for their moral instructions and were still accessible from the old

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<sup>31</sup> George Square eventually embodied the democratic of public service when it became the choice for the location of the new City Chambers, which were opened in 1888. This also manifested the beginnings of the city's drive towards municipal socialism as much as it reflected its Imperial ambitions towards becoming the 'second city' of the Empire. The building of Glasgow's City Chambers was also part of a wider campaign across Britain to establish Town Halls, and encapsulated other civic rivalries at this time, in this case with Manchester, Glasgow's closest commercial competitor, MacKenzie, 'The Second City of the Empire' in Driver & Gilbert, *Imperial Cities*, 215 – 238, 225.

<sup>32</sup> Edwards & Duncan, *Edinburgh*, 42-64.

town areas. Many of them, for example, carried not only aesthetic styles, as already discussed, but they were also indelibly subscribed with dedications and sentiments that left the reader in doubt as to the merits of the individual or event recorded. The moral instruction is apparent in the example of the inscription carried on the National Monument in Edinburgh, designed by Charles Robert Cockerell and William Henry Playfair between 1823-26. It simply stated ‘A Memorial of the Past and Incentive to the Future Heroism of the Men of Scotland.’<sup>33</sup>

Other memorials public arenas contained similar moral instruction and tributes to many including, in George Square, Glasgow’s hero, Sir John Moore as well as to the Duke of Wellington.<sup>34</sup> The first statue erected in George Square in 1819 was to Moore<sup>35</sup>. Others followed, including ones to James Watt (1830)<sup>36</sup> and Walter Scott (1837)<sup>37</sup>. Later examples included to Queen Victoria (moved there in 1866)<sup>38</sup> and Prince Albert, (1866)<sup>39</sup>, James Oswald (re-erected there 1875), the city’s M.P. (1832-37, 1839-47)<sup>40</sup> and Robert Burns (1877)<sup>41</sup>. The subject-matter of these statues reflect ongoing commitments to monarchy in the period but also began to reflect the civic influences of the later eighteenth century when many popular local Town Councillors, as public servants, as well as other Scottish figures, like Burns, were heralded.

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<sup>33</sup> National Monument, Edinburgh, Appendix K.

<sup>34</sup> George Square, Appendix L.

<sup>35</sup> Sir John Moore, Glasgow, Appendix M.

<sup>36</sup> James Watt, Glasgow, Appendix N.

<sup>37</sup> Sir Walter Scott, Glasgow, Appendix O.

<sup>38</sup> Queen Victoria, Glasgow, Appendix P.

<sup>39</sup> Prince Albert, Glasgow, Appendix Q.

<sup>40</sup> James Oswald, Glasgow, Appendix R.

<sup>41</sup> Robert Burns, Glasgow, Appendix S.

Glasgow Green<sup>42</sup> was the other great public space in the city and was the choice for its monument to Nelson. This location echoed his military connections since it was, during the French Wars, the site where many volunteers had trained.<sup>43</sup> Glasgow Green had been granted to the town by James II in 1450 as its common grazing ground but, again and in reflecting the reinvention of cities at this time, its present layout was constructed between 1817 and 1835. Located near to the city's old medieval heart and to George Square, it was also adjacent to the River Clyde, which fuelled the city's burgeoning textile trade in the first half of the nineteenth century and later furnished its commercial and shipbuilding industry. However, the site also carried radical associations, especially during the Radical War and the Chartist era.<sup>44</sup> Nelson's obelisk was raised in 1806 at the Green as the layout and sheer space there lent itself to such great public gatherings and the size of Nelson's Monument meant there was no other realistic choice within the city.<sup>45</sup>

Edinburgh's public spaces were also suggestive, not only of the way the city developed, but of its civic ambitions to be another 'Athens'. In the later eighteenth century, Calton Hill was once, like Glasgow's Green, the public washing space. However, it became appropriated as an example of the city's academic focus from the Enlightenment period after the Royal Observatory was the first building on it in 1766.<sup>46</sup> By 1819, the city's leading Greek revivalist, William Playfair, developed the hill on the advice of his mentor, William Stark, who believed it to have the finest vista in the city.<sup>47</sup> Partly due to their efforts, this resulted in further statues and monuments,

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<sup>42</sup> Glasgow Green, Glasgow, Appendix T.

<sup>43</sup> Maver, *Glasgow*, 64.

<sup>44</sup> W. Hamish Fraser, 'Working Class,' in Fraser & Maver, *Glasgow Volume II*, 300 – 351, 316.

<sup>45</sup> Not so ironically, perhaps, then, the area around Glasgow Green was later reinvented to celebrate the ideals of the democratic age when the People's Palace and Winter Gardens were opened in 1898 and encapsulated the lives and experiences of those working classes who lived nearby in the city's east end.

<sup>46</sup> Calton Hill, Edinburgh, Appendix U.

<sup>47</sup> J. S. Murray, 'Landscape, topography and hydrology,' in Edwards & Jenkins, *Edinburgh*, 64 – 83, 65.

including ones to Nelson (1807-1815/16)<sup>48</sup> and also the National Monument (1829), which was said to have embodied the Modern Athenian civic pretensions at this time. Calton Hill was Edinburgh's 'Acropolis' in sentiment and according to Charles McKean, the Edinburgh elites thought that 'the glory of modern Athens lay in its monuments...it was symbolised, more than anything else by the monuments on top of Calton Hill.'<sup>49</sup> This explains why the city's Burns' Monument (1830-21)<sup>50</sup> and the statue of Dugald Stewart, the philosopher, (1831)<sup>51</sup> were also erected there. Of course, public monuments such as these not only had to be accommodated in such aesthetic arenas but their size and vistas meant that they could be seen and appreciated by many, even if they did not venture to climb up to Calton Hill.

Princes Street Gardens, too, became another of the city's public spaces into the nineteenth century, and particularly after the development of the Mound from the 1780s to the 1830s, when the railway line was laid down beneath it.<sup>52</sup> By then, campaigns were made to clean it up and develop it and arguments, including those already considered by Rev. James Begg, were made to open it up for access to all. East Princes Street Gardens was highlighted as a suitable public recreation space and was the chosen site for the erection of the Scott Monument<sup>53</sup>, begun in 1840 and which overlooks the Gardens. It was said to have embodied the public space, where people could gather in natural surroundings and benefit from the contrasting views over to the Old Town.<sup>54</sup> The erection of statues and monuments in 'new' and traditional public spaces served many purposes. Practically, they offered space and vistas away from the

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<sup>48</sup> Nelson Monument, Edinburgh, Appendix V.

<sup>49</sup> McKean, *Edinburgh*, 150, 179.

<sup>50</sup> Burns' Monument, Edinburgh, Appendix W.

<sup>51</sup> Dugald Stewart Monument, Edinburgh, Appendix X.

<sup>52</sup> Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh, Appendix Y.

<sup>53</sup> Scott Monument, Edinburgh, Appendix Z.

<sup>54</sup> *The Standard*, Wednesday August 14<sup>th</sup> 1840, 1. Issue 5044. Later statues were added to East Princes Street Gardens included those of the Edinburgh poet, Allan Ramsay (1865)<sup>54</sup> and to the missionary explorer David Livingstone, among others.

cramped districts of the older towns and reflected the ‘age of improvement’ and other Enlightenment values of public space and the classical past. Secondly, they also provided fresh, cleaner and more ‘modern’ locations, which allowed their designers to embellish the immediate environment with architecture and styles which reflected the values they wanted to project, shorn of the encumbrances of filth and degradation in the older quarters. Thirdly, because these spaces were close to the new, elegant districts built for the urban elites, they also offered aesthetic beauty for their benefit and the proximity to enjoy. Fourthly, they allowed for suitable moral instruction and fifthly, they celebrated the city, the ‘nation,’ Empire and the figurehead of the monarchy.

### *Monarchy*

The first statues to grace these ‘virtuous environments’ included those to monarchs. In Edinburgh and Glasgow this reasserted the middling sort and elite’s notions of loyalty to the idea of monarchy. Examples had been set from the past, including in Edinburgh, by the first public statue raised to Charles II<sup>55</sup> and in Glasgow, to William III.<sup>56</sup> George IV had a national commemoration in Edinburgh<sup>57</sup> and both cities later continued the tradition of honouring Queen Victoria and her consort, Prince Albert. Many other British cities and towns had also chosen to do so, which suggested that public statuary was part of a trend as much as an expected practice at the time. As Colley contends, ‘the more successful a town felt itself to be, the more likely it was to

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<sup>55</sup> Charles II, Edinburgh, Appendix AA.

<sup>56</sup> William III, Glasgow, Appendix BB.

<sup>57</sup> George IV, Edinburgh, Appendix CC.

invest in royal celebration.<sup>58</sup> In this way it was only successful towns that could afford the cost involved of raising such a statue or monument. Edinburgh and Glasgow certainly did raise statues to monarchs throughout the period but this has to be considered within a distinctly Scottish context. The erratic relationship between Scotland and England in the aftermath of the Jacobite challenge, in particular, and the obvious cultural distance between the two countries, meant that the less secure a town felt in its royal approval the more it was likely to also assert such celebrations. The reinvention of the Highlands during George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822 is seen as an attempt to heal wounds and distances between the two countries.<sup>59</sup> The stage-managed affair by Walter Scott left none in doubt of how Scotland's past could be eradicated as well as reinvented and used more fully to integrate Scotland into the Union. The wearing of the Stewart tartan by the King and other displays of loyalty from clan chiefs reaffirmed that Scotland was now *de rigueur*.

Apart from such displays, the aesthetic styles of the royal statues were also important. British monarchs were usually erected in the classical and equestrian style, which echoed those of Roman emperors, illustrating the hold the past had on contemporaries. Equestrian statues also encapsulated the medieval idea that a king had to be able to lead his troops in battle on horseback as part of his chivalric duties and as head of the nobility. Edinburgh's first royal statue was to the Stewart King Charles II and was erected in 1685, only three years before the Revolution of 1688-89 ignited the Jacobite dream. It was paid for by the Town Council as a token of its esteem for him.

Glasgow never honoured Charles II in this way and, in contrast to Edinburgh, selected William III of Orange for its first royal equestrian tribute. This was in part thanks to him for the abolition of the Bishop's rights over the town on the accession

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<sup>58</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 224.

with Mary in 1689. Those in Glasgow claimed they were the first British city to erect a statue to William III in 1734 even though Bristol had also done so in the same year.<sup>60</sup> This statue was not funded from the community's purse but was paid for by James MacRae, the one-time Governor of Madras. MacRae had obviously not forgotten his native city and he wanted to remind the city of its debt to this particular king. This statue projected royal and noble symbolism in its equestrian nature but, as its dedication shows, it also carried with it William's and the city's particular religious connotations at the time.<sup>61</sup>

Edinburgh never honoured King William III. However, these two examples underlined something of how some perceived the two cities' political differences in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Contemporaries viewed statues as more than decoration with some seeing the political contrasts between the two cities. Robert Chambers, writing in the 1820s, used these two statues to distinguish these differences,

one peculiarity in the public mind of Glasgow remains to be remembered upon - that is, the general tone of whiggery which it breathes. As the statue of King Charles in the Parliament Close of Edinburgh seems to mark the cavalier spirit of the capital, so may that of King William in the Trongate be understood to demote the whiggish and presbyterian spirit of the inhabitants of the western metropolis.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Duncan, 'Edinburgh, capital of the nineteenth century' in Chandler & Gilmartin, *Romantic Metropolis*, 45 – 65, 45.

<sup>60</sup> McKenzie, *Public Sculpture in Glasgow*, 68.

<sup>61</sup> Daiches, *Glasgow*, 51. Appendix DD A copy of the dedication on the statue as reproduced in J. Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1816), 102.

<sup>62</sup> Chambers, *The Picture of Scotland* (1830), 366-367.

Competition among British cities, then, to be the first to erect a statue or have it in a new style remained particularly fierce into the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>63</sup> King George IV was also honoured with a statue after his visit to Edinburgh in 1822.

*George IV's royal visit of 1822*

George IV rejected an invitation to visit Glasgow when he came to Scotland in August, 1822 but this did not prevent those in the city of the west from attending the King's trip and offering their support afterwards to raise a statue to him in Edinburgh. There was some discussion at the time that suggested the king had refused to head west because of the city's recent radical disturbances in 1819 – 20. His apparent slight on the city was, however, rewarded with a considerable representation from Glasgow to Edinburgh for his visit there and it was designed to be a fitting reflection of how those in the city of the west perceived themselves. However, both cities were recognised as equally important when it came to announcing the royal visit as the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and the Lord Provost of Glasgow were given notice at the same time of when the king intended to arrive.<sup>64</sup> Contemporary reports of the visit said that a great many travelled to the capital for the King's visit. Glasgow's participation did not pass unnoticed, particularly that of its Town Council, which were considered by some as too ostentatious in their display of the wealth of some of its members. Such occasions were yet another opportunity for some in Glasgow to advertise and promote

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<sup>63</sup> Glasgow's equestrian statue to Victoria showed this. Victoria's first visit to Glasgow in 1849 meant that she became the first reigning monarch since James VI to visit the city. Victoria was therefore particularly fêted when she arrived. During Victoria's visit, she knighted the Lord Provost of Glasgow, James Anderson, (1848-1851) and some 400,000 people were said to be in attendance for her procession through the city. After her visit, it was hoped that Glasgow would be the first city to honour her by erecting an equestrian statue but delays meant this did not come to fruition. Victoria's Glasgow statue took four years to complete from 1850-54 but the London exhibition of 1851 exhibited an equestrian statue of the Queen by Thomas Thornycroft.

<sup>64</sup> *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow, Scotland), Friday, July 19, 1822; Issue 2041.



the city. However, the Glasgow contingent became the object of some jibes, as chapter one already explains.<sup>65</sup> One contemporary Tory Edinburgh magazine may have alluded to the recent unrest in the west that was suspected to have prevented the King's visit there but with the adage that things had also improved. This Tory magazine offered an olive branch to those in Glasgow, though there are still undercurrents that reflected the two cities' different civic identities and their marked political allegiances. There was also clear evidence in the magazine's rhetoric of the patriotic and unifying fervour at the time:

Glasgow, on the day of the King's entrance into the Capital was desolate and deserted...It was in that part of the kingdom that the danger had been thought to lie; but now that enlightened and loyal people, since they could not have the honour to receive the king in their own fine city, came with all their authorities to the metropolis; and while they exhibited their liberality which makes wealth honourable, and commerce glorious, gave proof too of that untainted loyalty, for which their birth-place had ever been distinguished of old, and showed that for their King, and country, they would, if need were, pour out their treasures and their blood.<sup>66</sup>

Royal visits of this kind were important civic displays, whereby sovereigns could tie themselves more closely to their people, as much as being opportunities for the celebration of that sovereign and what the monarchy represented. During the King's visit in 1822 he proclaimed:

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<sup>65</sup> *Historical and Literary Tour of a foreigner in England and Scotland*, (London, 1825), 434, Letter XCI.

<sup>66</sup> *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, No. LXVIII, September 1822 Vol. XII, 265.

the very high confidence he had always placed in the people of Scotland...and he would always continue to hold the city of Edinburgh in the highest favour.<sup>67</sup>

This kind of rhetoric went some way to heal the distrust of previous generations who had experienced the Jacobite challenge and also calmed other contemporary fears about Scotland which followed on from recent Radical War. Royal visits were also opportunities for cities to proclaim their loyalty to the King and to display their cities' achievements and promote their economic and cultural advantages.

Commemorating royal visits by erecting statues to the likes of George IV was an important aspect that allowed Edinburgh and Glasgow to further advertise their commitments to the monarchy and vice versa. Other such occasions included the public proclamations of new monarchs including those to King William IV in July, 1830. It was reported that on Wednesday July 6<sup>th</sup> Edinburgh was first to celebrate and that 'King William IV was proclaimed with great pomp and ceremony....' and that 'on Thursday, King William IV was proclaimed in front of the Council Chambers and at the Cross in Glasgow. *The Glasgow Herald* said between 60 to 70,000 people witnessed the procession and ceremony,'<sup>68</sup> Such events were, therefore, popular affairs and provided another platform for those in cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow to display their ideas about loyalty and to convey how the elites and middling sort drove such occasions. Public statuary, especially to monarchs, was part of this restorative process as well. Francis Leggat Chantrey's pedestrian statue to George IV in Edinburgh was raised in 1824 and completed in 1831. Chantrey was commissioned by the city because he was considered the pre-eminent sculptor of his day which again

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<sup>67</sup> *Liverpool Mercury etc* (Liverpool, England), Friday, August 23, 1822; Issue 586.

<sup>68</sup> *The Aberdeen Journal* (Aberdeen, Scotland), Wednesday, July 7, 1830; Issue 4304.

reinforced the city's desire to have the best involved in commemorating the king's visit.<sup>69</sup> The Englishman had already been commissioned to complete a statue of George Washington in the mid 1820s and had won the competition for a statue to George III. He was also a favourite of George IV, completing an equestrian statue to the King for Trafalgar Square in London which was unveiled there in 1830. Partly because of the London and Edinburgh commissions and his support from the King, other cities sought him out and competed to be the first to honour him in this way. Brighton commissioned Chantrey to sculpt a statue to George IV which was inscribed in 1828 and unveiled in 1830. It was important to locate statues such as these in appropriate places and, in the case of statues to King George IV it was in spaces and new arenas that were most closely associated with him. In Brighton, his statue was raised in front of the Royal Pavilion which the King had commissioned the architect John Nash to build for him. In London, Nash was also employed to complete designs for Trafalgar Square and this was realised after Nash's death by Sir Charles Barry from the 1820s. Nash's connection to the King and to Trafalgar Square was the reason Chantrey's statue to George IV was located in the capital's newest public space where other important figures like Admiral Horatio Nelson were later honoured with a giant column and plinth in 1842. In Edinburgh, Chantrey's statue of King George IV was erected in Hanover Street on November 26<sup>th</sup> 1831 but not without some controversy. Edinburgh Town Council, which had commissioned the statue, had nevertheless favoured a more traditional equestrian style and refused to pay additional costs towards its completion in protest at the choice of Chantrey's more informal pose of the King.<sup>70</sup> Edinburgh wanted to emulate Chantrey's London equestrian statue to the

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<sup>69</sup>See *Francis Leggat Chantrey*, (Oxford, DNB, 2005).

<sup>70</sup>At a meeting of the Town Council on 16 June 1830, a report by the Magistrates, Old Magistrates, Convener etc. was read. This discussed a request from the Statue Committee for further funds from the Town Council, to pay for the pedestal, for conveying the statue from London, and for erecting it in

King that was already in progress. The King had sent Chantrey to Edinburgh before the commission was begun in order to advise him of the style and site but the King had the final say on the statue's location in the city's New Town area. Presumably, George IV chose this location as it was a street that best reflected the historic Scottish capital's ongoing royal commitments to his dynasty, both in name and in sentiment. The statue was also located in the New Town area that was the domain of the elites and middling sort and many of the street names reflected their British and royal sentiments including the names 'Rose,' 'Thistle' and 'Princes'.

Many other Scottish towns and cities contributed to King George IV's statue in Edinburgh, including Glasgow, which, as will be later argued, uncharacteristically chose not to go it alone and raise its own statue to George IV. Presumably, Glasgow was also aware that, on the occasion of the recent accession of George's son, William IV, it had an opportunity to reassert its royal connections and therefore thought it was prudent to take part in this venture than not at all.

Edinburgh also honoured Queen Victoria with a statue. Two years before Queen Victoria's first visit to Edinburgh in September 1842, a tribute was offered to the Queen in 1839 when John Steell completed a colossal statue to her, four times the normal size, and which adorned the top of the Royal Institution on the city's Mound. Unlike King George IV's statue which was paid for by Town Councils and wealthy individuals' subscriptions, this statue was paid for by public subscription and demonstrates again how the democratic influences were apparent in cities like Edinburgh. However, unlike the success of King George IV's visit, Edinburgh mis-

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Edinburgh. However, as the Town Council had already donated one hundred guineas, 'on the faith of the statue being equestrian', they refused to make any further contributions' Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Field Visit Report 13, March, 200, Event ID 613138.

managed the arrival of Queen Victoria into the city during her first visit in 1842 and this had future implications in the Town Council's relations with Victoria.<sup>71</sup>

Other British and Scottish cities honoured monarchs and reaffirmed their commitments to Britain. Liverpool, for example, erected a statue to George III, though somewhat belatedly in 1822.<sup>72</sup> Often the cost of erecting statues was a feature of their absence or delay. Therefore, no matter what the reality of the relationships between Town Council and monarchs, Edinburgh and Glasgow's attachment and good relations with the monarchy were celebrated and used to present themselves as good and loyal citizens. Of course, many cities were involved in this because it was also what was expected of them. This can be seen from the jubilee celebrations of George III in 1809. Enacted at the height of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, Bristol was rather late in its preparations for the celebrations. There was an awareness of what other towns and cities were doing, as Colley concludes that, 'only rarely did urban authorities need such prodding to participate in royal celebrations.'<sup>73</sup> Edinburgh and Glasgow were certainly enthusiastic in their commemorations and in them there emerged other ideas about local identity, Scottishness and Britishness and can be witnessed by their dedications to decidedly British military heroes in the period.

### *Military Heroes*

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<sup>71</sup> McKean, *Edinburgh*, 180 – 181. Queen Victoria noted in her journal that, 'there were, however, not nearly so many people in Edinburgh, though the crowd and crush were such that one was really continually in fear of accidents. More regularity and order would have been preserved had there not been some mistake on the part of the Provost about giving due notice of our approach,' Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of our Lives in the Highlands, 1848-61*, Edinburgh, 1868.

<sup>72</sup> A later example from Liverpool was a statue to Queen Victoria in 1870 and Dundee honoured the Queen in this way in 1897.

<sup>73</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 222.

In the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries many military heroes were honoured with statues and monuments. However, by the nineteenth century there is a change in the style of statue considered worthy of such a hero. Equestrian statues that had only previously been reserved for royalty and nobility appeared across Britain honouring the heroes of the Napoleonic Wars. It also reflected how

as the natural art of commemoration, sculpture took heart from romanticism, which fostered the remembrance of piety, power, talent, loyalty or valour... the Napoleonic Wars brought the cult of the hero into vogue.<sup>74</sup>

Statues and monuments to British heroes of this time, considered worthy of these Romantic ideals, were witnessed by many across Britain. It became commonplace for many to mark out particular British heroes, especially Lord Horatio Nelson and Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington.

Tributes to them took many forms, with Wellington receiving honours during his lifetime from both his native city, Dublin, and from London.<sup>75</sup> Edinburgh and Glasgow's elites and middling sorts in the towns and cities conveyed in such celebrations these men's heroism and their achievements while also committing ideas about their ties to the British 'nation,' the Union as well as asserting their Scottish and local identity. In this way, local concerns were projected as much as national ones. In doing so, Edinburgh and Glasgow also exercised their civic and cultural autonomy from London. This was apparent in both the race to become the first city to honour Nelson and in the style of monument that would represent him.

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<sup>74</sup> C. Mathews, *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 286.

*Lord Horatio Nelson*

Victory at Trafalgar instigated a scramble in many Scottish and British cities to be the first to honour Nelson. Glasgow claimed to have won it by erecting a monument to him a year after the hero's death in 1806. It was paid for by public subscription at a cost of £2,000 and its foundation stone was laid on the anniversary of the Battle of Aboukir on August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1806.<sup>76</sup> Newspapers covered the event, including the *Caledonian Mercury* which highlighted the attendance from the elite and noted that a number of ladies and gentlemen attended the ceremony, which was presided over by Sir John Stuart of Allan bank, Bart, who was Provincial Grand Master Mason of the Under Ward of Lanarkshire. There was a strong representation from the military and a number of volunteer regiments. A sermon was conducted prior to the service by the Revd. Dr. William Ritchie who praised Nelson's character and heroism and said it was fitting to 'render honour therefore to whom honour is due.'<sup>77</sup> This rhetoric encapsulates the patriotic language of the time and of romanticism and heroism and was very much of its age. Some in the city claimed that the size of Nelson's monument, which stood at 144 feet, was said to have reflected the level of esteem held by those in the city and across the 'nation'. It was a case of Glasgow choosing to honour one of Britain's heroes and in doing so demonstrating to others that it was capable of being the first and that it could also afford such a large monument. A large audience of 80,000 was reported to have attended the unveiling of Glasgow's Nelson

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 286, Westmacott's *Achilles* statue of the Duke of Wellington, Hyde Park, London (1822) and Wellington Monument, (Obelisk), Phoenix Park, Dublin (1861).

<sup>76</sup> Appendix EE, Nelson's Monument, Glasgow Green, Glasgow, *Glasgow Delineated* (1821).

<sup>77</sup> *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), Monday, August 4, 1806; Issue 13196.

Monument and was said to have symbolised the degree of unity said to be within the city at the time.

Glasgow Green was perhaps the only and obvious site for such a large edifice and it was also close to the city's thriving commercial and industrial lifeblood, the river Clyde. The choice of location was not lost on those who saw the River echoing Nelson's maritime as well as the city's military commitments. Political reasons may have had some part in this since by locating Nelson's Monument beside the river it could be viewed as part of the campaign towards Glasgow's promotion to seaport status at the time and which Parliament finally granted it in 1812.<sup>78</sup>

The Napoleonic Wars heralded other kinds of patriotic displays that also employed the moral example of heroism of men like Nelson to city dwellers. Many public meetings were called to attest to how those in the towns and the cities were loyal to King, Britain and to Empire in such troubled times. In Glasgow such a meeting conveyed how the merchants and others in trade had their concerns for Napoleon's ambitions towards Europe. The meeting was called in the Town Hall under the auspices of the Lord Provost on January 8<sup>th</sup> 1808. At this time Britain was diplomatically isolated and fighting the war on its own. The meeting was recorded in detail, the press reporting that at least 40 merchants and commercial men, 'respectable inhabitants', met to affirm their commitments to the war effort, to King, Britain and Empire. At the meeting it was reported that those in Glasgow would

rally round the throne...to the interests of the British Empire...Glasgow now stands high in the scale of the Empire. Its consequence is felt and is well known. It has

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<sup>78</sup> Maver, *Glasgow*, 46.



always been esteemed for its loyalty...Has not the same Providence raised up for our defences a Nelson and countless others...<sup>79</sup>

In this way, commemorations and meetings such as these were employed as devices to promote ideas about loyalty and harmony within British cities such as Glasgow, especially during the troubled times of war. Glasgow also used such events to promote its perceived important standing within Britain and Empire and employed such loyal addresses to the King to remind him of the city's economic achievements and their loyalty. It also shows that the mercantile elite who did not all have the right to vote were still rallying around the established order.

In Edinburgh, Nelson was honoured in similar ways and a monument to him was sited on Calton Hill. It was a decision which also helped Calton Hill become the city's preeminent monumental space from the first half of the nineteenth century. Some citizens of Edinburgh were pleased with the developments on Calton Hill and wrote asserting their ideas about those who lived there. Some rhetoric incorporated ideas of attachment, unity and how some in the city boasted of their superiority. One commentator thought in 1816, the year Nelson's monument was completed:

I believe that the citizens of Edinburgh have an attachment to the city greater than the common liking that the inhabitants of most towns have to the place of their residence.<sup>80</sup>

Aware of Glasgow's plans to quickly raise its tribute to Nelson, Edinburgh was already advertising its plans in February 1806.<sup>81</sup> The monument was completed as

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<sup>79</sup> *The Morning Post* (London), Tuesday, January 12, 1808; Issue 11512.

victory over the French was finally assured but it was not without some difficulty as funds for its completion were not always forthcoming.<sup>82</sup> Edinburgh may not have outdone Glasgow in the race to remember Nelson but the city's honour to him was certainly to be unique and it also advertised that city's connections to the sea and later it carried a practical element to it. A lead ball was introduced in 1852 and was suspended high on the monument and was timed to drop every day at 1 p.m. to offer assurances to the ships in the River Forth that all was well within the city and so that their watches could be set for navigation.

In their commemorations, the two cities strove to compete to be the first and, in other cases, to be as individual in their choice of style. The language that was selected to herald such edifices represented powerful moral sentiments, not only for the citizens in their time but for those beyond to emulate. Edinburgh's inscription on its Nelson Monument was decidedly nationalist-civic and noted it was:

to the memory of Vice-Admiral Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson and of the great victory of Trafalgar, too dearly purchased with his blood, the grateful citizens of Edinburgh have erected this monument, not to express their unavailing sorrow for his death, nor yet to celebrate the matchless glories of his life; but by his noble example to teach their sons to emulate what they admire, and like him, when duty requires, to die for their country.

MDCCCXV.<sup>83</sup>

Such strong patriotic sentiments reflected the romantic age. Of course, other British cities commemorated Nelson, including Dublin's 'Nelson's Pillar' in 1807 in the city's

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<sup>80</sup> *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), Saturday, November 30, 1816; Issue 14824.

<sup>81</sup> Appendix FF, A. Nasmyth, 'Plan of View of Intended Nelson's Column,' in *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, February 1806, 82..

<sup>82</sup> See *Monumental Edinburgh*, City Art Centre, Edinburgh, 18 October 2003 - 24 January 2004.

Sackville Street.<sup>84</sup> Guidebooks and images, as well as newspapers, helped advertise the cities' monuments and statues at the time and afterwards as well, including Robert Chambers' *Walks in Edinburgh* which contained a detailed image and description of the city's Nelson Monument.<sup>85</sup> The legacy of Nelson was significant to contemporaries, as Adam Nicholson shows: he was a moral example of the ideal citizen of his age and encapsulated Romantic sentiments:

England (sic) grieved for Nelson as they might for a hero of the theatre or the opera. For the hero to die at his moment of his triumph, even as a signal that the triumph had been achieved, was once again the aesthetic requirement of the moment.<sup>86</sup>

Nelson may have represented the ideal naval hero but in Wellington, Britain found another hero from the army.

*Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington*

Wellington's victory over Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815 finally ended the French Wars and, made him another British hero of the romantic age. Many British towns and cities honoured Wellington and a late example came from Dublin which was especially keen to remember its own and at 62 metres it was the tallest obelisk

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<sup>83</sup> See C. Rodgers, *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland*, Two Volumes, (London, 1871).

<sup>84</sup> Liverpool's Nelson monument, erected on Trafalgar Day, 21<sup>st</sup> October, 1813, with the inscription 'England expects every man to do his duty.'

<sup>85</sup> Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh* (1825), 225.

<sup>86</sup> A. Nicholson, *Men of Honour - Trafalgar and the Making of an English Hero* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006), 314.

construction in Europe in 1862.<sup>87</sup> Wellington was not only a military hero but also a politician and his Tory allegiances meant that those with similar political sympathies led the calls for commemorations after his death. John Cookson has also noted how such men encouraged members of the aristocracy to honour him. He stated that the Duke of Wellington attracted as many monuments as Nelson.

Edinburgh and Glasgow and their elites sought out the best sculptors for such commemorations, as Cookson and Helen Smailes have already contended, but also reiterated why particular sculptors were chosen. This is shown in the example of Thomas Campbell (1791 – 1858), who was considered one of the best-known sculptors of his period, having been hailed as the new Canova.<sup>88</sup> He enjoyed the patronage of members of the nobility, including the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Buccleuch, though his main patron was Gilbert Inness of Stow. Buccleuch commissioned Campbell for a statue of Wellington for Dalkeith House (1828 – c.1847). Edinburgh-born Sir John Steell (1804-91), who had also spent time in Rome studying fine art, completed the city's Wellington equestrian statue in 1848.<sup>89</sup> Edinburgh chose Steells' design because it was an aristocratic and equestrian tribute to Waterloo's victor. The idea of a monument to Wellington was promoted from around December 1830 but the final choice was only unveiled to great applause on 18<sup>th</sup> June, 1852. It stands in bronze, the most expensive material of the age for sculpture, in the heart of the city's New Town in front of Robert Adam's Register House (1774). Facing southwards, with Wellington pointing eastwards, ever watchful over Europe, the statue was more than a mere adornment to the city's New Town area. So pleased was the hero with Edinburgh's

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<sup>87</sup> Later examples included Liverpool's monument which was erected 1861–3. And London's Wellington tribute which was criticised by *Punch Magazine* as: 'a gigantic triumph of bad taste over public opinion,' *Illustrated London News*, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 1844, 269.

<sup>88</sup> H.E. Smailes, 'Thomas Campbell and Laurence Macdonald: the Roman solution to the Scottish Sculptor's Dilemma' in Pearson (ed), *Virtue and Vision - Sculpture and Scotland 1540-1990*, 65-71.

<sup>89</sup> Appendix GG, Equestrian Statue of the Duke of Wellington, West Register House, Edinburgh,.

tribute to him that he ordered cast copies of it for his home, Apsley House in London, as well as for Eton., his old school.<sup>90</sup> Classical representation such as the Edinburgh example is in evidence in London's 1822 'Monument to the Duke of Wellington, Statue of Achilles' and reflects the ongoing impact of the Enlightenment.<sup>91</sup>

Calls for an Edinburgh tribute to Wellington intensified after Waterloo and especially from 1838 when the Earl of Elgin promoted the idea of a colossal to him on Arthur's Seat. In an address to prospective subscribers, the Earl noted how it should be inscribed with the words: 'Hence learn the true road to honour, virtue and patriotism...your country's good and everlasting renown...'<sup>92</sup> The language was again patriotic in its overtone and in calling for a Scottish tribute to Wellington, Elgin was reflecting unionist-nationalist sentiment but also reaffirming the place of Edinburgh as the Scottish capital and the most appropriate site for such a tribute.

Glasgow's Wellington statue, like Edinburgh's, was also an equestrian one and it was as strategically located in the New Town outside the city's Royal Exchange.<sup>93</sup> It was designed by Marochetti between 1840 and 1844, though it was first proposed in a public meeting on February 21<sup>st</sup> 1840. Marochetti was Queen Victoria's favourite sculptor, and his work was unveiled in a lavish public ceremony on October 8<sup>th</sup> 1844, which *The Illustrated London News* reported. Woodward has argued that, whereas Edinburgh favoured home-grown sculptors, like Steell, by the mid-nineteenth century most of Glasgow's commissions went to outsiders like Marochetti and only after the 1850s did Glasgow sculptors enjoy any degree of recognition and patronage.<sup>94</sup>

Woodward's argument is supported by the example of Sir Francis Chantrey (1781-

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<sup>90</sup> SCRAN: <http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-299-993-653-C&scache=5x0pej4ioj&searchdb=scran>.

<sup>91</sup> See Cookson, 'The Edinburgh and Glasgow Duke of Wellington Statues', 23-40.

<sup>92</sup> *The Morning Post* (London, England), Wednesday, July 25, 1838; pg. 5; Issue 21079.

<sup>93</sup> Appendix, HH, Equestrian Statue of Wellington in front of Glasgow Royal Exchange.

<sup>94</sup> Woodward, 'Nineteenth Century Sculpture in Glasgow,' in Pearson, *Virtue and Vision*, 91-97.

1841) who was commissioned by Glasgow for a statue to James Watt in the south west corner of George Square in 1832. Later John Mossman, a native of the city, was chosen for a statue to Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850) which was erected in George Square in 1859.

With the Wellington statue, Glasgow's military connections were no less highlighted as they had been with Nelson's monument. Proposals for the statue begun in the Winter of 1840 and it was noted how it carried the support of many of the west's most prominent elites including the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Belhaven and Lord Kelburne, and there was also a strong representation from the military including General Sir Neill Douglass who had known and fought with Wellington. It was also noted how Chartists, who were prominent in their representation in the city at the time, attempted to disrupt the first meeting about the proposed tribute. Interestingly, the recent attempts at Edinburgh to raise money for a monument to the Duke were included in the discussions but that it was pointed out that this meeting at Glasgow to raise a Wellington statue was not done:

out of a spirit of rivalry.....but..they cannot reconcile it to themselves that this great and populous city, the metropolis of the west, and which is already adorned by monuments to Nelson, Sir John Moore and other eminent men should not possess a memorial as a token of their regard and admiration...to that truly great and illustrious individual who has so long, so faithfully and so beneficially served his country.<sup>95</sup>

At this opportunity those in Glasgow chose to highlight not only how the city had already commemorated other worthies in order to justify the decision to go it alone to erect its own tribute to Wellington, but also how some in Glasgow viewed their city as

having earned the right to do so as a place of some standing in its own right, apart from the capital. Later, this was echoed at the unveiling ceremony for the statue. It was conducted by a local politician and four times elected Independent Radical M.P., Robert Dalgleish (1808-1880). Dalgleish had been prominently involved in raising money for the Wellington statue, suggesting that Glasgow's contributors to it were not as partisan as Edinburgh's. However, as at the first meeting, there was still an aristocratic and a strong military presence in the form of the Duke of Argyll, the Scots Greys, who were with Wellesley in the Peninsula at Vittoria and at Waterloo, as well as the 92<sup>nd</sup> Highlanders. Glasgow's Wellington statue was funded by contributions from individuals and businesses across the city and from around the west of Scotland, where some £10,000 had been raised. *The Glasgow Gazette* suggested that Clyde's statue should be placed beside Wellington on Exchange Square and that Sir John Moore's statue should also be moved there from George Square so that they would form a trio of statues to Britain's greatest military heroes.<sup>96</sup> The age of romance, which intensified from the later 1700s and into the early 1800s, where such heroism as Wellington's was romanticised and expressed in art forms including, music, literature and sculpture, then, was very much alive in Glasgow in this idea.

Glasgow's subscribers came from not only aristocratic but mercantile and military persons and this was in contrast to Edinburgh's list of subscribers. Cookson has shown that the list of subscribers in Edinburgh reflected their political allegiances, as those who had donated most to Edinburgh's Wellington statue revealed their Tory sympathies.<sup>97</sup> Edinburgh's and Glasgow's tributes to Nelson and Wellington are indicative of both cities' efforts to remember, be part of and identify with, the wider

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<sup>95</sup> *The Morning Post* (London, England), Friday, February 21, 1840; Issue 21551.

<sup>96</sup> Maver, *Glasgow*, 64.

<sup>97</sup> See Cookson, 'The Edinburgh and Glasgow Duke of Wellington Statues.'

British experience at this time. This is also shown in their efforts to employ the best sculptor as well as the most appropriate one that would best bring aristocratic and royal approval. The fact that these two cities elected and competed to erect their own tributes to Nelson and to Wellington also reveals their efforts to be seen as distinct and stand out within Scotland and Britain. It also shows the contrasting political allegiances of those behind the statues and those who instigated them.

However, local heroes were not forgotten. Glasgow's statue to Sir John Moore (1761-1809) followed on from the efforts of James Black, Glasgow's Lord Provost (1808-10, 1816-18). Moore was the hero of Corunna. His statue was raised in 1819 and was paid for by public subscription through donations from local shops, including some from London, but the inscription noted he was 'a native of Glasgow.'<sup>98</sup>

However, there are some distinctions between Scotland and England in these commemorations. Nelson and Wellington were part of a 'highly selective cult of heroism, never focusing on ordinary soldiers or seamen but only those commanding them,'<sup>99</sup> so only men of a certain rank and nobility could expect such rewards. However, strenuous efforts were expended in Scotland order to honour all Scottish servicemen who had fought in the French Wars, which was manifested in the campaign for the Scottish National Monument in Edinburgh from the 1820s.

### *The National Monument*

Discussions during the campaign for the National Monument to Scots who had fallen in the French Wars echoed those expressed during the efforts to commemorate Nelson and Wellington. Patriotic language was evident as were efforts at conveying pride and confidence in Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic identities. The monument was

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<sup>98</sup> MacKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow*, 119.



also meant to set a moral example for others to emulate, as the following extract illustrates:

Generations yet unborn would read the history of the present period, and with gladness see the martial, generous, and manly spirit of the age....Our children's children would in future ages look with pride on this edifice and point it out as a splendid proof that Scotsmen were generous as well as brave.<sup>100</sup>

These were the sentiments expressed at a meeting of the principal subscribers of the National Monument in May 1819. The words were the Duke of Atholl's and reflected the impact of the ending of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and its legacy to future generations. The Duke of Atholl also captured the essentially male-orientated nature of the monuments. Not only were the subject matters nearly all male but most of those involved in them were men and, as this example reveals, were yet again dominated by the elites, with some involvement from the professionals. At this particular meeting, the subscriptions were said to be heading towards £10,000 and so there was much early optimism about completing it. Yet, like Edinburgh's Nelson's Column, the National Monument on Calton Hill did not appeal to all and particularly because subscriptions for it were raised during a period of economic downturn.

Among the chief subscribers to it were the Duke of Buccleuch, the Dukes of Gordon, Atholl and Montrose, the Marquises of Stafford and Huntly and the Earls of Eglinton, Moray, Kelie, Haddington, Wemyss and March, Dalhousie, Hopetoun, Glasgow, Fife, and Roseberry, among others. The subscriptions list included a Colonel, an Admiral, a number of Generals and Officers, and also Advocates, Lord Provosts, M.P.s and other

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 180.

<sup>100</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, Saturday, May 29, 1819: Issue 15247.

professionals such as engineers, accountants and bankers.<sup>101</sup> This confirms Morton's suggestion that it was, in fact 'endorsed by Scotland's leading lights' and was part of their unionist-nationalist agenda.<sup>102</sup>

A later meeting announced that the choice of design was to be modelled on the Parthenon of Athens, hence the city's classical pretensions at the time were more keenly projected. Concerns were expressed from the beginning of the project that not much had been forthcoming from Scotland's parishes, with only seven contributing ten shillings each. This was perhaps due to the fact it was perceived as Edinburgh's monument and also reflected the economic conditions at the time, especially the financial crash of 1825.<sup>103</sup> The fact that many other places were already committed to tributes to Nelson and Wellington in London may have had some bearing, too.

However, the meeting also noted that the Scottish regiments had also given 'freely to the fund.'<sup>104</sup> The extent to which the regiments had contributed to it was displayed by the contributions of various regiments and their offer to forgo one day's pay towards it. This included the regiments who had fought in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo, the 71<sup>st</sup> Foot, the 75<sup>th</sup> Foot, Royal North British Fusiliers, the 42<sup>nd</sup> Royal Highlanders and the 79<sup>th</sup> Cameronian Highlanders and re-affirmed the focus of the project and was advertised so that 'we have pleasure in giving them that publicity to which they are so justly entitled.'<sup>105</sup> Newspapers carried further appeals for monies and announced the invitation to George IV to lay the foundation stone of the National Monument during his visit to Edinburgh, the following summer, in 1822, in order to instigate more interest.

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Morton, *Unionist – Nationalism*, 184.

<sup>103</sup> McCaffrey, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, 20 -21.

<sup>104</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Friday June 22, 1821: Issue 1930.

<sup>105</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, Monday July, 23, 1821: Issue 15583.

The reality was that the National Monument, Edinburgh's Disgrace, erected on Calton Hill, is also the best example of a failed attempt at Scottish national commemoration. Plans to erect a permanent Scottish national memorial were touted in January 1816, soon after those for Nelson, and when London was planning its own commemorations of the wars. Attempts at a separate Scottish national commemoration were partly in response to London's Trafalgar Square, which was finally laid out to Nash's designs between 1829-34. However, a major post-war economic downturn affected the completion of the National Monument. Despite this, money was to be raised from public subscription after a meeting was held by Edinburgh's Highland Society and the initial drive was distinctly *Scottish* and patriotic. Concerns about its realisation were expressed as early as 1818 when these appeals continued with promises that, 'for every true Caledonian...the cause of the national monument...has not been abandoned.'<sup>106</sup> The employment of such terms as 'Caledonian' was designed to reiterate the project as distinct from those in London and to emphasise the purely Scottish national and individual nature of the pride those would have if they subscribed to it. Later discussions continued in this vein and how it was for the 'heroes of Scotia' that 'every true and patriotic Scotsman at home and abroad' should support it.<sup>107</sup> Yet, there were also essentially British undercurrents that ensured royal and Parliamentary approval for it through an Act of Parliament from 1822, which promised a grant of £10,000 towards it.<sup>108</sup>

Among the original, ambitious plans for the monument were the inclusion of a church and a cemetery. Although some £6,000 was originally enthusiastically pledged, the plan faltered but not without earlier efforts to ensure its success. Only three years after the initial appeal, it was highlighted that 'it had not been abandoned by noblemen

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<sup>106</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, March, 26<sup>th</sup>, 1818: Issue: 15049.

and gentleman who took a more immediate interest in its promotion.’<sup>109</sup> Later meetings set up a subscription committee in London which again demonstrated the British element to it as much as the elites’ involvement in it and their desire to involve Scots in the Capital and across the Empire.<sup>110</sup> By 1821 reports that over £23,693 had been pledged and money was promised from the Presidency of Bombay, from other parts of India, and also from Mauritius and also confirmed the Empire’s role. Yet, this was still short of the proposed £50,000 set by Parliament which was required to build it.<sup>111</sup> A lottery was mooted at one point when no more subscriptions were forthcoming but this failed.<sup>112</sup> By 1846, when Parliament was petitioned for a change of use, the dream was all but over.<sup>113</sup>

The failure of the National Monument was a combination of over ambition, economic reality and wider cultural and particular local concerns. Moreover, as already suggested, Edinburgh and Glasgow were already involved in other commemorations at the time, including those to Wellington, George IV and Walter Scott. In fact, the problem of timing of the National Monument was hindered by the fact that the two cities and others had already statues to the two heroes, Nelson and Wellington, who, as famous commanders, best represented the successes of the Wars. Therefore, as was found with the Scottish capital’s attempts at the Nelson monument, monies that were promised did not always emerge and so the monument was left uncompleted and was left as an example of the failure of Edinburgh’s ‘Athenian’ dream.

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<sup>107</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1819: Issue 15191.

<sup>108</sup> Morton, *Unionist – Nationalism*, 184.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *The Morning Post*, Wednesday, April 30<sup>th</sup>, 1819: Issue, 15063.

<sup>111</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, Monday, January, 14<sup>th</sup>, 1822: Issue 15659.

<sup>112</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1833: Issue 17401.

<sup>113</sup> Morton, *Unionist – Nationalism*, 185.

Woodward argues that by the 1820s when the monument was already under construction, Glasgow had 'opted out of any proposals for national monuments, electing instead to erect local memorials.'<sup>114</sup> Of course, Glasgow had supported the statue to King George IV in Edinburgh, but there is evidence that those in the city choose who to commemorate and when, which was also evident in attempts to build a monument to William Wallace from 1818-1819, which were ended by the Radical Wars.<sup>115</sup> A statue to Wallace was also proposed in Edinburgh by the Earl of Elgin but his efforts at a colossal statue to the Duke of Wellington on Arthur's Seat in the early 1800s failed. Glasgow asserted its separate civic and Scottish and British identity in this and in other ways. Glasgow's decision may also had something to do with the capital's management of the plans for the National Monument and the fact that it was located in Edinburgh and in a space that was decidedly the city's monumental space. Certainly, concerns in Glasgow about the project were expressed in June 1821 at a meeting with Sir Alex Muir MacKenzie, 1<sup>st</sup> Baronet of Delvine, a lawyer, member of the Highland Society and a Perthshire landowner. MacKenzie articulated something of the fact that it was Edina's project and 'that he had subscribed a much larger sum for a combined monument that he would have felt himself authorised to have done for a mere piece of ornamental architecture to embellish the city of Edinburgh'.<sup>116</sup>

A few months later, during George IV's visit to Edinburgh in August 1822, the King, who was patron of the redesign of Trafalgar Square in London, had agreed to act as patron to the National Monument but did not attend the foundation stone ceremony and was instead represented by the Duke of Hamilton. The King's visit, as already suggested, was an elaborately orchestrated affair and part of Walter Scott's celebration

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<sup>114</sup> Woodward, 'Nineteenth Century Sculpture in Glasgow,' in Pearson, *Virtue and Vision*, 91.

<sup>115</sup> *Glasgow Delineated in its institutions, manufactures, and commerce; with a map of the city and 39 engraving of its principal public buildings*, (Glasgow, 1827), 2nd edition, 40-41

of *Caledonia* that advertised ‘the extraordinary civic confidence of Edinburgh...as a national metropolis.’<sup>117</sup> This confidence may have led to some upset from those in Glasgow and other places and which viewed their city as a worthy and alternative ‘western metropolis’. The National Monument’s foundation stone ceremony was led by a great Masonic procession through the streets of Edinburgh, attended by the many elites, wealthier citizens and soldiers, who had contributed to it. The classical pretensions, both to the monument’s inspiration and to the past were evoked throughout the ceremony, as if to reconnect the time of Athens with that of Edinburgh. The Scots were portrayed as a noble race, united and every ready in their efforts to serve, and other Romantic and heroic language of the age was evident:

Worthy it is of Scotland to imitate such a model. The sons of Caledonia, war-like in themselves, have ever possessed the patriot valour of ancient Greeks. Having rivalled them in the field, let them now emulate their eminence in the arts...we are now on hallowed ground...our illustrious hero of Trafalgar...called upon his companions in arms to do their duty.<sup>118</sup>

Edinburgh as the ‘Athens of the North’ and other such Greek pretensions were also extended before the King’s visit in ‘a copy of the letter by the committees of subscribers to the National Monument soliciting contributions, dated 24th January 1822’ which captured something of Edinburgh’s deflections of criticism of its plans for a separate Scottish memorial.<sup>119</sup> The letter clearly referred to Edinburgh as the

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<sup>116</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Friday June 22, 1821: Issue 1930.

<sup>117</sup> Duncan, *Edinburgh, capital of the nineteenth century*, in Chandler & Gilmartin, *Romantic Metropolis*, 48.

<sup>118</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, August, 29, 1822: Issue 15756.

<sup>119</sup> *The National Monument to be completed for the Scottish National Gallery on the model of the Pantheon an appeal to the Scottish People*, (Adam and Charles Black, London, 1907), ‘a copy of the

'metropolis' and explained that, 'instead of being regarded as a mere local object, with which Scotsmen are only concerned, it will be looked upon as a splendid addition to the architectural riches of the empire, in which all its inhabitants are interested.'<sup>120</sup> The monument was therefore unionist-nationalist and part of the wider imperial ambitions but it also showed how some Edinburgh, too confident in their 'capital' status and as another 'Athens' could be less than delicate in remembering that it was meant to be a Scottish wide and truly national affair.. This kind of language only encouraged rivalry between the two cities even though it was part of the expected dialogue of the age and was something that had to be done in order for as much financial support to be gained as possible. Moreover, part of it, though not all of it, was also a sincere commitment to Scotland and Britishness, which supports the arguments by both Morton and Colley. Part of it was about promoting one city above others.

The uniqueness of the National Monument was also that it was intended for those fallen on both land and sea. The letter emphasised this fact and that assistance had been given in the past for similar projects and could be again. It again described Edinburgh as another 'Athens' and played on contemporary concerns, by arguing that the present situation of war in Greece was said to render 'the destruction of the Parthenon, therefore might be necessary as examples of the ancient ones now under threat in Greece'. To detract other fears about it, the letter also claimed that half of the monies were already collected. It also tried to argue in other ways why Edinburgh was the best place for it as it had the necessary building expertise, given the city's improvements over the past thirty year years.<sup>121</sup> As if to further its attraction, the National Monument was to be designed by the pre-eminent, neo-classical architect of

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letter by the committees of subscribers to the National Monument soliciting contributions dated 24th January, 1822', 45-46.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

his age, C. R. Cockerell. His death forced its execution by the other leading Greek revivalist of the day, W. H. Playfair in 1825-8. The choice of Calton Hill was later touted in 1838 by one subscriber to the national monument planned for Sir Walter Scott. For him or her Calton Hill was the obvious choice of location to remember Scott because of what was already there and in writing to the *Caledonian Mercury* also expressed fears for the completion of the National Monument:

I answer at once to the Calton Hill, the Acropolis of the 'Modern Athens.' Monuments to the gallant Nelson- to the philosophers, Playfair and Stewart - and to Caledonia's native bard, Robert Burns, are already there not to speak of the great 'National Monument' which I fear is destined to remain a memento of the pride and poverty of Scotland.<sup>122</sup>

The Scottish capital saw itself as a fitting place for Scotland's and Britain's commemorations and the experience of the National Monument and its ultimate failure did not prevent the city, or Glasgow, from carrying out other tributes. In fact, it may have served to encourage the two cities in their monuments to other Scottish subject-matters including to the man who had stage-managed George VI's visit, Sir Walter Scott. It was not until the campaign for the National Wallace Monument in Stirling from 1856 that the two cities again collaborated on a national endeavour. However, even this tribute was marred with underlying civic rivalries and political tensions.<sup>123</sup> Edinburgh and Glasgow's monuments to Sir Walter Scott caused other tensions between them and marked their efforts to somewhat erase the experience of the

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<sup>122</sup> *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), Monday, June 18, 1838; Issue 18437.



National Monument. The writer was honoured for his fame following the success of his romantic novels which had done so much to advertise Edinburgh and a particular version of Scotland's past to those in and beyond the 'nation.' It was a widely-held view that he had earned the right to be commemorated. In this, those in Edinburgh who drove a Scottish national monument to him portrayed Scott as an 'Edinburgh' man, a Scotsman, a Briton. Partly in response to this, Glasgow raised the first tribute to him and chose to focus on his Scottishness and his Britishness and how he had employed the city in one of his most famous novels *Rob Roy*.

### *Sir Walter Scott*

A meeting was held in Edinburgh in October 1832 to promote a monument to Sir Walter Scott following the writer's death. It was covered in detail by the *Edinburgh Courant* and it was noted how well attended it was and reproduced a number of attestations at it summarising Scott's contribution to Scotland as well as to Edinburgh:

...That some testimony should be raised in this city, some mark of respect, that will hand down, not his fame to posterity, for that is founded on a far more solid base than stone and lime can make, but that it should be a testimony of the gratitude of the age to the individual who has raised our country far beyond what any other individual has ever had it in his power to do.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> H. Rapport, 'The Building of the National Wallace Monument: A Scottish, British or International affair?' The University of Stirling's Symposium on the 700<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Wallace and Bruce, March 2006, Stirling, (unpublished).

<sup>124</sup> Extract from *Edinburgh Courant* as quoted in *The Morning Post*, Tuesday, October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1832: Issue 19293.

The Tory and Romantic writer, Walter Scott, is of course most closely associated with Edinburgh, Scotland and Romanticism. His novels capture the romantic nature of the time in which they were penned and represent a decisive shift from the rationalism of the Enlightenment to the escapism of the Romantic and Gothic era. In some way, the words above expressed what some people thought Scott represented during his lifetime, namely that he was an ambassador for Scotland and for Edinburgh. Chapter five on visitors certainly provides evidence for this from those who came to Scotland during and after his lifetime. Present at the October meeting were some of the Scottish elites and the city's professionals, many of whom had been involved with the National Monument and who reflected Scott's own political preferences. However, there were others who also represented quite different politics from those of Scott,<sup>125</sup> including, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Rosebery, the Lord Advocate, the Marquis of Lothian and Professor Wilson, who suggested why Edinburgh was the most appropriate place for a monument to him and what it would communicate about his esteem to later times.

Many monuments will be erected to his memory, but it is here, in his own romantic town - it is here, in the heart of Scotland, here such a monument should be erected as will tell to future ages the honour and reverence in which he was held by us all.<sup>126</sup>

This time, Edinburgh was quicker than Glasgow in calling for a national monument to Scott and it was keen that what Scott had called 'mine own romantic town' would do him some justice. A committee was set up in Edinburgh almost within a day of the writer's death on September 22<sup>nd</sup> 1832. However, Glasgow still became the first

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<sup>125</sup> Morton, *Unionist – nationalism*, 163.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

Scottish city to honour him with its successful completion by 1838 of the city's Scott Monument which gave it the opportunity to remind Edinburgh that it was quicker in this respect. The irony of this was not lost on visitors too and comments were made even during the laying of the foundation stone ceremony there. The traveller T. F. Dibdin captured the two cities' contrasting classical civic identities and noted how: 'The Spartans have here shot ahead of the Athenians.'<sup>127</sup> Those mocking classical references poked fun at the historical rivalry between these two distinct peoples and demonstrated how those outside the two cities were aware of their rivalry. This even sparked some other historic comparisons and in a direct reference to the city's pretended civic identity, the *Glasgow Herald* commented that this city's monument to Sir Walter Scott meant that: 'the glories of Florence, in the time of the Medicis, have dawned on the commerce now irradiating the spires of Glasgow.'<sup>128</sup> In this, it was suggested that if Edinburgh could be another 'Athens' then Glasgow could be another 'Florence'.

Glasgow wasted no time in planning its acknowledgment of the writer as it had done with Nelson. In October 1832, one month after Scott's death, Glasgow formed a committee to discuss a competition to design a monument to him.<sup>129</sup> By June 1838, Glasgow became the first city to erect a statue to Edinburgh's own Scott. George Square, which already boasted statues to the city's Sir John Moore and James Watt was the chosen site. On October 2<sup>nd</sup> 1837, the foundation stone ceremony was laid and the city's elites, including the town's magistrates, university professors, among other dignitaries, as well as the Lord Provost, William Mills, endorsed what the writer meant to those in the city and also reiterated what public sculpture was meant to signify:

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<sup>127</sup> T. Frognall, 'A bibliographical, antiquarian, and picturesque tour in the northern counties of England and in Scotland,' (London, 1838), 667.

<sup>128</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 19 October 1832, as quoted in McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow*, 125.

<sup>129</sup> McKenzie, *Public Sculpture in Glasgow*, 124.

We have been doing what, more than any other act, helps society forward in the road of social improvement...Glasgow has been the first to realise the honourable intention. He has deserved it at our hands.<sup>130</sup>

In reply to this, the Very Reverend Principal MacFarlan hinted again at the rivalry between the two cities when he suggested that Glasgow's monument to the writer was much better than others, like Edinburgh's, which was considerably more expensive and larger in design.

It is, indeed, a proud distinction...being the first city or district in the Empire to erect a public memorial to our illustrious countryman and I am confident that however extensively their example may be followed, whatever may be the magnitude or the cost of the edifices which may erected elsewhere for the same purpose, no one will be constructed on a design more pure, chaste, and truly ornamental.<sup>131</sup>

Glasgow's Doric Column to Scott was a reflection of the city's classical pretensions and Scott's connections with the city. Scott visited Glasgow several times and featured the city in his novel, *Rob Roy* (1817). The author himself had even boasted of his visits to Glasgow in the early nineteenth century in order to retrace Rob Roy's footsteps.<sup>132</sup> This kind of connection encouraged the public subscriptions for Glasgow's Scott edifice at a cost of nearly £16,000, which was significantly less than Edinburgh's, completed over 30 years later.

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<sup>130</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1837: Issue 18237. The foundation stone ceremony in Glasgow to its Scott Monument was also reported in *The Aberdeen Journal*, Wednesday, October 11, 1837.

<sup>131</sup> Morton, *Unionist – nationalism*, 165 - 166.

<sup>132</sup> *Oliver & Boyd's Scottish tourist Guide to Glasgow*, 3.

Edinburgh's Scott's Monument was indeed a colossal and expensive affair. It dominated the view across Princes Street Gardens and was a much more ostentatious edifice than Glasgow's. The foundation stone was laid on 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1840 with Scott's statue designed by Sir John Steell, who would also complete the Wellington statue. That day a public holiday was declared in Edinburgh so that all could attend with the best seats set aside for those who could pay to see it. During the foundation stone ceremony, the national anthem, 'Rule Britannia,' written by the Scottish poet James Thomson, was sung. Sir James Forrest of Comiston, the Grand Master Mason, who was also the Lord Provost of Edinburgh at the time, presided. Sir William Rae, one of chief organisers of the building committee announced how appropriate the man and the monument were to the 'metropolis of Scotland.'<sup>133</sup> The monument and statue within it was somehow thought therefore to represent the marriage of Scott's ideals with that of the city. While the statue of Scott himself looks out to the Old Town's romantic past, his actual position is forever fixed in his distinctly British New Town location. On completion, the Edinburgh monument stood 200 feet high and cost c. £16,154 but it was not finally realised until the 1870s due to rising building costs.<sup>134</sup>

Edinburgh's Scott Monument was funded principally from local and other national contributions and represented the depth of awareness of Scott and something of the impact he had.<sup>135</sup> However, despite the fact that other committees were formed for the monument in Edinburgh in London, Selkirk, and even in Glasgow, Glasgow's own Scott tribute and its apparent lack of support for the Edinburgh monument were still being noted when the Scott Monument in Edinburgh was finally completed there in 1871 when it was remarked that by this time 'Glasgow was not likely to subscribe

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<sup>133</sup> *The Morning Chronicle* (London, England), Wednesday, August 19, 1840; Issue 22069.

<sup>134</sup> J. Castle, *Secretary to the Joint Committee*, 'History of the subscriptions for erecting a monument to Sir Walter Scott in Edinburgh, compiled from the castle,' (1852 MSS), as quoted in Rodgers, *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland*, Vol. 1, 5.

towards the ornaments of the sister city.<sup>136</sup> The Scottish capital's management of a national campaign meant that it was slower to realise its designs, unlike Glasgow, but determined in light of the experience of the National Monument to succeed.<sup>137</sup> In this way, the desire to go it alone in remembering figures that were perceived as Scottish as much as British, were a feature of how the two cities' desired to convey their city's ties to the great and the good. Laying some claim to the likes of Nelson, Wellington and Scott were what Edinburgh and Glasgow and other British cities and towns did to promote their elites and middling sort commitments to them, to what they represented, heroism, success and to British values of Empire.

### *Conclusion*

The realisation of the two cities' commemorations reveal potent contemporary political undercurrents about wider cultural concerns and norms at the time and show how the two cities' middling sort and elites worked together in this period to influence the image and reality of the cityscape, as well as reflecting their desire to have some social control over those within it. The two cities were no different in that they honoured monarchs, British heroes, and Scottish and local achievers. They strove to have the best sculptor of the day, to be the first to commemorate in unique ways particular individuals, and to ensure that the achievements of those they honoured were closely tied into those of the city. The monuments and statues were meant to be permanent features on the cityscapes of the towns and cities offering moral inspiration to those who lived in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Language about them instilled ideas about civic pride and rivalry and is especially evident in the case of Edinburgh's drive

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<sup>135</sup> Morton, *Unionist – nationalism*, 167.

to the National Monument and in Glasgow's example of its Wellington statue. In the period 1750-1842, the Scottish capital city, Edinburgh wanted to prove to other places in Scotland and in Britain that it was still the driving force behind Scottish national commemorations. In Glasgow, there was a desire to prove that it could afford to assert its separate and successful ventures apart from Edinburgh, as suggested in the case of its statue to Sir Walter Scott. In these and other example, their coverage in newspapers, guidebooks, magazines and in other literature confirmed this. Glasgow was especially proud of the fact that it was the first city to remember Lord Horatio Nelson (1758-1805) and it also beat Edinburgh's attempts to commemorate Walter Scott.<sup>138</sup>

It has also been suggested that building monuments and statues was especially competitive in the aftermath of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. This was when many British cities, including Edinburgh and Glasgow, publicly tied their cities' accomplishments closely to those individuals who had sacrificed themselves for the 'nation.' The idea of the hero was fostered in this period.<sup>139</sup> Edinburgh's tribute to Nelson was eight years after Glasgow's, but the designs for it date from 1807.<sup>140</sup> Both cities got there before London's Nelson Column, which was erected in 1843.<sup>141</sup> This showed how the capital did not always set the tone for the rest of the country and how towns and cities demanded their own tributes. However, at other times, London was their inspiration.<sup>142</sup> In Scotland, they also celebrated essentially Scottish heroes and literati as well and it emphasised individual ties within the two cities to claim

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<sup>136</sup> *The Standard*, Tuesday, June, 27<sup>th</sup>, 1871: Issue 14634, 7.

<sup>137</sup> Woodward, , 'Nineteenth Century Sculpture in Glasgow,' in Pearson (ed.), *Virtue and Vision*, 92.

<sup>138</sup> Cleland's *Annals of Glasgow*, 104.

<sup>139</sup> See Colley, *Britons* and Nicholson, *Men of Honour - Trafalgar and the Making of an English Hero*.

<sup>140</sup> *Monumental Edinburgh*, 18 October 2003 - 24 January 2004.

<sup>141</sup> Birmingham erected its monument to the naval hero in 1809 and Sir Richard Westmacott completed Liverpool's in October 1813, the year before Edinburgh's.

<sup>142</sup> See Wilson, 'The Florence of the North?', Kidd and Nicholls, *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism*, 34-46.

ownership of them- no matter how brief the suggestion, as the case of Scott and Glasgow shows.

From the 1800s, essentially Scottish heroes and worthies were also singled out, as the example of Sir John Moore and also Sir Walter Scott demonstrates, reinforcing unionist-nationalist beliefs.<sup>143</sup> The elites and middling sort orchestrated such occasions, as did those in the town councils. The later example of the completion of the National Monument erected to the memory of William Wallace, near Stirling, from the 1860s, albeit still within a carefully managed British/Scottish political vein, also confirms this. It was more successful than the earlier National Monument though it was not without its difficulties and delays and inter-city rivalry.<sup>144</sup> The idea for a national monument to Wallace originated in the period considered, in 1818 in Glasgow but events there following the Radical War of 1819 reflected how some plans to commemorate Scottish heroes fell foul of the political and economic conditions of the time they were first envisaged.

Of course, the political sensitivities were also mirrored in the architectural influences of their time. Changes can be seen, from the classical representations of Wellington and Victoria in the first half of the nineteenth century to the Gothic tower of Scott's monument in Edinburgh towards its completion in the second half of the nineteenth century and, finally, to the Scottish baronial style that dominated the National Wallace Monument. As Frank Walker sums up, there was 'something of a nationalist swagger in the architectural growth of the Scottish cities and towns...besides churches, rather more schools and many court-houses, there were numerous town halls, public halls, police stations, corn exchanges, banks, and of

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<sup>143</sup> See Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*.

<sup>144</sup> See Rapport, 'The Building of the National Wallace Monument: A Scottish, British or International affair?'



course, suburban villas all carried out in baronial style.<sup>145</sup> This originated in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century when many such projects were begun and only completed later.

Whatever the stimuli or shifting focus of local rivalries, most British cities looked to London for their benchmark and inspiration. Edinburgh's and Glasgow's competition, however, was not just about London but about their respective sense of perceived prestige and 'place' in relation to each other, as well as to London, Scotland and Britain. Illustrative of this was the fact that some cities erected 'national' edifices before the metropolis. Promoting the great and their good was also a particularly useful tool when combating social reformers' criticisms, many of whom had exposed the cities' moral and social shortcomings from as early as the 1820s.<sup>146</sup> The growth of the public sphere and the rise in the number of Christian and voluntary societies was also in response to this, as Briggs has argued, 'Victorians began to interest themselves in cities in the 1830s and 1840s. They were horrified and fascinated by the large industrial cities.'<sup>147</sup> Partly in response to this, the larger Victorian cities like Glasgow projected themselves as engines of prosperity that were largely based on commerce and trade but which could combine this with cultural patrons. Yet the drive to aesthetically adorn cities with imagery from the classical past begun in this earlier period as the example of the style and language conveyed in the monuments and statues show. Schmeichan has maintained that 'Glasgow's Victorian architecture was a visual iconography which tried to solve what architects and citizen saw to be the problems facing urban society.'<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> F. Walker, 'National romanticism and the Architecture of the city,' in G. Gordon, *Perspectives on the Scottish City* (Aberdeen, 1995), 146, 125-149.

<sup>146</sup> See Coleman, *The Idea of the City in the Nineteenth Century* and B. McKelvey, *The City in American History* (New York, 1969), 27.

<sup>147</sup> Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 12.

<sup>148</sup> Schmeichan, 'Glasgow of the Imagination' in Fraser & Maver, *Glasgow Volume II*, 496.

Also, while some, such as Trevelyan, have contended that ‘civic pride and civic rivalry among the industrial towns of the North were almost entirely materialistic and not at all aesthetic’<sup>149</sup> others have been just as keen to temper Trevelyan’s position.<sup>150</sup> As for Glasgow, Trevelyan’s position is not entirely without substance, especially if one considers the city’s competitive drive in the second half of the period when it pitted itself as the ‘second city’ and was compared more with other large industrial and commercial centres including Birmingham and Manchester and with the port city of Liverpool.<sup>151</sup> Yet in this period Glasgow was concerned with Edinburgh as its benchmark.

This chapter argues that Edinburgh’s and Glasgow’s civic pride and rivalry in their statues and monuments were partly in response to what other cities were doing. The elites and middling sort and their commemorations were influenced by the wider cultural environment. Some argued rather adamantly (and in doing so exposing their rivalries) that they drew the inspiration from, modelled themselves on, and embellished and appropriated examples of, cities such as Athens, Rome and the Renaissance cities of Florence and Venice.<sup>152</sup> However, the 19<sup>th</sup> century also showed that Glasgow was as concerned with defining itself culturally against Edinburgh - and vice versa – and this is evident in their civic commemorations, whether it was a statue to Nelson, Wellington and Scott. Competition between the two cities’ civic commemorations was, at times, aggressive. Over time, their monuments and statues may have blended into their urban fabric, some were removed and lost their meaning but what they symbolised and represented, it is argued here, never waned as

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<sup>149</sup> Trevelyan, *English Social History*, 579.

<sup>150</sup> P. J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation 1850 - 1914* (Oxford, 1983), 80.

<sup>151</sup> Fraser & Mavor, *Glasgow Volume II*, introduction.

<sup>152</sup> Wilson, ‘The Florence of the North’ Kidd and Nicholls, *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism*, 34; Liverpool was also compared to as Venice in this way, R. Muir, *A History of Liverpool* (1907),

contemporaries' commentaries, particularly about their civic ceremonies, reflected potent sentiments about people's attitudes and concerns of the moment and mirrored their keen interest in emulating the past and staking their 'place' within the present Scottish/British and local mould. Glasgow's monument to John Knox in 1825 was another example of this. Erected at The Necropolis, the colossal monument and statue carried potent religious symbolism for its citizens. It was erected three years before Catholic Emancipation and overlooked the ancient Cathedral which one observer saw in ruins. The importance of history was relevant to many contemporaries and also showed how cities sought kudos from the past, whether it was from ancient Athens or Rome, the cities of Renaissance Europe or in the escape to romantic medievalism.

Historians like Lewis Mumford believed that,

the city heightened the tempo of human intercourse...through its monuments, written records, and orderly habits of association the city enlarged the scope of all human activities...<sup>153</sup>

...his optimistic attitude to cities was echoed by contemporary evidence. Other historians share his ideas about British cities from the later 1700s and through the 1800s.<sup>154</sup> Much, then, is revealed about those involved in managing and realising such feats and at particular times. Moreover, as the experience of the National Monument and Scott Monument suggests, those in Edinburgh, as Scotland's capital city, felt they had to lead such commemorations to national events and Scottish heroes, but those in Glasgow could opt out or in as they chose because they were not under the same

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(Liverpool, 1970), 242; Vienna also styled itself as an imperial city, as examined in Lees & Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe 1750-1914*.

<sup>153</sup> See L. Mumford, *The City in History* (London, 1961).

<sup>154</sup> R. Vaughan, *The Age of Great Cities* (London, 1843).

pressures and expectations as theirs was not the capital city. In effect, the erection of statues, monuments and civic ceremonies that commemorated individuals and promoted their connections to Edinburgh and Glasgow represented an emerging civic consciousness which also drove the elites as much as the middling sort to recreate their ideal city and to promote it to their citizens and to those in other cities. Gunn shows this, too, in 'the way the urban middle classes created distinctive institutions and a civic culture that reflected their authority and power.'<sup>155</sup> And, as Hall argues for the nineteenth century, 'Victorian civic buildings, though implemented by architects and designers, were the expression of a particular vision of the city and its citizens.'<sup>156</sup> The decline of the aristocracy left the way open for Britain's elites and their emerging middling classes in the period as well.<sup>157</sup> Yet, the elites and middling sort in the earlier period drove much of the commemorations considered and only into the second half of the nineteenth century did the wider populace have some say in whether the statues and monuments were realised as most were paid for from public subscriptions and, as Ryan has suggested, those in the second half of the nineteenth century were more representative of emerging democratic processes and the changing nature of citizenship within the cities.<sup>158</sup>

Finally, both cities' edifices conveyed moral instruction about public space and about who was considered a good citizen and an example for others to follow, as those to Nelson, Wellington and Scott became political, religious as much as physical

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<sup>155</sup>S. Gunn, 'Public Spaces in the Victorian City' in Boyd & McWilliam, *The Victorian Studies Reader*, 152, 151-165.

<sup>156</sup> Hill, 'Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Ancient Greece,' in Kidd & Nicholls, *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism*, 99.

<sup>157</sup> See D. Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: the Aristocracy and the Towns 1774 - 1967* (Leicester;: Leicester University Press, 1980), which looked at, among others, the examples of Eastbourne and Birmingham.

<sup>158</sup> M. P. Ryan, *Civic Wars- Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the nineteenth century* ((Berkeley, 1997); New York, New Orleans and San Francisco's monuments were built in the 1825 - 1850 and were realised by a wide consortium of people so 'the people who counted' had expanded significantly,' 108.

signposts and icons.<sup>159</sup> As the elites and middling sort continued their dominance of commemorations over the course of the 1800s, their unionist – nationalist sentiments remained. A later example as one minister argued in 1869, when attending the opening of the most important Scottish iconic monument of its time, the National Wallace Monument in Stirling: 'the thistle is cut down without compunction, and the rose is cultivated in its place. National jealousies have departed.'<sup>160</sup> Whatever the commentary, it must be remembered who was saying it, for what particular reasons, and when. The orchestration of Edinburgh and Glasgow's monuments and statues and their civic ceremonies were largely manipulations by a select group of people who sought to ensure their ideas, influences and concerns were reflected in them and for all time. What is also clear is that no matter whether the subject was local or national, those who organised and realised them remained the same after the 1840s and this suggested that the democratic concerns of the age and the changes in ideas about citizenship were not always respected.<sup>161</sup> Arguably, it was not until the aftermath of the First World War that this changed in respect to memorials, statues, and monuments, especially in relation to who was commemorated.<sup>162</sup> Earlier monuments and statues were concerned with elites such as Nelson, Wellington and Scott. In some ways, these commemorations were partly successful in that they established ideas about unity and local and national identity and showed that the middling sort worked with the elites to realise them. In other ways, they only served to highlight the rivalries and schisms felt within Edinburgh and Glasgow's elites and middling sort. Chapter Five explores how visitors to the two cities perceived their civic identities and rivalries

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<sup>159</sup> McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow*, 69.

<sup>160</sup> Rev. C. Rogers, LL.D. FSA, *Scotland: Social and Domestic- Memorials of life and manner in North Britain* (London, 1869), 78.

<sup>161</sup> E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875 - 1914* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1995), 84.

based on the two cities' reputations forged by what they had read about them. It considers how ideas from within Edinburgh and Glasgow influenced those who came into them and how these ideas were regurgitated in a process of what can be described as received ideas. In many ways, the language conveyed regarding monuments and statues were received ideas about Scotland, Britain, Empire and also the two cities.

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<sup>162</sup> See J. MacLeod, 'By Scottish hands, with Scottish money, on Scottish soil: The Scottish National War Memorial and Scottish National Identity,' *Journal of British Studies*; Jan 2010, Vol. 49 Issue 1, 73 – 96.

## Chapter Five: Visitors' impressions of Edinburgh and Glasgow

This place is much more bustling than Edinburgh and has a great many fine large houses in it.

-E. Diggle, (1788).<sup>1</sup>

Glasgow is a beautiful city, its streets are well laid out, and cut into right angles; the houses are elegant, and constructed of hewn stone; its situation in the middle of a plain, is much less remarkable than that of Edinburgh; and although a great commerce, numerous manufactures, and a considerable population animate this city, Edinburgh will always appeal more striking to foreigners.

-L. A. Necker de Saussure, (1821).<sup>2</sup>

Here is the city of Glasgow, built in a style, and beautiful in all ways, very little short of the New Town of Edinburgh.

-W. Cobbett, (1833).<sup>3</sup>

Glasgow contains some very tasteful buildings, both private and public edifices, and though well laid out, falls very short of Edinburgh, in all that is beautiful and rich.

-H. B. McLellan, (1834).<sup>4</sup>

### *Introduction*

As these four extracts suggest, visitors who came to Scotland from the later eighteenth century usually compared Edinburgh and Glasgow and often expressed a preference

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<sup>1</sup> GUL, Sp Coll, MS General 738, E. Diggle, 'Thirty two letters to sister on a tour by stage coach from London to the Highlands of Scotland from April 19<sup>th</sup> – August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1788.

<sup>2</sup> L. A. Necker de Saussure, *Travels in Scotland; descriptive of the state of manners, literature, and science*, (London, 1821), 52.

<sup>3</sup> Green, D. (ed.), *Cobbett's Tour in Scotland by William Cobbett, 1763-1835* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), 54.

<sup>4</sup> H. B. McLellan, *Journal of a Residence in Scotland*, (Boston, 1834), 158.

for one city over the other. Visitors' accounts also charted some of the changes within the cities over the period 1752 - 1842 and uncovered their emerging civic identities and the preponderance of civic pride and rivalry. In their attempts to convey particular places, times and events, historians have long employed visitors' impressions, so this chapter complements the work already done by Sher and Riches, among others, while offering some new interpretations.<sup>5</sup> However, in the visitors' descriptions there were many repetitions of what had already been said about the two cities and some contained much day-to-day information about the weather and the quality of food and accommodation. Therefore, there are as many benefits as limitations in employing such sources and the picture of Edinburgh and Glasgow is far from complete or always accurate. As Patricia Herlihy argued about visitors' observations, 'they capture the *minutiae* and the *maximae* of urban life...and almost always the travellers bring a comparative perspective to their observations...they often see things which even natives had not observed.' Yet, Herlihy also warns that, 'the reporting is never systematic, and the quality varies wildly from one author to another...plagiarism is one of the genre's deadly sins.'<sup>6</sup>

Some contemporaries, including one in Edinburgh, were also alert to such restrictions and articulated that only those on the 'inside' had the ability to convey the 'true' nature of the city:

The superficial glances of the summer tourist or commercial traveller can, however, give them but slight information as the real state of Edinburgh. They have little opportunity of observing the peculiarities which, even more than those of a local

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<sup>5</sup> See Riches, 'The Teeth of an Ivory Comb' in Mays, *The Architecture of Scottish Cities*, 34-44; R. B. Sher, 'Images of Glasgow in Later Eighteenth Century Popular Poetry, in Hook & Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, 190 - 213.

<sup>6</sup> P. Herlihy, 'Visitors' Perceptions of Urbanisation: Travel Literature in Tsarist Russia,' in Fraser & Sutcliffe, *The Pursuit of Urban History*, 124 - 137, 124.



nature, distinguish this from every other town in this island, and which, in fact, must constitute its principal interest with every liberal and cultivated mind.<sup>7</sup>

Even travel writers appeared aware of some of the flaws and conveyed the popularity of writing travel accounts, as one Swedish Professor of Botany, Charles Peter Thurnberg, explained,

Every traveller thinks himself under an obligation to turn author, and report something marvellous to his countrymen, although, perhaps, possessed of so small a stock of knowledge, as not to be able himself clearly to comprehend what he has seen or heard, much less give others a distinct idea of it.<sup>8</sup>

Despite Thurnberg's warning, others did put pen to paper and saw travel as part of the Enlightenment idea of self-improvement. As one visitor saw it, 'nothing enlarges the mind so much as travel.'<sup>9</sup> However, in this case, the argument was put forward that it was something that was particularly important during an age of increasing violence, especially, after the outbreak of the French Revolution, so the reasons for travel as much as the reasons for writing about it also varied over the period:

There is nothing which tends to enlarge the mind so much as travel, for it is easy to sit by your fireside and read the adventures of others...yet the knowledge makes little impression of the mind, it comes and goes like a shadow; from ocular

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<sup>7</sup> ECL,YDA 1862, 807/ T72176, 'A Sketch of the Present State of Edinburgh,' a five page letter to the Editor of *The Athenaeum* 1807, 141-2.

<sup>8</sup> C.P. Thurnbeg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia made between the years 1770-1779* (Edinburgh, 1796), (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), preface.

<sup>9</sup>NLS, Melville Papers, MS 1080, *A Tour in Scotland, 1789*, 2.

description alone are we to expect any lasting impression of hope of any thorough improvement.<sup>10</sup>

Many visitors, therefore, did 'see for themselves' and also committed their impressions in print so they are accessible sources for historians to investigate, though they still require as much critical selection and examination as any other source.

Moreover, it is important to distinguish the different kinds of visitors, why they came, what they saw and for how long they stayed. Many visitors to Edinburgh and Glasgow in the period were, for example, students and therefore stayed in both cities for fairly long stretches of time and may have had different concerns, so their observations could be rather more detailed and offer more of an in-depth account of both places than those visitors who were merely passing through while on their way to other destinations in Scotland.

However, by the 1790s, some who did publish even thought that too much travel writing had been penned and conveyed the idea that, 'so many relations of travels have already been obtruded upon the public, that the shelves of the booksellers shops are loaded with them.'<sup>11</sup> The period 1752 - 1842 was one when literacy was increasing and when many urban centres saw the founding of public lending libraries, the development of private collections, and the establishment of coffee houses.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, it was fairly common practice to keep diaries, exchange letters, record journals, and submit written reflections about experiences, so people recorded and

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Thurnberg, *Travels in Europe*, preface.

<sup>12</sup> P. Borsay, 'The Culture of Improvement,' in P. Langford, *The Eighteenth Century: 1688-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). Borsay has linked this to the 'culture of improvement,' that it was a 'dominant ideology of the age,' 194, 183-210.

shared their ideas about the two cities and also had access to travel literature before they embarked on their journeys.<sup>13</sup>

This chapter, then, also agrees with Herlihy's earlier assessment that visitors' observations about the two cities are therefore both useful and problematic to the historian. However, it does not agree with *The Athenaeum's* correspondent that all visitors were unworthy or unqualified. This chapter, while recognising these developments, also focuses more on what visitors thought about the two Scottish cities. It considers how their observations contributed to emerging ideas about Edinburgh and Glasgow and their relationship, so they are valuable to any who study urban and comparative history.

Certainly, as Alastair Durie has highlighted, the sources are significant to the study of the growth of tourism in Scotland and that tourism was crucially important to the country's economy from at least the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> In fact, he argued that, 'the growth of tourism in the nineteenth century was arguably as significant in terms of income and employment as the rise of linen in the eighteenth and oil in the twentieth.'<sup>15</sup> The 'takeoff' of tourism into the nineteenth century, as Durie has suggested, was aided by improvements to transport, both into and within Scotland, from the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup> For Edinburgh and Glasgow, this was especially the case as the first weekly stage coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow began in 1749. Within five years, there was a weekly stagecoach from Edinburgh to London and by the 1760s, the Forth-Clyde Canal, and from 1818, the Union Canal linked Edinburgh and Glasgow. Although these canals were intended

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<sup>13</sup> See Durie, *Scotland for the Holiday Tourism in Scotland c.1780 - 1939*, 'For many nineteenth century middle- and -upper-class and even some artisans, the keeping of a daily journal or diary was standard practice,' 10.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> A. Durie, 'Sources for the Study of Tourism in the nineteenth century,' *Scottish Archives*, Vol. 12, 1996, 13 – 23, 14.

<sup>16</sup> Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays*, 32.

largely for goods, passengers found their way onto them. Finally, in 1842 a regular railway line was opened between the cities and marked the beginnings of what can be described as the move towards mass tourism and a greater awareness of the two places. Other social changes, including those in working conditions, heralded a new category of visitor, from across the social spectrum, both as the day tripper and the longer-term holiday maker. Within six years, the railway had opened up central Scotland to the south and travel to and around Scotland was never so easy, fast or cheap.

Of course, there are no exact figures for the numbers of visitors coming into Scotland and her cities and towns from the second half of the eighteenth century but in terms of this qualitative study, Scotland and her two major cities appeared remarkably well served by visitors, despite the fact that most came to Scotland especially to see the Highlands. According to Durie, the term 'tourist' originally applied in the seventeenth century to those who made a tour '...following an established schedule to see the sights of antiquity and scenery.'<sup>17</sup> This description fitted most of the visitors considered in this chapter but it is important to remember that it by no means suited all of them, as they had many different reasons for venturing north. Many of these visitors were not Scottish but hailed from England, Switzerland, Sweden, France, Germany, and from across the United States of America. They represented a fairly wide cultural spectrum and some travelled to Scotland as part of a more extensive tour across Europe.<sup>18</sup> Finally, some visitors were

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid,6.

<sup>18</sup> M.A. Pictet, *Voyage de trois mois en Angleterre, en Ecosse et en Irlande pendant l'Été de L'An IX* (Geneva, 1802); N. H. Carter, *Letters from Europe comprising the Journal of a Tour Through Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Italy and Switzerland in the years 1825,1826, and 1827*, (Two Volumes), (New York, 1827) .

confident enough to have their *Travels, Tours, Journals, and Accounts* published and enjoyed numerous editions.<sup>19</sup>

Broadly speaking, there are two groups of visitors who have been identified from the research for this chapter. Firstly, there were those who were ‘the professional and upper middle classes on their two month Summer break,’<sup>20</sup> and who can be categorised as the ‘leisured visitor’. These included young, solitary men, women (who almost never travelled alone) and family groups. Secondly, there was the ‘professional visitor’, who came for purposes other than just sightseeing and included soldiers, men of the cloth, scientists, and students, the latter of which had a long tradition of coming to Edinburgh and Glasgow to study. Their observations differed in some respects, as will be highlighted, but in other ways they shared common experiences.

Firstly, the leisured visitor spent less time in the cities and favoured trips to the Trossachs and to other parts of the Highlands and Islands. Their comments tended more towards the everyday including, those from the young English woman, Elizabeth Diggle, who was quoted at the beginning of this chapter and Mrs. Beecroft, who was on her third visit to Scotland in the 1830s. Each of them talked about the weather and the quality of their accommodation, as was expected of those who merely passed through.<sup>21</sup> Other examples of the leisured visitors included the anonymous author of *A Tour in Scotland in 1789*, Brodie's *Journal of a Tour from London to Elgin* in 1790 and Sir John Carr's *Caledonian Sketches* in 1809. Sometimes, the ‘leisured’ visitor came, not simply to see Scotland but to witness specific events, such

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<sup>19</sup>W. Cobbett, *Cobbett's Tour in Scotland*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984). William Cobbett 1763 – 1835; Washington Irving, 1783-1859, an American writer of Scottish descent admired the works of Lord Byron and Walter Scott and came to Scotland as a young man, William, S. T., *Tour in Scotland 1817 and other manuscript notes by Washington Irving* (New Haven: Yale, 1927).

<sup>20</sup> Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays*, 6.

<sup>21</sup> Diggle, ‘Thirty Two Letters’; NLS, MS1674, Mrs and Miss Beecroft's Third Tour of Scotland, 1833).

as George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822. Included in this are Jane Grant's visit and the anonymous writer of *Historical and Literary Tour of a foreigner*.<sup>22</sup>

The 'professional' visitors recorded very detailed accounts, not just on the cities but included their thoughts on things such as ministers' sermons or meticulous descriptions of the classes they attended at the universities. They often drew illustrations of geological formations and botanical subjects, while the soldiers kept records of their duties. Captain Burt, a British army officer and engineer, had been contracted to work on roads in Scotland in the 1730s, during the tense Jacobite years. His *Letters* provided a vivid account of his time there and offered a favourable impression of Edinburgh.<sup>23</sup> However, as with many other visitors in the period, his main focus was on Highland culture and manners.<sup>24</sup>

The professional visitors, like Burt, went where they had to and not always where they may have wanted to. They tended to spend more time in the cities than the leisured ones and some of them were known to each other. Louis Albert Necker de Saussure, (1786-1861), who became Honorary Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in the Academy of Geneva, first came to study at the University of Edinburgh as a young student and his account was published in 1821. He also produced the first geological map of Scotland.<sup>25</sup> He was known to his fellow Swiss scientist, Auguste Pictet (1752-1825). Pictet, who arrived in the Summer of 1801 for a three month tour of Scotland, mentioned his 'illustrious colleague de Saussure' and commented that he had read Saussure's *Voyages dans les Alpes*. Pictet proclaimed that he had come to

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<sup>22</sup> *A Tour in Scotland in 1789*, (London, 1789); Sir J. Carr, *Caledonian Sketches*, (London 1809); *Historical and Literary Tour of a foreigner in England and Scotland*, (London, 1825); R.L.W. Brodie, *Journal of a Tour from London to Elgin*, (Edinburgh, 1897).

<sup>23</sup> *Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland Volume 1 and 2*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1974) (originally published 1754, reprinted in 1876 in Two Volumes).

<sup>24</sup> See Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays*; M. Lindsay *The Eye is Delighted* (London: London Muller, 1971).

<sup>25</sup> De Saussure's *Travels in Scotland* were published ten years after his visit there and *A Voyage to the Hebrides or the Western Isles of Scotland* was published in 1821.

Scotland purely for scientific reasons and sought out Edinburgh's literati, including the philosopher Dugald Stewart, the architect William Playfair and the Scottish geologist, James Hutton, with whom he became friends. Pictet's travels were also published the year after his tour.<sup>26</sup>

Men of the cloth also ventured 'professionally' north to Scotland, including the Reverend Samuel Davies, who visited Edinburgh in 1754, only two years after the city had submitted its *Proposals* for improvements. Davies' main reason for coming was to learn more about the organisation and the teaching of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland but he also, like many other professional visitors, found time for leisure activities and visited Edinburgh Castle, Holyrood Palace and the city's Old Town during his trip.<sup>27</sup> The Reverend James Hall, who published his *Travels in Scotland by an unusual route; with a trip to the Orkneys and Hebrides* in two volumes in 1807, came at the height of the Napoleonic Wars and learned more about the religion of Scotland. Hall had been educated at St. Andrews University so he was already familiar with the country and although his *Travels* focused on his religious sentiments, like Davies, he wrote 'hints for improvements' which offered advice for future travellers.<sup>28</sup> The professional visitors were not above offering travel tips and there were other crossovers, as both kinds of visitor commented on religious and educational lectures at churches and universities.

Of course, the experience of travel and travel writing at this time was largely for those who could afford the time and money to do so, namely the elites and wealthier

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<sup>26</sup> Pictet, *Voyage de trois mois*, (1802), 78,80, 61.

<sup>27</sup> G. W. Pilcher, *The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad* (London: Urbana, 1967).

<sup>28</sup> Rev J. Hall, *Travels in Scotland by an unusual route; with a trip to the Orkneys and Hebrides Containing hints for improvements in two volumes*, (London 1807). Hall may have been familiar with the earlier works of Rowland Hill and his *Journal through the North of England and parts of Scotland with remarks on the present state of the established church of Scotland and the differing sections within*, (London, 1799). Hill was part of a group of well known itinerant preachers of the 'Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home' and their work was influential in some parts of the Church of England. Hill enjoyed a second publication called an *Extract of a Second Tour from England to the Highlands of Scotland and the north parts of England* (Paris, 1800).

middling sort. They are therefore by no means a complete picture of what all thought about the two cities. Yet, the comments from the middling sort and elite visitors in this earlier period demonstrate something of their values, education, and opinions and offer a picture of the growth of civic society, the rise of the influence of the middling sort in their towns and cities and also, the impact of such ideas as improvements and Romanticism.<sup>29</sup> Some visitors, for example, particularly after the 1820s, reflected growing concerns about cities,<sup>30</sup> and some of them were not above condemning the efforts of the cities to fail to deal with their social and moral problems. The German traveller Johan Georg Kohl (1808 – 1878), saw beyond Edinburgh's attractive cityscape and its civic identity as another 'Athens' while visiting there in the 1840s,

You must go into the narrow streets of the Old Town and see the misery and dirt in which people live there...one of my countrymen resident in Edinburgh said to me, 'unless you do this, you will probably do as many foreigners have done - return to Germany and praise the magnificence of the Scottish city.'<sup>31</sup>

In equal measure, the earlier commentaries tended towards much praise of the two cities as centres of industriousness, community and as important cultural stimuli. They were also visitors who were aware of Edinburgh's and Glasgow's civic pride and rivalry.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, visitors reveal much about changing contemporary concerns and the evolution of the cities and are worthy of closer, albeit critical inspection.

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<sup>29</sup>See F.L.M. Thompson, *The rise of respectable society: a social history of Victorian Britain 1830-1900*, (London: Fontana, 1988); See Pilbeam, *The middle classes in Europe, 1789-1914*.

<sup>30</sup>C. Hamlin, *Public Health and social justice in the age of Chadwick : Britain 1800-1854* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>31</sup>J. G. Kohl, *Travels in Scotland*, (London, 1844),40. Later visitors saw this too, 'what I did see of the specimens of its lowest classes of population, appeared to me the most degradedly lowest, wretched looking outcasts of humanity, of any town I ever saw anywhere, *Notes on travels at Home: during a month's tour in Scotland and England by G.A.S.* (London,1846). 64.

<sup>32</sup>See Briggs, *Victorian Cities*.



Whenever and however travellers came to Scotland, their accounts, both published and private, reinforced ideas about the country and both cities were firmly on the list of recommended places in Scotland to see. However, some of the ideas about Edinburgh and Glasgow that established their reputations were not novel and relied heavily on earlier ideas about them, so they were received ideas.

### *Received Ideas*

Many visitors failed to add anything of their own ideas about where they visited. For Edinburgh and Glasgow, they simply repeated or agreed with the many of the earlier descriptions and so there is a tendency among historians to dismiss their value and consider them as mere plagiarism. However, visitors' ideas about the two cities can be traced to some famous and readily available published sources. When cited, even plagiarised, visitors demonstrated that they had 'received' the ideas contained within them. Of course, it is important to remember that not all visitors were party to this and even some of them like Kohl went on to add their own understanding of the cities as well as referencing earlier literature. Received ideas signalled a way for visitors, at least, to demonstrate how they had prepared for their travels by reading and researching for their journeys and how they appeared to accept something, if not all, of what was said about them. References in and to travel literature for ideas about the two cities was not the only medium for received ideas, as the earlier discussions on the civic histories has already shown.

For those who repeated 'received ideas', their notions about Edinburgh and Glasgow originated in a few but very popular sources of travel literature about

Scotland from the later eighteenth and into the early nineteenth century. It is important to remember that visitors also found new sources of reading for their 'received ideas' about the cities, particularly as their reputations changed, but there is still a surprising and enduring nature to those earlier descriptions of them. The following sources are by no means a definitive list of such accounts but, as Riches has also shown, the preponderance of ideas from earlier travel accounts from the Restoration through to the 1830s showed how particular ideas about them stemmed from those of the past.<sup>33</sup> This chapter agrees with Riches that Glasgow was favoured by travellers over Edinburgh until the later eighteenth century but also conveys that this was as dependent on what they had read and why they came, as well as what their experience was.

*Daniel Defoe, Thomas Pennant, Samuel Johnson and Robert Chambers*

Three examples of earlier, published accounts about Scotland with reference to her two main cities highlight where some visitors' 'received ideas' came from. The English writer and journalist, Daniel Defoe, (1659 or 61–1731) had his *Tour of the Island of Great Britain* published in the 1720s and it was still referred to by visitors into the early 1800s. The Welsh naturalist and travel writer, the Oxford-educated Thomas Pennant's, (1726-1798) *A Tour in Scotland in 1769* was another favourite among visitors to the north. The English wit and author of the *Lives of the Poets* and the first English dictionary, Samuel Johnson, (1709-1784), found more fame with his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, in 1775, which was readily cited by

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<sup>33</sup> Riches, 'The Teeth of an Ivory Comb' in Mays, *The Architecture of Scottish Cities*, 34, 37.

visitors.<sup>34</sup> Finally, from the early nineteenth century, the publisher and Edinburgh-based writer, Robert Chambers, (1802-1871), was often quoted by visitors and guidebooks too.<sup>35</sup> Some of this travel literature, then, originated from within the cities and many of these writers were known for their other publications, hence their influence, as much as for their travel writing. Many guidebooks on Scotland in circulation also relied on Defoe, Pennant, Johnson, and Chambers and they found inspiration from other sources, including civic histories, and from the entries about Edinburgh and Glasgow in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Visitors and guidebooks were not the only ones guilty of employing received ideas. Defoe's opinion of Glasgow as one of the best built cities<sup>36</sup> was later regurgitated by Thomas Pennant.<sup>37</sup> Defoe had also remarked about the shift of trade to the west coast at the beginning of the 1700s and others followed suit in this respect.<sup>38</sup>

The riches of Glasgow show how much there is in the west, and perhaps we shall find trade travel westward on a great scale as well as small.<sup>39</sup>

Glasgow's economic takeoff was something that was repeatedly referred to by visitors from the second half of the eighteenth century.

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<sup>34</sup> His travel companion on this journey and friend, the Edinburgh lawyer and writer, James Boswell, (1740 – 1795), also provided another viewpoint of this journey with a *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, (1785,) but it was not as frequently cited by visitors.

<sup>35</sup> With his brother, William, they produced *Chambers' Encyclopaedia* (1859-1868), though it was Robert's earlier antiquarian works on Edinburgh, including *Walks in Edinburgh* (1825) and the *Picture of Scotland* (1827) that attracted travellers' attentions.

<sup>36</sup> See D. Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, (1724-1726).

<sup>37</sup> T. Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland 1769*, (Edinburgh, 2000), 34, it appeared for the first time in print in 1771.

<sup>38</sup> Defoe said of Glasgow, 'it is a city of business and has the pace of foreign as well as domestic trade...tis' the only city in Scotland at this time that has increased in both... they now send 50 sail ships every year to Virginia, New England and other colonies in America,' Defoe, *Tour*, 105.

<sup>39</sup> J. Boswell, *Journal of Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson LL.D.* (Yale University, New Haven (), )18 August, 1773.

Another popular travel account from the second half of the eighteenth century was by Thomas Pennant. His observations recorded his travels around Scotland in the late 1760s and were employed by many visitors and historians. His *Tour* enjoyed several editions.<sup>40</sup> Pennant was particularly struck by Edinburgh and saw it before the plans for the New Town had begun. He concluded that it was a ‘city that possesses a boldness and grandeur of situation beyond any that I had seen’.<sup>41</sup> In it, he saw the makings of a great city and some, like the French economist, Jérôme Adolphe Blanqui (1798 – 1854), who came to observe the changes to the countryside, the economy and society agreed with this and saw the city’s potential. However, not all were as favourable towards Edinburgh. By the 1820s, the French romantic and gothic writer, Charles Nodier (1780 – 1844), disagreed with Pennant and thought that it would be Glasgow’s plans for a promenade along the River Clyde which would one day outdo Edinburgh.<sup>42</sup>

Blanqui and Nodier had also read Samuel Johnson’s account of Scotland but not all visitors appeared to be influenced by him. Elizabeth Diggle was a young Englishwoman on a three month tour of Scotland during the Spring and Summer of 1788 and she admitted how she ‘had trod in Dr. Johnson’s footsteps’.<sup>43</sup> She was impressed by Johnson but she still disagreed with him: Johnson’s first page of *A Journey to the Western Isles* expressed the extent to which the Scottish capital had already been recognised and that it was ‘a city too well known to admit description.’<sup>44</sup> Diggle, however, recommended that people should ‘employ several days’ in both

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<sup>40</sup> See F. Douglas, *General Description of the East Coast of Scotland, and A Tour in Scotland, 1789* (London, 1789) ; A. Blanqui, *Voyages d’un jeune français*, (Paris, 1824), 253; C. Nodier, *Promenade de Dieppe aux montagnes d’Ecosse*, (Paris, 1826); M. Lindsay *The Discovery of Scotland* (London, 1979); M. Lindsay, *The Eye is Delighted*.

<sup>41</sup> Pennant, *Tour*, 34; Lindsay *The Eye is Delighted* ; Blanqui, 253; Nodier, *Promenade*.

<sup>42</sup> Nodier, *Promenade*, 155.

<sup>43</sup> Diggle, *Thirty Two Letters*, 64.

<sup>44</sup> S. Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (London: Penguin, 1984), 35.

places.<sup>45</sup> Yet Johnson's remark was repeated by visitors and showed how people were already familiar with Edinburgh from Johnson's time.<sup>46</sup>

By the second half of the eighteenth century, Edinburgh was known to visitors but Glasgow was also a familiar place. Johnson also indicated this when he said that, 'to describe a city so much frequented as Glasgow is unnecessary.'<sup>47</sup> Compared to Edinburgh, he penned few paragraphs on Glasgow, though this may have been due to the relatively short space of time spent there. However, Boswell recorded that Johnson's impressions of the city may have already been formed from those within it and that civic pride may have lost his approval of it as, 'when Dr. Johnson viewed this beautiful city. He had told me, that one day in London, when Dr. Adam Smith was boasting of it, he turned to him and said, 'Pray, sir, have you seen Brentford?'<sup>48</sup>

Civic as well as Scottish pride was also evident in Robert Chambers' popular and Romantic renditions about Scotland's, and especially Edinburgh's past, that were especially employed by visitors like Kohl. A former student of law, Kohl had had success with his published descriptions about Russia in the 1830s. This encouraged him to become a full-time travel writer and he published travel accounts on Austria, England, Wales, Canada, and the United States. In August, 1842, Kohl conducted an extensive tour of Scotland and he confessed that his *Travels in Scotland* took a lot of its information from Robert Chambers' *Pictures of Scotland*, which had first been published in two volumes in 1826. Kohl quoted statistics from Chambers, including population figures for Glasgow in 1837 but he also made references to Samuel

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<sup>45</sup> GUL, Sp Coll, MS General 738, 64, E. Diggle, 'Thirty Two letters,' 107, 109.

<sup>46</sup> *A Tour in Scotland, 1789*, 19. By the late 1830s, this was still the case, as one visitor wrote that, 'it is a city too well known to people', *Rambles at Home, being a tour to a few of the principle manufacturing towns of England, to the lakes of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and a Visit to Edinburgh in the Summer of 1839*, (London, 1840), 47.

<sup>47</sup> Johnson, *Journey*, 149.

<sup>48</sup> Boswell, *Journal*, Friday, 29<sup>th</sup> October, 1773, 389.

Johnson, Thomas Pennant and Walter Scott and showed that more than one source could make up peoples' 'received ideas'.<sup>49</sup>

Like Boswell and Scott, Chambers lived in Edinburgh so his views may have been coloured by his attachment to the city. However, the city was well-known by his time and was still attracting a number of visitors. As a publisher, there was also money to be had from writing about it, as Chambers had found earlier with the success of his *Traditions of Edinburgh*, which appeared in 1824, but which was later made into two volumes.<sup>50</sup> Chambers offered his readers an extremely antiquarian and rose-tinted account of Scotland and Edinburgh that suited the sensibilities of the Romantic age. In his *Traditions of Edinburgh*, for example, he showed as an improver, rather than a moderniser, and he lamented the impact of the building of the city's New Town on the Old one, 'alas! The sun of Old Town glory has set forever.'<sup>51</sup> Kohl, clearly influenced by him, also mourned how the New Town had created two cities and how,

it was only too accordant with that tendency of our present form of civilisation to separate the high from the low, the intelligent from the ignorant - that disassociation, in short, which would in itself run nigh to be a condemnation of all progress, if we are not allowed to suppose that better forms of civilisation are realisable.<sup>52</sup>

Kohl also saw something of this in the 1840s and was critical as Chambers was of the New Town wealth and how those with money had a lack of concern for their fellow

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<sup>49</sup> Kohl, *Travels in Scotland*, 26, 54. Kohl's introduction begins his account with a quote from Walter Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*, published in July 1818, as the Second Series of *Tales of My Landlord*, 'land of brown heath and shaggy wood, land of the mountain and the flood'.

<sup>50</sup> Cosh, *Edinburgh*, 754-755. Chambers had the support of Walter Scott and Scott later contributed to Chamber's *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* (1826).

<sup>51</sup> Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, (1980), 10.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 8.

citizens.<sup>53</sup> Chambers works were, therefore, read and reproduced throughout the course of the nineteenth century. His accounts even aided one of the most famous, romantic accounts of Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century, by the German novelist and pharmacist, Theodore Fontaine (1819-1888). Fontaine's *Across the Tweed* was published in 1860 and in it he credits Walter Scott with the country's fame but also cited Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh*.<sup>54</sup> Fontaine's views on the Old and New town are clearly as influenced by Chambers as Kohl's had been and he too noted the level of poverty in the city.<sup>55</sup>

Travel accounts also reflected changes in the two cities as well as debates about them. Defoe liked Glasgow in the early 1700s and Pennant had agreed with him.<sup>56</sup> Yet, when Adam Smith attempted to convince Johnson of the benefits of his native city something had changed. By the 1820s, Glasgow's favourable impressions among many visitors were coloured by the smoke of its many chimneys. Fontaine provides something of an explanation of how Glasgow's reputation had changed, when he thought it best not to stop in Glasgow, despite the enticements from a local who was full of civic pride:

The question was should we stay or should we not? The descriptions with which a Glasgow resident, inspired by strong local patriotism, had entertained us during our journey had not failed to touch the heart and the ear of my travelling companion. For my own part, I longed to return to the Canongate and the Edinburgh High Street. By way of an answer, I pointed to some of the three hundred foothigh factory chimneys... the chimney is the most characteristic thing in Glasgow.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Kohl, *Travels in Scotland*, 40-44.

<sup>54</sup> T. Fontaine, *Across the Tweed*, (London, 1965), preface.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, 27.

<sup>56</sup> Pennant, *Tour*, 134 – 136.

<sup>57</sup> Fontaine, *Across the Tweed*, 187.

Still, it was considered worthy of a brief sojourn by some. Chambers may have favoured Edinburgh but he still thought Glasgow worthy of consideration.<sup>58</sup> Such thoughts and others, then, contributed to the cities' changing reputations. Edinburgh, though first not thought as appealing as Glasgow, became one of the main reasons visitors came to Scotland into the nineteenth century and a lot of this was to do with the image the city had successfully built up, thanks in part to the writings of men like Chambers and particularly the works and reputation of Walter Scott.

Of course, others, who had seen the 'reality' of Edinburgh, like Kohl, left Glasgow 'with regret.'<sup>59</sup> De Saussure, the young American student Henry McLellan, Nodier and Fontaine clearly preferred Edinburgh over Glasgow but others, like Diggle and Kohl, appeared to rate them equally but all were influenced, to a lesser or greater extent, by what they had already read about them. In all three accounts, then, from Defoe, Pennant, and Chambers, there can be detected a process of 'received ideas' operating to a greater or lesser extent amongst the visitors. They also accounted for the changing reasons visitors came, be it for the reporting of conditions in Scotland and the cities on the eve of the Union of 1707, as Defoe had done, to the self-improvement of Pennant, the critical eye of Johnson, and to the Romantic notions of Chambers. In their turn, visitors reflected their 'time' as well, whether it was Diggle, who was simply on holiday at leisure with her aunt, the travel writers, Kohl, Nodier, Fontaine, or Blanqui, who was observing the countryside and the changes to the social and manufacturing conditions of Britain in the 1840s. They reflected the manifold reasons why visitors contrasted Edinburgh and Glasgow, why they travelled to Scotland and what influenced some of their conclusions about the two cities.

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<sup>58</sup> See Chambers, *Traditions*.

<sup>59</sup> Kohl, *Travels in Scotland*, 54.



### *Romantic Scotland*

Edinburgh and Glasgow's established reputations by 1800 meant they were known to visitors but for many who came to Scotland, the main attraction was the Highlands.<sup>60</sup> There was also the appeal of heroic and tragic figures like James MacPherson's Ossian<sup>61</sup> and travellers also looked to other figures in Scotland's past, recalling the names of Robert the Bruce and William Wallace.<sup>62</sup> One summed up the impact these men had on visitors, reflecting the Romantic age:

The name of Wallace, and that of Bruce, have a magic influence in this country, they are the demi-gods of our heroic ages: their memory restores us the pride of an independent Scotland.<sup>63</sup>

Edinburgh, particularly, fitted into this Romantic and heroic light. The city's royal associations with Mary, Queen of Scots was an especial feature of visitors' commentaries. On seeing Holyrood Abbey, for example, de Saussure recalled that, 'everything transports you back to the period when so lovely, so sensible, and so

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<sup>60</sup> M. Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, (Aldershot: Scholar, 1989).

<sup>61</sup> A. Noble, 'James Boswell: Scotland's Prodigal Son,' in T. Devine, (ed.) *Improvement and Enlightenment Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde 1987 – 1988*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), 22 – 42, 33.

<sup>62</sup> See K. J. Haldane, 'A Peculiar Taste for Things Scottish: Tourist Perceptions of Scotland, 1790 – 1914' in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque* (Check this)

<sup>63</sup> *Historical and Literary Tour of a foreigner in England and Scotland in two volumes*, Letter LXXX to M. Dumont, 324.

lively a princess, whose memory is still so dear to the Scots, inhabited this place.<sup>64</sup>

Even Johnson chastised Boswell and the Scots for their treatment of her:

who could let your Queen remain twenty years in captivity...and such a Queen,  
too: as every man of any gallantry of spirit would have sacrificed their life for.<sup>65</sup>

The interest in the Queen had ignited also at Weimar, in June, 1800 when Friedrich Schiller's tragedy *Maria Stuart* was first played to great acclaim. Later, in 1834, Schiller's play was the inspiration for Donizetti's opera *Maria Struada*.

Other musicians, like Felix Mendelssohn, also found inspiration in Scotland. After his visit to Scotland in the later 1820s, he composed his overture, *The Hebrides (Fingal's Cave)* in 1830. However, it was Walter Scott's dramatic ruminations about the nation's turbulent history that brought in another generation of people after 1800. These, then, were some of the 'something old' about Scotland that helped the country remain part of visitors' itineraries in the period 1752 - 1842. Edinburgh and Glasgow were visited, then, as both cities had been the backdrop for some of the most important events in Scottish history and also because of those who wrote in this romantic age. The two cities had featured in the works of Scotland's preeminent writer of the period, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832).

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<sup>64</sup>On visiting Holyrood Abbey he recalled that, 'everything transports you back to the period when so lovely, so sensible, and so lively a princess, whose memory is still so dear to the Scots, inhabited this place,' De Sasure, *Travels*, 3.

<sup>65</sup>Boswell, *Journal*, 23.

*Sir Walter Scott*

Sir Walter Scott conjured up an imagined Scotland from a bygone age that suited Romantic sensibilities and explained why so many visitors, who had read his works, came. For Scott's readers, Scotland provided more than its fair share of tragic kings and queens and fallen heroes. His vivid descriptions of an almost mythical and majestic land, amply filled with castles, lochs and glens, triggered a long-term love affair for many. Ossian, Schiller, Donizetti, Mendelssohn, and especially Scott all dictated visitors' itineraries and so they ventured to the Highlands and the Trossachs, Iona, Fingal's Cave, and Loch Leven, where Mary was imprisoned. Of course, at the centrepiece of this was Scott's *Own Romantic Town*, Edinburgh, the winged citadel with its imposing architecture, royal castle and palace, esteemed university and famous citizens. Scott and others made it a place where visitors always came first.

Yet, it is important to remember that the past created by the likes of Scott was based largely on myth.<sup>66</sup> It also did not appear to matter to contemporaries in Scotland, Britain, and across Europe, as the penchant for the Romantic novel and the growth of Romanticism became closely tied to Walter Scott's novels.<sup>67</sup> Walter Scott was a Tory and a Briton but, like many of his generation, he was proud of Scotland and he viewed Scotland's past before 1707 as something that was safely locked up and almost mere story telling. This view suited the vogue for Britishness and loyalty to Crown and Parliament during his lifetime, a trend which the wars with France had

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<sup>66</sup> See Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*.

<sup>67</sup> McCaffrey argues that 'the vogue for Romanticism started by Walter Scott in 1814, it should not obscure the fact that much of the message in his historical novels like *Waverley*, *Old Mortality*, and *The Heart of Midlothian* was a hard-headed restatement of the conservative rationalism of the Scottish Enlightenment,' McCaffrey, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, 8.

helped cement.<sup>68</sup> Despite different interpretations of Scott's work, visitors praised Scott and readily listed his works as the main reason for their visit.<sup>69</sup>

Glasgow, but especially Edinburgh, featured prominently in Scott's works such as *Rob Roy* and *The Heart of Midlothian* and visitors frequently cited them and his other works. Some even boasted of having met Scott.<sup>70</sup> Some visitors, who were in Edinburgh for the visit of George IV in 1822, aware of the rivalry with Glasgow, also used *Rob Roy* to convey this:

it was Baillie Nicol Jarvie...a feeling of mockery is connected with the recollections of Rob Roy's cousin, which the very name of manufacturing Glasgow often excites in lordly Edinburgh.<sup>71</sup>

The impact of Scott can be shown in another example. In the early autumn of 1817, the American writer, Washington Irving, visited Scotland. In this venture, he was encouraged by his Orcadian father and the works of Robert Burns, as well as Scott. He spent around one month travelling throughout central Scotland, dedicating six days and much ink to Edinburgh. Irving remarked on the building of Edinburgh's New Town, Edinburgh Castle, Holyrood House, Charlotte Square, Arthur's Seat and Carlton Hill and he clearly appreciated the city's pleasant topography. He heard his Third President of the United States speak on America, and he may have been aware of his positive comments on Edinburgh. Thomas Jefferson, who was in Edinburgh for a month in August 1817, claimed that, 'no place in the world can

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<sup>68</sup> See Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*; Colley, *Britons*; Morton *Unionist-Nationalism*.

<sup>69</sup> L. Simond, *Journal of a Tour and residence in Great Britain*, (Edinburgh, 1817) (2nd ed.), 356; V. Hennequin, *Voyage en Angleterre et en Ecosse*, (Paris, 1844), introduction.

<sup>70</sup> *Historical and Literary Tour of a foreigner in England and Scotland in two volumes*, Letter LXXXVII to M.G., while out walking he met 'the poet of Scotland himself, 279.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, 434.

pretend to competition with Edinburgh.<sup>72</sup> Irving concluded with Jefferson and others that the city was, ‘remarkable, picturesque and romantic in its general appearance’ and he also offered flattering remarks about other places he had seen, including Killin, Linlithgow, and Stirling.<sup>73</sup> Of Glasgow, he wrote nothing, but may not have even visited there. In 1825, another American, Nomini. H. Carter also had also read Scott but had little to say about Glasgow even though his letter of October 24<sup>th</sup> records his activities, including a visit to the theatre, attendance at a sermon by Dr. Chalmers, a trip to the power-looms and gas-works, and to the Botanic Gardens.<sup>74</sup> Irving’s and Carter’s favourable comments about Edinburgh appeared to fit well with the rising star of Edinburgh in the Romantic Age.

By the 1830s, this had not changed and Edinburgh was still preferred by visitors, as McLellan showed. The young American, Henry Blake McLellan, who came to Scotland in the 1830s, showed the continuing appeal of Scott.<sup>75</sup> McLellan was a young North American student of theology who came to Edinburgh in 1832, the year of the First Reform Act agitation. His comment indicates how some saw Edinburgh’s dominance as the favoured place for visitors that Necker de Saussure had earlier also hinted at. McLellan was born in Maidstone, Vermont in 1810 and attended Harvard University in 1825, before going on to study at the Theological Seminary in Andover. Like de Saussure, a professional visitor, he came in the spring, before returning to Scotland to resume his classes. He was of Scottish descent and kept a detailed account of his travels which was published

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<sup>72</sup> Allan, *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 127.

<sup>73</sup> S. T. William, *Tour in Scotland 1817 and other manuscripts notes by Washington Irving*, 28.

<sup>74</sup> See Carter, *Letters*.

<sup>75</sup> *Journal of a residence in Scotland and a Tour through England, France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy and extracts from his religious papers from the manuscript by the late Henry Blake McLellan*, (Boston, 1834).

posthumously, but which went beyond mere descriptions of what he saw in Scotland. He was aware of Scott's works but he was also privy to 'national' pride:

A Scotchman never likes to have his country called poor before a stranger – it touches his pride sharply.<sup>76</sup>

Like Irving, McLellan did not spend much time in Glasgow and further showed how Edinburgh was considered a better destination for visitors and how it was lauded for its 'Scott-like' wonders.

Therefore, what can be concluded was that many travellers like Irving, Carter, McLellan and the author of the *Historical and Literary Tour* were influenced by Scott, dedicated a good deal of their time in the Highlands of Scotland and in Edinburgh, and were part of the Romantic Age of 'discovery.' However, when, and if, they visited Glasgow, they were not as impressed by it. Glasgow certainly lacked Edinburgh's romance and as it had no castle, palace, obvious connections to the Stewarts, or imposing topographical qualities that visitors saw in the capital and those who searched for 'something old' in it may have only seen this in its Cathedral. Those in Edinburgh capitalised on their links with Scott and its historic past and, in doing so, stoked rivalry with Glasgow over this matter, which can be seen in the race of the latter's city in its efforts to raise a monument to Sir Walter Scott. Others who also failed to add much to what had already been said were the professional visitors, particularly those who came to Glasgow and Edinburgh for their universities and the great men associated with them.

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<sup>76</sup>McLellan, *Journal of a Residence*, 347.

*Enlightenment and the universities*

Those within Edinburgh and Glasgow's societies and especially their universities were influenced by Enlightenment ideas, at least in the later eighteenth century. In Edinburgh, the city's first New Town encapsulated some of these ideas of the age of 'improvement.' All of this signalled changes in the two cities' reputations. The Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow had produced prominent men in the second half of the eighteenth century and writing about both institutions informed professional visitors and others about those within these educational establishments who were and had been most closely associated with the Scottish Enlightenment.<sup>77</sup> Visitors readily listed those men who had brought fame to Edinburgh and Glasgow, including the historian and principal of the University of Edinburgh, William Robertson, the philosopher,<sup>78</sup> David Hume, the economist, Adam Smith, the philosopher, Dugald Stewart, the geologist, James Hutton and the architects, Robert Adam and William Playfair.

The Swiss geologist and mineralogist Necker de Saussure also cited Hume and Smith as the particular reasons for his visit. He was one visitor who was also impressed by Glasgow. However, like many others, he clearly thought that visitors would prefer the old Scottish capital for its romance, which again echoed contemporary preoccupations. During his visit, Necker de Saussure noted the ongoing improvements to the University of Edinburgh and he saw something of Robert Adam's plans for the building of Old College, which were completed by William

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<sup>77</sup> Johnson met with Dr. William Robertson, Dr. Adam Ferguson, Professor MacLaurin, from the University of Edinburgh and also, at the University of Glasgow, with Professor Thomas Reid and Professor Anderson; see Boswell, *A Tour of the Hebrides*.

<sup>78</sup> The 30 year leadership of William Robertson, in particular, has been associated with the University of Edinburgh's fame at the end of the 1700s see Anderson, Lynch & Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh*, 78 – 90; for Glasgow University, see Hook & Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*.

Playfair. De Saussure also believed that these improvements to the university meant that it still had a deserving reputation in the 1820s:

its continually increasing splendour of its University, which has acquired a well-merited fame throughout Europe, render Edinburgh still more interesting in the eyes of foreigners.<sup>79</sup>

The ongoing and favourable reputation of the University of Edinburgh continued into the nineteenth century.<sup>80</sup> However, visitors like Necker de Saussure were aware of the University of Glasgow and its famed professors, including Colin MacLaurin, the mathematician, later Professor at the University of Edinburgh, Dr. Thomas Reid, the moral philosopher and Dr. John Young, the Greek professor. Other professional visitors also listed these men and the universities as their primary focus for coming north into the 1830s.<sup>81</sup> However, there were many other factors.

It was also the age of the ‘Grand Tours’, when the privileged and sometimes talented and artistic people, including the Scots philosopher, David Hume and the architect, Robert Adam, were inspired to travel. They were also encouraged in this from their classical education. As Jeremy Black has shown, they ventured into the cities ‘of the age’, including Athens, Rome, Florence and Venice, as well as to Paris.<sup>82</sup> These were the considered ‘places’ of history, of antiquity, of commerce and of culture. As Hunt and Ayres have also articulated, they proved intoxicating templates for many citizens across Britain who emulated their ethos and values by

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<sup>79</sup> De Saussure, *Travels in Scotland*, 1.

<sup>80</sup> See Anderson, Lynch et al *The University of Edinburgh* .

<sup>81</sup> *Historical and Literary Tour of a foreigner in England and Scotland in two volumes* and Blanqui, *Voyages d'un jeune français*.

<sup>82</sup> J. Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, (London: Croom Helm, 1985).



replicating such things as their architecture and ideas about citizenship.<sup>83</sup> Other chapters have already considered how the citizens of Edinburgh and Glasgow sought inspiration from ancient Rome, Athens, and Renaissance Florence and made them the bases of their new civic identities from the later eighteenth century. However, it is important to remember that this was nothing peculiar to Scotland, as it mirrored what was happening in other British cities at the time.<sup>84</sup> However, this was apparent from visitors' accounts in the period c. 1780–c. 1840 as well. Visitors saw something of the way the two cities adopted classical and antiquarian civic identities and 'titles' and made frequent references to Edinburgh as 'the ancient capital', 'capital of the mind', and of 'Athens.' For Glasgow, they saw it as 'the western or modern metropolis', 'the emporium of the west', 'the second city' (of Britain), and as 'Venice.' This signalled how those in the cities' moulded their reputations to reflect their ambitions for Edinburgh and Glasgow and how these civic identities mirrored some of the contemporary concerns over the course of the period.

### *Improvements*

Visitors took notice of the physical and architectural 'improvements' to Glasgow's and Edinburgh's built environment in the period 1752 - 1842. Briggs has noted other practical changes complimented the aesthetic changes of the towns and cityscapes and how between 1785 and 1800 there were some 211 local Improvement Acts across Britain concerning a range of provisions including, street lighting, cleansing and

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<sup>83</sup> See Hunt, *Civic Thought in Britain*, and Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome*.

<sup>84</sup> See Wilson, 'The Florence of the North?' in Kidd and Nicholls, *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism*.

changes to market areas and water supply.<sup>85</sup> Again, it must be said that these ‘improvements’ were also part of a wider ambition for British and European cities throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and reflected such things as the rise of civil society and the impact of the professional, commercial and industrial middling sort. From the Renaissance, towns and cities across the European and British map had begun embarking on an unprecedented period of architectural improvement. This was designed partly for aesthetic purposes and in order to allow the elites and middling sorts a more comfortable working and living environment and increasingly triggered by more practical stimuli, including a desire to attract investment into the cities and so that those in the cities could adapt to the demands of the industrial age, including the associated problems of intense urbanisation and lack of available space for development. Before the later 18<sup>th</sup> century, such improvements were also driven by the state – to demonstrate its power.<sup>86</sup> Prior to the mid-1700s, European and British monarchs acted primarily as patrons and the stimulus to many of the building and cultural enterprises. In France, Louis XIV built Versailles in the mid-seventeenth century and Voltaire's pleas in his *Des Embellissements de Paris* (1749) did not pass unheard. In Russia, Peter the Great's magnificent showpiece, St. Petersburg, was begun back in 1703. Other influences affected developments, in this respect, such as the Lisbon earthquake of 1755.<sup>87</sup>

The impact of the ideas of the American and French Revolutions also stimulated campaigns for political changes within towns and cities in order that the aristocracy and the elite citizens were no longer the only ones thought to have influenced them

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<sup>85</sup> Briggs, *The Age of Improvement*, 46.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> E. Paice, *Wrath of God: the great Lisbon earthquake of 1755*, (London: Quercus, 2008).

and the 'nation'.<sup>88</sup> The building of Edinburgh's New Town, in particular, attracted many visitors to the city and most of them admired it, but it also elicited some criticisms. This is shown by the author of an *Historical and Literary Tour of a foreigner*, who, in his 79th letter about the capital's New Town, ruminated that 'the wealthy Edinburgh people may have built themselves a vast solitude'.<sup>89</sup> However, despite this, Edinburgh's New Town became an enduring symbol of the city's pride and it shifted the debate in Edinburgh's favour over Glasgow. The remarkable contrast between the Old and New Towns also triggered debates between visitors. What emerges from their accounts was the idea that Edinburgh was made up of two cities and that they had a preference for one over the other as much as between Edinburgh and Glasgow.

In their preferences, some of these visitors captured something of the emerging Romantic ideas of their time. Even in the later 1780s, one thought that:

The New town, the east side of which is here seen, cannot for a moment take a stranger's eye off Auld Reekie, which, though less elegant, has infinitely more grandeur, from its romantic situation.<sup>90</sup>

By the nineteenth century, the geologist Hugh Miller commented in 1824 that Edinburgh was 'not one, but two cities - a city of the past and of the present - set down side by side, as if for comparison'.<sup>91</sup> Other visitors captured this idea around this time as well.<sup>92</sup> Twenty-seven years later, when the first and second phases of Edinburgh's

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<sup>88</sup> See H.T. Dickinson, *Britain and the American Revolution*, (London: Longman, 1998); I. Hampsher-Monk, (ed.), *The impact of the French Revolution: texts from Britain in the 1790s*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>89</sup> *Historical and Literary Tour of a foreigner in England and Scotland*, Letter LXXVIII., 287.

<sup>90</sup> Douglas, *General Description*, 7.

<sup>91</sup> Reed, *Glasgow*, 2.

<sup>92</sup> Blanqui, *Voyages d'un jeune français*, 250.

New Town had been completed, Sir John Carr, who had liked Glasgow but had dispensed much more ink on describing Edinburgh, thought something of this,

I have seen a considerable number of cities, but have never yet seen one so peculiarly novel and romantic and very few so grand and impressive, as Edinburgh.<sup>93</sup>

Later, Necker de Saussure called the Old Town, 'dull and boring' and felt that the New Town was continually 'augmenting in grandeur and magnificence, and one day might pass for one of the finest in Europe...' He considered the Old Town, 'the city of study and business,' and the New, 'one of amusement, luxury and elegance'.<sup>94</sup> By the 1830s then, visitors had trapped Edinburgh into its own architectural beauty contest but it depended on what the individual's preference was. Mrs. Beecroft took leave of the city and said that she would 'no more to behold the grotesque appearance of its ancient buildings, nor to see the elegance of its new ones'.<sup>95</sup> Others refused to accept all that was said about the city's New Town, such as the Rev. Chancey Hare Townshend, while on a visit there in 1845: 'it is true that the New Town is very goodly (too goodly, perhaps), but one does not come to Edinburgh to see a repetition of Bath or London'.<sup>96</sup>

Despite similar architectural 'improvements' to its cityscape and its rapid growth and commercial outpouring, Glasgow, as already highlighted by Fontaine was not as noticed by travellers on this account. From the end of the 1700s through much of the 1800s, other visitors saw the 'progress' to Glasgow and commented on it, but they

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<sup>93</sup> Carr, *Caledonian Sketches*, 46.

<sup>94</sup> De Saussure, *Travels*, 2.

<sup>95</sup> NLS, MS1674, *Mrs. and Miss Beecroft's Third Tour of Scotland*, 45

<sup>96</sup> Rev. C. H. Townshend, *A Descriptive Tour in Scotland*, (London, 1846), 371.

also saw its smoke and chimneys.<sup>97</sup> This image does reflect others who saw the reality of the city's textile concerns in the early 1800s and later concentration on heavy engineering and shipbuilding. Some visitors to Edinburgh, however, saw nothing of *Auld Reekie's* smoke and grime in the nineteenth century and despite its obvious manufacturing output, were captivated by the city's romantic setting, historic Old Town and impressive New Town areas.<sup>98</sup> Both cities, as earlier suggested by Kohl and others, shared the social problems of large cities throughout the nineteenth century, including poverty and overcrowding.

Before the 1800s, Glasgow's reputation contrasted more favourably with Edinburgh's and at a time when many of Glasgow's main 'improvements' were already underway. Edinburgh had apparently reversed its position against Glasgow: whatever the realities were, visitors now preferred Edinburgh over Glasgow.<sup>99</sup> Earlier sources from before the eighteenth century confirmed the kind of praise lavished on Glasgow over the Scottish capital, including one taken from 1650, during Cromwell's occupation of Scotland, when several proceedings in Parliament compared the two towns and found that, 'the town of Glasgow, though not so big, nor so rich, yet to all seems a much sweeter and more delightful Place than Edinburgh.'<sup>100</sup>

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, some were being happily surprised by the changes within the Scottish capital. Captain Burt was extremely pleased to find everything 'looking so unlike the description of that town which had

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<sup>97</sup> *A Tour of Scotland in 1863*, (London, 1984), n.p.

<sup>98</sup> R. Rodger, 'Landscapes of capital: industry and the built environment in Edinburgh, 1750 – 1920,' in Edwards & Jenkins, *Edinburgh*, 85 – 103.

<sup>99</sup> See Sher, 'Images of Glasgow in Later Eighteenth Century Popular Poetry,' in Hook, & Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, 190 – 213; see also Riches, 'The Teeth of an Ivory Comb,' in Mays (ed.), *The Architecture of Scottish Cities*, 34-44

<sup>100</sup> J. Fisher *The Glasgow Encyclopaedia*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994), 286. Not all thought this, though, as Morer's opinion from 1689 thought that Glasgow to be 'the finest town in Scotland, not excepting Edinburgh,' Reid, *Glasgow*, 24.

been given by some of my countrymen.’<sup>101</sup> This suggested a shift from earlier comments about Edinburgh. For Glasgow, Burt agreed with contemporaries that, ‘to outward appearances the prettiest and most uniform town that I ever saw.’<sup>102</sup> His findings reflected others from the second half of the eighteenth century, when visitors began awarding the Scottish capital with more pleasing impressions.

Among them was Richard Popcoke, Bishop of Meath. His *Tours in Scotland 1747, 1750, 1760* related that he was no stranger to travel and boasted of his credentials as a travel writer as he had visited Egypt and the East, among other of his wanderings. Popcoke saw that ‘Edinburgh is most pleasantly situated,’ whereas ‘Glasgow is finely situated on the Clyde... finely built of hewn stone’.<sup>103</sup> Popcoke’s *Tours* were reprinted in 1887 and this edition noted that he was granted the freedom of the city of Glasgow during his lifetime, so was perhaps aware of some benefits to be had from providing good publicity for the cities. After Edinburgh’s first New Town had been finished, Glasgow was not seen as nearly as well built as the capital and this was despite the fact that, as Reid has shown, there was much progress within its cityscape.<sup>104</sup> The reasons for this included how visitors saw Edinburgh’s New Town and the impact of it was said to have been the main catalyst for a change in that city’s favour. Riches has rightly argued, therefore, that, ‘until Edinburgh’s New Town materialised, Glasgow remained the model by which standards were set.’<sup>105</sup>

Charles Nodier explained something of this and also cited another source for visitors’ ‘received ideas’, ‘usually gazetteers cite Glasgow as the best built city in

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<sup>101</sup> *Burt’s Letters*, 25.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, Letter II, 12, 25.

<sup>103</sup> D. W. Kemp (ed.), *Tours in Scotland 1747, 1750, 1760 by Richard Popcoke, Bishop of Meath* (Edinburgh, 1887), 299, 49.

<sup>104</sup> See Reid, *Glasgow*.

<sup>105</sup> Riches, ‘The Teeth of an Ivory Comb,’ 41.

Europe. I would have thought, like them, if I had not seen Edinburgh.<sup>106</sup> One guidebook from 1834 certainly captured this view and also contrasted the two cities' differences, as many aimed to do:

Glasgow, like all cities standing on the banks of a river, wants that romantic appearance that distinguishes Edinburgh; yet the great length, the regularity, the spaciousness of the streets make her an imposing city.<sup>107</sup>

Glasgow, then, was unable to compete with Edinburgh's beautiful cityscape by the 1830s, at least for some visitors and while others thought later that it had some remarkable order to it, they decided that Edinburgh's architectural superiority rendered it 'inferior to no city in Europe.'<sup>108</sup> This guidebook also boasted that it had sold some 10,000 copies which demonstrated something of its potential influence on visitors' opinions, if they 'received' its ideas.

However, despite this, some visitors were still impressed by Glasgow and some of the best sources which captured this and the changes within the city were penned by returning visitors. One remarked that 'Glasgow is amazingly enlarged; I was there eleven years previous to this tour, and I could hardly believe it possible for a town to be so altered and enlarged as I found it to be in 1791'.<sup>109</sup> Sir John Carr was also amazed and he thought that Glasgow was 'perhaps without a rival in those extraordinary productions of human ingenuity, which scientific knowledge and liberal enterprise have furnished in commerce.'<sup>110</sup> Glasgow, then, despite appearances and changing reputations, had 'improved', although it did not have as distinct a 'new

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<sup>106</sup> Nodier, *Promenade*, 155.

<sup>107</sup> *The Account of the Principal Pleasure Tours in Scotland* (London, 1834), 122.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>109</sup> Lindsay, *The Eye is Delighted*, 67.

<sup>110</sup> Carr, *Caledonian Sketches*, 526.

town' plan as Edinburgh's and may explain why visitors found it difficult to compare. Of course, these visitors saw how by 1791, George Square was laid out in 1782 and then Buchanan Street, in 1786, and the city had also founded Britain's first Chamber of Commerce. Glasgow's population had increased to around c.77,000 in 1801 but by the 1820s it was greater than Edinburgh's at over 147,000.

Therefore, while Edinburgh was usually praised for its architecture and topographical romantic setting, that afforded visitors many splendid panoramic charms, Glasgow captured as many admirers like Carr for its commercial enterprise. In turn, this reflected something of contemporary debates about ideas about what purpose cities had. Others agreed with the likes of Carr. By the mid-1830s, visitors still wondered at Glasgow's continuing growth. By then, the population was close to 200,000 and visitors like McLellan felt that this meant it: 'is now the first place in the world for trade and manufacture...the second or third manufacturing town in Great Britain, or in the world'.<sup>111</sup> This was very different from the aesthetic judgements earlier and showed how ideas about cities changed over the course of the period.

Despite this, some guidebooks, such as the one from 1807 considered earlier, showed Glaswegians were very concerned with how their city was perceived.<sup>112</sup> Certainly, as other visitors, like Fontaine, writing in the 1840s, suggested, Glaswegians seemed keen to promote their city but this did not always encourage visitors like his party to it.<sup>113</sup> There were reasons for Glaswegians to be apprehensive about their city's reputation, as other accounts, including one from 1824, felt that Glasgow only merited the briefest of attention and saw the city as a stop-gap for something to do:

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<sup>111</sup> *Account of the Principal Pleasure Tours in Scotland* (9th ed) (London, 1834), 147.

<sup>112</sup> See Sher, 'Images of Glasgow', in Hook & Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, 190 – 213 and Riches, 'The Teeth of an Ivory Comb,' 34-44.

<sup>113</sup> Fontaine, *Across the Tweed*, 187.



as tourists are sometimes detained, we thought a description of the city so big in importance as Glasgow, might be a useful occupation for a fine Summer afternoon, or a rainy day in autumn.<sup>114</sup>

Glasgow was considered by some as only a convenient starting point for travel north to the Highlands and, given the benefits tourism could bring, as Durie has shown, this kind of 'press' would be a worry for, above all, the commercial men of Glasgow. The same publication had also expressed regret for not concentrating enough on Edinburgh, 'the importance attached to Edinburgh, the capital of the kingdom, demands a greater attention, and a fuller account of this ancient city, than the limits allowed by our plan allows.'<sup>115</sup> A later edition of the same publication, ten years later, did not make the same apology for the lack of focus on Edinburgh and granted Edinburgh one out of its entire nine sections. This edition also remarked that Glasgow's growth meant that it could no longer be ignored in the pages of its guidebooks, albeit the section was still fairly brief in comparison with the Capital's.<sup>116</sup> Guidebooks, then, had a role to play in forming ideas about the two cities as much as in changing their reputation. However, this was something that did not remain static.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Glasgow's reputation again changed among visitors and it became viewed as the gateway to prosperity and even a Protestant model of work and piety. Glasgow was considered in this way, especially by American visitors as 'protestant, prosperous and progressive.'<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> *An Account of the Pleasure Tours in Scotland...illustrated by maps, views of remarkable buildings, etc. with an itinerary.* (3rd edn), (Edinburgh, 1824), 34.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, 34.

<sup>116</sup> *The Account of the Principal Pleasure Tours in Scotland* (1834), 113.

<sup>117</sup> Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 151.

However, for one visitor from Dover, who arrived in the city on a Sunday in 1856 there were some double standards at play:

The countenance of the people we met were an indescribable sanctimonious fear, as if each, had done some dreadful deeds, and conscience stricken, expected in consequence an immediate visitation from the Almighty. It is impossible to discern the gloom, which seemed to pervade the city. The dull monotony only broken by an occasional carriage passing along carrying puritanical looking merchants on their way to some conventicle.<sup>118</sup>

The author later found 'a large party of tradesmen who had slyly sipped some whisky. Amongst these people there was some discussion as to keeping the Sabbath; some thought a little relaxation from Glasgow strictness was required.' He concluded finally that Glasgow was 'repulsive in the general aspect of the city which renders it one of the last places a stranger would select to reside in'.<sup>119</sup>

Clearly, though, visitors' experiences affected them as much as what they had already read about the cities' reputations. The impact of their first encounter also dictated visitors' impressions, as the traveller Rooney noted when arriving in Edinburgh shortly before Walter Scott's demise. He was clearly enamoured with the city,

but with cities as with men, an agreeable first impression mightily facilitates intercourse, ripening the acquaintanceship of a day into an ease and cordiality which

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<sup>118</sup> NLS, MS9233, *Journal of a few days from Home in the Summer of 1856 with selected poetry and songs*, 62.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, 62.

a knowledge of years fails to produce, when, on the other hand, coldness and formality chances to cloud the introduction.<sup>120</sup>

Whatever and whenever visitors thought about the two cities in this period, they certainly were aware of another change in the evolution of their civic identities and epithets.

### *Civic identities and 'titles'*

Robert Fergusson penned an affectionate poem to his native city, entitled *Auld Reekie*, at the end of the eighteenth century. Fergusson's homage became Edinburgh's nickname as much as it was a civic identity and it also exemplifies how visitors saw the city before the improvements to it. After the improvements, visitors more or less abandoned using the term *Auld Reekie* in favour of newer pretensions of Edinburgh as a *New* or *Modern Athens*. This change was aided by some favourable advertising in the form of neoclassical buildings by architects like William Playfair and also repeated comparisons of the city's remarkable topography with Athens.<sup>121</sup>

From the 1760s, and the advent of the Enlightenment, visitors cited Edinburgh as the capital of the mind, an epithet which promoted its ongoing literary prowess, lauded its print culture and suited its bookish nature. Guidebooks encouraged this idea too. The 'title' emerged as a civic reputation into the early 1800s when Robert Forsyth, writing in 1806, felt that the people of Edinburgh are 'generally polite and intelligent; and there is probably no city in the world, of the same extent, in which so

<sup>120</sup> Rooney, 'Impressions of Edinboro', 786.

<sup>121</sup> See Allan, *The Age of Pericles*, 391-417; M. Oliphant, *Royal Edinburgh*, (London, 1890).

great a proportion of the inhabitants consist of well-informed persons.<sup>122</sup> One young visitor from New York in the 1820s, N. H. Carter, also remarked that, ‘a literary spirit is predominant throughout the city. Everybody reads, and a great many write.’<sup>123</sup>

Perhaps the most enduring of Edinburgh’s identities, however, was one which Carter and many others also noted, and which had been touted from at least towards the end of the 1700s, the city’s pretensions to be the ‘Athens of the North.’<sup>124</sup> This was the most potent of Edinburgh’s civic identities in the period. Fanciful remarks date from the artist Hugh ‘Grecian’ Williams, (1773 -1829) in the later eighteenth century and are often attributed to Edinburgh’s first comparison with Athens.<sup>125</sup> Edinburgh’s celebrity, in this respect, in print, literature, and in its literati from the later eighteenth century reinforced such ideas about the city. Prints and engraving of Edinburgh as an ‘Athens’ became commonplace into the 1800s.<sup>126</sup> It was, no doubt, also aided by the emphasis on classical education, the city’s penchant for neo-classical buildings, and was encouraged by its most famous architects, the Adam dynasty and then through the works of the Greek revivalist, William Playfair. The cityscape and public space metamorphosed into pocket replicas of ancient Athens and Rome. The pinnacle of this was the transformation of Calton Hill in Edinburgh and the attempts there to build another Greek Temple of Minerva Pantheon. This ‘National Monument,’ begun in the 1820s was meant to replicate the Pantheon in

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<sup>122</sup> Forsyth, *The Beauties of Scotland*, 31.

<sup>123</sup> Carter, *Letters*, 245.

<sup>124</sup> De Sassure, *Travels*, viii; Blanqui, *Voyages d’un jeune français*, xi; Carter, *Letters*, 242; *Cobbett’s Tour*, 37. (Cobbett referred to the citizens of Edinburgh as *Modern Athenians* in one of his weekly articles for the *Register* newspaper. It was also noted by him as having been used by *The Globe*, one of the London evening newspapers. These comments, in particular, suggested that the idea of Edinburgh as the *Modern Athens* potentially reached a large audience. The 1840s saw the term was still in vogue, see Townshend, *A Descriptive Tour in Scotland*.

<sup>125</sup> See Allan, *The Age of Pericles*, 391-417; J. Lowrey, ‘From Caesara to Athens: Greek Revival Edinburgh and the Question of Scottish Identity within the Unionist State’, *JSHR*, Vol 60, No.2, (June 2001), 136-157, 137.

<sup>126</sup> T. Shepherd, *Modern Athens displayed in a series of views, or Edinburgh in the nineteenth century*, (Edinburgh, 1829).

Athens and was intended to honour the fallen Scottish men who had served in the French Wars. Unfortunately, as has already been discussed, it became known as Scotland's Disgrace as it was never fully completed.

Of course, Edinburghers may have wanted to be 'Athenians' because they believed that with this they could regain some status after they had lost both regal and political patronage and influence following the Union of Crowns in 1603 and the Union of Parliaments in 1707.<sup>127</sup> An 'Athens' or a 'capital of the mind' was surely more appealing to visitors, aristocrats, elites and the middling sort and may encourage them to return or invest in the city than an 'Auld Reekie' would, no matter how endearing the term. Moreover, in an age of religious controversy, the term Athens was also neutral for a world immersed in the classic.

It became fashionable for visitors, often without question, to employ the term 'Athens' when talking of Edinburgh. In 1821, Necker de Saussure concluded that 'Edinburgh is not unworthy of the titles of the *Athens of the North* and *The Capital of Mind*, which many modern authors have bestowed upon it.'<sup>128</sup> In the same period, Carter reinforced the classical pretensions and this time looked to Rome,

It is in external appearance the most beautiful city I have ever seen, or expect to see, should my travels extend the world over. Nothing can surpass it in grandeur and beauty. The first glance reminds one of the picture which the splendid imagination of Gibbon has drawn of 'the City of Seven Hills' in the age of Augustus.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Daiches, *Edinburgh*, 98.

<sup>128</sup> De Saussure, *Travels*, 237.

<sup>129</sup> Carter, *Letters*, 240.

However, by the 1840s, the French traveller, Victor Hennequin believed, 'the proud Scots have taken the comparison too seriously.'<sup>130</sup>

While the Scottish capital was promoted for its historic, academic and classical connections, Glasgow emerged with a differing set of civic identities. Glasgow had become the 'second city of Scotland' from the later 1600s and, as considered earlier, the city's population and prosperity fuelled the improvements of which visitors were aware. Despite having an equally prestigious historic lineage as Edinburgh and having been founded as a Bishop's Burgh in the 1660s, with the second oldest university in Scotland, dating from 1451, some visitors rarely commented on this and instead they remarked on its commercial and industrial output. The Swiss Professor, Pierre Tzaut, noted in the 1850s that the city had some ancient qualities to it but that, 'Glasgow is a very old town, but its industrial and commercial importance date only from this century.'<sup>131</sup>

However, Tzaut and others still regarded the city as second to Edinburgh. Although it was considered a metropolis in its own right by some visitors, it was still, for them, second only in importance to the capital, Edinburgh, up to and even into the 1830s when its population and economic success had overtaken the capital.<sup>132</sup> The term metropolis was one employed by people at the time and one definition of metropolis is the 'chief city of the country, a capital or a centre of activity' and takes its origins from the Greek meaning 'parent state'.<sup>133</sup> Edinburgh, then, was clearly perceived by some in this way. This changed, though, after much publicity about such things as its population increase and so, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the city hailed as 'the western metropolis', and as the 'second city' of Britain. Even

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<sup>130</sup> Hennequin, *Voyage*, 225.

<sup>131</sup> R. M. Perry Morges, *A Nineteenth Century Swiss Tourist in Scotland, PS Tzaut* (Switzerland, 1991), 15.

<sup>132</sup> See *The Account of the Principal Pleasure Tours in Scotland* (1834).

<sup>133</sup> *The Oxford English Dictionary* 6<sup>th</sup> edition, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

by the 1830s, some guidebooks certainly saw it this way and as a ‘modern or western metropolis,’<sup>134</sup> although some noted earlier, in 1797, as Robert Herron had, that ‘Glasgow is the metropolis of the whole country.’<sup>135</sup> He had also proclaimed it to be ‘the second city (...of Britain),’ though this was a term more associated with the second half of the 1800s.<sup>136</sup>

What aided these ‘identities’ was the fact that the city had become Scotland’s largest city after 1821, when its population overtook that of the capital.<sup>137</sup> No longer was it simply the ‘second city’, but Glasgow was now considered a ‘western metropolis’ in its own right. It was also the ‘emporium of Scotland,’ suggesting its marvellous ability to cater for all.<sup>138</sup>

There were those, including authors and publishers, who also found another ‘title’ and antidote to Edinburgh when Glasgow was hailed as a ‘northern Venice.’<sup>139</sup> This jewel of the Italian Renaissance was considered a place of civic success, where culture and commerce worked in harmony to create educated and morally superior citizens: this was something, again, which the Enlightenment had encouraged in its discussions of citizenship and the civic ideal, which the merchants and elites of Glasgow would have recognised and to which they would have aspired.<sup>140</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, such was the confidence that Glasgow was proclaiming to all, and especially to its commercial and industrial competitors like Manchester,

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid, 113.

<sup>135</sup> R. Herron, *Scotland described: or a Topographical Description of all the counties of Scotland with the northern and western isles belonging to it*, (Edinburgh 1797), 134.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, 322, *Pinnock's Guide to Knowledge*, CLXX, 30 April (London, 1835), 155; W.A. Stevenson, *A Week's Tour in Scotland*, (London, 1890), 80.

<sup>137</sup> The 1821 census put Glasgow's population at 147,043 compared to Edinburgh's 138,235, Maver, *Glasgow*, 83.

<sup>138</sup> *Glasgow Chronicle*, 31st October as cited in *Cobbett's Tour in Scotland*, 85.

<sup>139</sup> John Galt called Glasgow a ‘northern Venice’ in 1822 in his novel *The Provost*, as quoted in P. Wood, ‘Jolly Jack Phosphorous’ in the Venice of the North; or, Who Was John Anderson?, 111 – 132 in Hook & Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, 111.

<sup>140</sup> J. Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, (London: Folio Society, 2001).

Birmingham, and Liverpool, that it now claimed to have become ‘the second city of Empire’. Visitors saw this too.<sup>141</sup>

Therefore, whether it was their improvements and changing reputations or their civic identities, visitors preferred Edinburgh but they also saw much to praise in Glasgow. Some of this praise came from within the cities, from the guidebooks produced there or from citizens who had come into contact with visitors and had lauded their city to them. This meant that the two cities’ civic pride and even their rivalry were known to visitors, as the quote about Baillie Nicol Jarvie from the observer at George IV’s visit to Edinburgh in 1822 showed.

#### *Civic pride, differences and rivalry*

By the 1800s, visitors were witnesses to Edinburgh and Glasgow’s civic pride and there is evidence for this before the Victorian period, with which it is most closely associated.<sup>142</sup> Robert Forsyth emphasised this in 1806:

Hence the people of Glasgow seem much more anxious than those of the more ancient city of Edinburgh, to exhibit to strangers their public buildings and the beauties of their city, and are much more anxious that it should obtain applause.<sup>143</sup>

Forsyth’s conclusions were echoed earlier by de Saussure in 1821:

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<sup>141</sup> NLS, MS9234, Stevenson, *A Week's Tour in Scotland*.

<sup>142</sup> See Briggs, *Victorian Cities*.

<sup>143</sup> Forsyth, *The Beauties of Scotland*, 207.



We were able to judge, on perambulating Glasgow, that the inhabitants were occupied with as much activity as in Edinburgh, in the embellishment and the enlargement of the city...It appears to me that the luxury of architecture is here carried out to a greater extent than in Edinburgh; we remarked many more private houses ornamented with columns and pilasters.<sup>144</sup>

There was evidence for civic pride in Edinburgh, too, as a traveller to Scotland in the late summer of 1844 discovered. In his discussions with an Edinburgh shopkeeper, he was presented with a list of all the things he must visit. The traveller was left remarking of, 'the fun as to the vast quantity and bewilderment into which he was plunged.'<sup>145</sup> By the 1840s, jealousy between those in Edinburgh and Glasgow was almost an established norm of their relationship, as one guidebook from the 1830s clearly suggested:

The spirit and activity of her people in extending the produce of her manufactures over all parts of the globe, has now raised Glasgow to a height that the most sanguine lovers of their country never contemplated.<sup>146</sup>

Guidebooks, too, were particularly keen to encourage the two cities in their competition. Forsyth was another who contrasted the two cities and witnessed how their economies led to their developing different characters and portrayed Edinburgh in a less than favourable light:

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<sup>144</sup> Necker, *Travels*, 53.

<sup>145</sup> G.A.S. *Notes of travels at Home*, (London, 1846), 73.

<sup>146</sup> *Account of the Principle Pleasure Tours in Scotland* (1834), 147.

It may be remarked, however, that as this is the great commercial capital of the west of Scotland, and the centre of its mercantile speculations and efforts, the busy and active character predominates. This tendency is augmented by the circumstance, that Edinburgh being considered as the fashionable capital of the kingdom, when a fortune is made in Glasgow by a great merchant or manufacturer, his son or other successor is apt to retire to Edinburgh, in pursuit of pleasure, and to obtain an opportunity of displaying his wealth in the principal seat of luxury and ostentation. As the leading men in society in Glasgow are engaged in different departments of business, they naturally influence them in some degrees the manners of the whole. Hence, while in Edinburgh, young men, imitating the manners of their superiors, are apt to assume the appearance of lounging and idleness; in Glasgow they more frequently endeavour to seem extremely busy and distressed by an extensive correspondence, or the management of a multiplicity of affairs.<sup>147</sup>

For Forsyth, Glasgow was a place of work as Edinburgh was of leisure. Therefore, the cities were perceived by some observers to have different strengths and ambitions. Recent research has indeed confirmed something of this, at least in terms of their consumer occupation.<sup>148</sup> Earlier observers, including Frederick Charles Spencer, while on a tour in 1816, saw Glasgow as Forsyth had done, ‘the town has the general appearance of flourishing commerce and increasing opulence,’ and he also saw Glaswegians as full of ‘industry, activity and happiness’.<sup>149</sup>

Robert Chambers’ third edition of his *The Picture of Scotland*, published in 1830, captured this too and compared Glasgow not unfavourably with Edinburgh and that,

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<sup>147</sup> Forsyth, *The Beauties of Scotland*, 207.

<sup>148</sup> See Nenadic, ‘Domestic Consumers and Domestic Cultures.’

<sup>149</sup> Spencer, *Journal of a Tour of Scotland*, 58.

... though this great emporium of commerce and manufactures of Scotland possesses not either the sublimity or the elegance of the legal and aristocratic capital, it is nevertheless an impressive and fine city. The numbers of its spires, and the judicious arrangements of most of its public buildings at the end of the streets, the more general prevalence of a moderate degree of elegance in the private structures, and the grace given to the whole by that noble river Clyde, are points in which it surpasses the more ambitious city of the east.<sup>150</sup>

Chambers also noted, as Forsyth would, about the contrasting characters and political persuasions of their inhabitant. He also attributed the wealth of Glasgow's citizens to their benefit and in doing so, Chambers posited the idea that the city did not have the same class divide as elsewhere:

... there is plenty of wealth for all, and no one need be jealous lest another pull the morsel from his mouth. And as there is little distinction of rank in the commercial republic, no occasion exists for jealousy on the score of pretension. All this has a beauty in it which we look for in vain, among such towns as Edinburgh, Perth, Inverness, Dumfries and Kelso, where society consists in two different classes, both of which are kept in a state of perpetual irritation and fret, by the reserve on the one hand, of the upper ranks, and on the other by the forward ambition of the lower.<sup>151</sup>

Some writers were not so kind to cities like Glasgow and appeared more cautious, reflecting some of the contemporary debates about cities.<sup>152</sup> Writing earlier in 1810, during the French Wars, Simond warned about the dangers of fluctuations in the economies of large, commercial cities like Glasgow. He had spent two years in

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<sup>150</sup>Chambers, *Traditions*, 364.

<sup>151</sup>*Ibid*, 365.

<sup>152</sup>See Coleman, *The Idea of the City*.

Britain and wrote an account of his travels there, though it was only originally intended for his American friends. By this time, Glasgow was gaining a reputation for reforming zeal and for growing radicalism as the campaign for parliamentary and burgh reform reflected. The city's burgeoning textile industries had also proved troublesome for its many handloom weavers around this time and some of them had suffered greatly and had marched in a campaign for improvements.<sup>153</sup> Simond, no fan of large cities, then, captured something of how they were perceived and remarked that:

I understand there is more of a reforming spirit observable at Glasgow than in Edinburgh, that spirit is scarcely ever found among the people of the country, not only in large towns, and peculiarly in manufacturing towns. Their population is exposed to hard vicissitudes and trials. When trade is prosperous, they earn a great deal, live in luxury, and indulge in excesses; at other times, they starve, and are consequently turbulent and discontented. Although there may be desirable reforms in the government, the morals of these reformers themselves are immediately in need of amendment.<sup>154</sup>

Others went further than Simond and said of Glasgow that it was, 'like all other great manufacturing trading towns; with inhabitants very rich, saucy and wicked.'<sup>155</sup> Some of these observers, then, considered cities as dangerous dens where mob rule was likely to break out in periods of economic distress. Mrs. and Miss Beecroft certainly favoured the more savoury atmosphere of Edinburgh in this respect and found Glasgow wanting:

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<sup>153</sup> See Maver, *Glasgow*, 39-40.

<sup>154</sup> Simond, *Journal*, 37.

<sup>155</sup> Lindsay *The Eye is Delighted*, 67.

But still Glasgow can never be compared to Edinburgh - its local situation forbids it, tho' it stands near a fine river and has some inequality of ground, but what hurts it most are the manufacturers with their numerous chimneys, pouring forth black smoke, which blackens the houses and destroys the purity of the air.<sup>156</sup>

Other large commercial and manufacturing cities would be described in this way and contemporary well-known novels would later capture something of this too.<sup>157</sup>

William Thackeray, one of Dickens' contemporaries, also condemned Glasgow in this way: 'what a hideous smoking Babel it is, after the clear London atmosphere quite unbearable.'<sup>158</sup> Social reformers like Edwin Chadwick would even make light of Glasgow's civic pride and 'title' when he said that, 'the city, which boasted it was the second city in the Empire was apparently also the first in human degradation'.<sup>159</sup>

Edinburgh did not escape uncomplimentary remarks about it too, as one visitor to the city in the 1820s thought it 'cannot be called a clean city', and, as already mentioned, the German visitor, Kohl, who had ventured into the Old Town in the 1840s, saw only its poverty and overcrowding.<sup>160</sup> Visitors, therefore, saw something of the two cities' civic pride and rivalry and referred to their differences in order to explain and understand this. However, this was still dependent on what they thought about cities and which one they had a preference for. Moreover, visitors appeared to appreciate the contrasts and readily admired the cities for their stark differences.

Nevertheless, they also saw their failings and increasingly commented on this

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<sup>156</sup> NLS, MS1674, *Mrs. and Miss Beecroft's Third Tour*, 72.

<sup>157</sup> 'It was a town of machinery and tall chimneys, out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves for ever and ever and never got uncoiled,' in C. Dickens, *Hard Times*, (London, 1978), 19, (First published in 1854).

<sup>158</sup> Fisher, *Glasgow Encyclopaedia*, 289.

<sup>159</sup> Flinn, *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* by Edwin Chadwick in Devine & G. Jackson, *Glasgow, Volume One*, 404.

<sup>160</sup> Carter, *Letters*, 244.

approaching the second half of the 1800s. It was this factor which detracted from and enhanced attacks on their civic pride and which served only to encourage their rivalry.

It is important to remember that visitors also saw similarities between the two cities and others, comparing them to other cities they had seen and were familiar with. This is why visitors like Carr, in 1809, compared Edinburgh to Berlin and Bath<sup>161</sup> and why he considered the city 'superior to Paris.'<sup>162</sup> By the 1820s, others compared Edinburgh to London and Dublin<sup>163</sup> but within twenty years, these comparisons fitted for Glasgow:

Glasgow, in the course of a century, has been raised from almost nothing to be one of the greatest cities in Europe, and ranges with this respect with Dublin, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and other modern northern cities.<sup>164</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Visitors were aware of such changes to the two cities and, while in the last decades of the seventeenth century, Edinburgh was considered dirtier, more congested and rather too confined than Glasgow, an 'Auld Reekie' of a place. By the nineteenth century, particularly, after the building of Edinburgh's New Town, it was reborn phoenix-like into an imposing classical and engaging 'Northern Athens'. Moreover, the reverse was the case for Glasgow. Once hailed as a neat, ordered and hygienic locality, it metamorphosed into a place of wonder as much as a giant, smelly metropolis, which

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<sup>161</sup> Carr, *Caledonian Sketches*, 47.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, 171,

<sup>163</sup> Carter, *Letters*, 240.

<sup>164</sup> Kohl, *Travels*, 26.

may have allowed it to claim 'second city' status, but which some visitors condemned for its 'one hundred and one chimneys'. Visitors saw behind the reputations and received ideas about the two cities and their thoughts contributed to changing ideas about them. Therefore, at least in the eyes of visitors, Glasgow, although it provided access to the west coast, lost out somewhat to Edinburgh's striking romance, something that happened despite the fact that, architecturally, the city of the west was later fashionably considered as among the finest Victorian cities in Britain.<sup>165</sup> Visitors constantly re-evaluated Edinburgh and Glasgow and their civic identities and this was despite, or because of, their stark differences. They readily visited both places because they were Scotland's two principal cities but spent more time in Edinburgh: it was more successful, in part due to publicity for it and the likes of Walter Scott's attention to it and because it also offered an escape to the romance of the past, certainly in the early 1800s, Glasgow, despite its ancient claims, was perceived as a model of the new and the modern and not always something as attractive. What also aided visitors' evaluations was the fact that so much had already been written and was known about the two cities and visitors readily 'received ideas' about them.

In any evaluation, then, of what visitors said about Edinburgh and Glasgow from the late eighteenth through to the mid- nineteenth century there are a plethora of journals, guidebooks, diaries and letters to consider. This chapter has examined only a portion of the many records relating to travel to Scotland, Edinburgh and Glasgow. There are, however, some restrictions, as well as advantages, in evaluating what were, after all, very individual impressions of the cities. Collectively, however, patterns of commentaries and observations emerge that chart the changes to the cities and their perceived differences and positives. In this sense, they are worth examination

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<sup>165</sup> See Reed, *Glasgow*.

because they are indicators of external ideas about the cities at this time and they reflected the influences of Enlightenment and Romanticism. As the travellers spent time in the two cities and offered their observations on them, they had none of the supposedly deeper civic attachments and personal investments in the city that the citizens living there may already have had. However, many of the ideas actually originated from within Scotland and from within Edinburgh and Glasgow: they were received ideas.

Finally, some visitors, like Necker and McLellan, tended to laud the cities, as guidebooks and others had done before them, but there were others, like Kohl, who were clearly more critical in their assessments and did not find favour in all that had been penned. In this respect, they helped dispel some of the myths about the cities, as one Scottish born but London based journalist did when he set out to deliberately discredit Edinburgh's claim to be the *Athens of the North*. Robert Mudie's *The Modern Athens - A Dissection and Demonstration of Men and Things in the Scotch Capital, by a Modern Greek* was published in London in 1825 and was dismissive of the city's boasts:

I found her a compound of squalor and of vulgarity. She boasts of her philosophy: I found it pursuing thistle-down over the wilderness. She boasts of her literary spirit; I found her literature a mere disjointed skeleton, or rather a cast-skin of a toothless serpent. She boasts of her public spirit: I found almost every man pursuing his own petty interests, by the most sinister and contemptible means; and perchance, the most noisy of her patriots standing open-mouthed, if so that the very smallest fragment, if place or pension might drop into them. She boasts of the encouragements that she has given to genius; I looked into the record, and I found that every man of genius, who had depended upon her patronage, had been



debauched and starved. She boasts of the purity of her manners: I found the one sex engaged in slander as a trade, and the other in low sensuality as a profession. Under those findings - and they required not to be sought - I had no alternative for my judgement. When she redeems herself from them, and becomes in reality, even something like what she would call herself in name, let her then make comparisons with the Gem of Ancient Greece.<sup>166</sup>

Whether the cities deserved either the polemic or the flattery was a question that was not always addressed. Of course, the character of the visitors was largely restricted to the mainly professional or leisured people who had the means to travel. Travel involved a good deal of financial output as well as the wherewithal and the luxury of time. Therefore these travellers who either published their accounts, including those who wrote for private consumption, wrote for their own rank and audience.

Ultimately it was the middling sort that constructed civic identities and brought images and ideas of the cities to other citizens and visitors alike. This chapter has demonstrated that travellers' comments revisited old ideas about the cities, and in doing so helped to sustain them. The citizens of these two cities were clearly aware of the way in which others viewed Edinburgh and Glasgow. They were also aware that travellers' comments were important in shaping their cities' identities. To some extent, therefore, the views of outsiders were in a kind of dialogue with the images which insiders wanted to project. However, it was a limited discussion as most of the sources stem from the pens of the elites and the middling sort/classes and so further research is required to discover how far others accepted or challenged what was said about Edinburgh and Glasgow and how far their ideas endured or were erased by the second half of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>166</sup> Mudie, *The Modern Athens*, 319.

## Conclusion

In his study of imagined communities, Benedict Anderson concentrates on nations, dynasties and cultural and linguistic groups. But surely we need more analyses of cities as imagined communities.<sup>1</sup>

Essentially, this thesis has explored and found evidence for the idea that Edinburgh and Glasgow were, at least for the middling sort and elites, particular kinds of ‘imagined communities’ and were dependent on what was happening within and without both cities at any given moment of time. For Edinburgh and Glasgow between 1752 and 1842, there were a variety of ‘imagined communities,’ which were expressed through particular civic identities, and which evolved and which were dependent on a wide array of other cultural, economic and political fashions of the age. Just as there were spatial changes to Edinburgh and Glasgow over the period there were also ideological changes. This was expressed through what was written by the elites and the middling sort about the two cities and which, in turn, were dependent upon what was happening in and outwith the two cities when they were writing. There were clear differences to be asserted about Edinburgh and Glasgow, whether it was from those writing under the classical influences of the Enlightenment to those considering the cities’ contribution to Britain during the stresses of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

Moreover, the public sphere, which expanded from the Enlightenment period, was the platform that afforded the elites and middling sort the opportunity for such

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<sup>1</sup> See J.M. MacKenzie, ‘The Second City of Empire – imperial municipality’, in F. Diver & D. Gilbert, *Imperial Cities, Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester, 1999), 215-237.

commentaries and reflections. Their writing and their public speeches afforded them with an ideal opportunity to foster, to project and to establish particular civic identities for the two cities, reflecting their ideas about citizenship, Scottishness and Britishness. In doing so, they staked a 'claim', both as British citizens and as burgesses of these what went on within Edinburgh and Glasgow and was to attain some control over their cities' reputations and legacies. Arguably this happened because the middling sort held no formal political power within the cities before 1833, so their assertions allowed them to extend some direction over the image and the identity of the two cities by other means. This resulted in a variety of commentaries that ranging from ideas about the changes to the built environment and in the kinds of statues and monuments raised, to the literature published concerning events within Edinburgh and Glasgow. The middling sort and elites did this while they projected their cultural values and morals into their ideas about the two cities.

This thesis has demonstrated that the middling sort strived alongside the elites to achieve these ends and that they were actively working together both before and after the 1833 Burgh Reform Act (Scotland). Through actively positing ideas about Edinburgh and Glasgow within the public sphere, they ensured their involvement before and after 1833. They also demonstrated their ability to promote their cities in a positive and politically acceptable manner to the elites of the time. This was something, it has been shown, that was especially important in order to galvanise support for the 'improvements' required to Edinburgh from the 1750s in order for the city to compete with other British cities that were 'improving' and attracting nobility and their valuable wealth back into the cities. Crucially, the middling sort have been shown to be involved in promoting their cities in a variety of activities and ways and

this was something that happened before they became members of voluntary associations and other social interventionist activities in earlier periods. One other important aspect of this thesis is that it has uncovered much evidence for the kind of civic pride which has been posited by Asa Briggs and others for the Victorian period but which is clearly apparent in the period prior to the Victorian City.

Moreover, the kind of civic pride projected by the middling sort and elites were bound into particular civic identities which were flexible phenomena. For example, Edinburgh was considered the 'Athens of the North' and Glasgow 'the second city' but even though these civic identities faded or were replaced by others, the elites and middling sort ensured that their two cities remained decidedly culturally distinct and visible to those of their 'kind' throughout other British towns and cities. Particular patterns and fashionable cultural activities were also operating in both cities over the course of the 90 years considered here. For example, in the Enlightenment period, the writing of town histories and the emulation of classical and Renaissance cities of the past, especially Rome, Athens, Florence and Venice are in evidence. Change occurred and was later channelled in both places in the Romantic age from the early 1800s when particular military heroes and successful literati were fêted with statues and monuments and when returning visitors noted how different both cities had become from their last visit. Rivalry also permeated the two cities' relationship in the period from 1752 – 1842, particularly as Glasgow claimed demographic and economic superiority over Edinburgh. Civic rivalry was apparent in a number of notable incidents in this thesis, whether it was from the repeated taunting from Edinburgh histories about Glasgow's unruly status during the 1725 Malt Tax Riot there or from commentaries teasing Glasgow's show of wealth during the visit of King George IV to

the Scottish capital in 1822. Rivalry, however, was an intermittent and not a dominant feature of the two cities' relationship and was something which requires further research to ascertain its significance, particularly in relation to other cities' supposed rivalries of the time.

A number of other themes have emerged, including a meshing of civil society, which revealed, not a *bourgeois* public sphere, but a common space where the middling sort and elites interacted in such ways as to create common civic identities which cut across urban class boundaries. These ideas complemented other aesthetic and cultural phenomena of their time and can be especially viewed in light of the influences of the Enlightenment and the Romantic age. All of this was reflected in various avenues of writing, ideas and activities as articulated again by Sweet, Smout, Morton, Colley, Durie and Mays, among others. This thesis has either complemented or extended the arguments of these historians.

Chapter One argues that the writing of Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic histories projected particular ideas about them, their place in the past, as well as where they stood in the present. Histories allowed for aspects of pedigree and pride to be promoted and attributed to both cities and this supports Sweet's findings for those stories of English cities that also sought suitable moral compasses of religion, royalty and longevity in their writing of town histories. However, there were particular Scottish aspects to Edinburgh and Glasgow's civic histories. Apart from their understanding and reinventing of the past, which was a fashionable pursuit among the elites and middling sort of the period, current preoccupations affecting Scotland, Britain and Empire were projected through both cities' histories. There were also important distinctions between the two cities' histories, including their views of the

impact of Union. Chapters Two and Three explore how other kinds of written accounts could also be viewed as witnesses to civic and national qualities, some of which were rooted in classical ideas, political ideology, *Britishness* and *Scottishness*. While this may reaffirm the work already done by Smout, Colley and Morton in their work on what it meant to be Scottish and/or British, this thesis goes further and shows how much more of a role local identity played in contemporary claims of attachment to the ideas of Britain and Scotland. This thesis is unique in its assertions that claims of *Britishness* and *Scottishness* were often secondary to those claims of locality and therefore of attachment first to Edinburgh and Glasgow before country and nation. As the German experience in the same period shows, however, such local loyalties did not necessarily preclude the existence of national loyalties. In the German case, German nationalism proved able to co-opt longer standing forms of more localised identity such as attachment to a particular German state (*Staatspatriotismus*) or indeed province (*Landespatriotismus*).<sup>2</sup>

Chapter Four considers commemorations as another kind of civic activity. Commemorations were an important part of civic life in the period 1752 – 1842 and contributed to many of the ideas already outlined above. The chapter also explored how individuals and events were employed by the elites and middling sort, in order to celebrate and link their city to the good deeds and examples set by those considered to be heroes and worthy of such recognition. In this way, they asserted another form of control over the image as well as the decoration of their built environment, as they were responsible for selecting the subject, style, fund raising and organising the processions which celebrated the beginning and completion of such commemorations.

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<sup>2</sup> M. Levinger, *Enlightened Nationalism: The Transformation of Prussian Political Culture 1806 – 1848* (Oxford, 2000), 113-25.

Commemorations of this kind were particular in vogue following military successes of Nelson and Wellington during the Napoleonic Wars. However, such celebrations became more difficult to realise after the Wars when a period of economic challenge followed on from 1815, as the example of the failed National Monument on Calton Hill in Edinburgh showed. Finally, Chapter Five investigates how those on the outside viewed Edinburgh and Glasgow and how visitors were party to receiving and promoting particular ideas about the cities, based on what they had previously read. It also considers how similar messages were conveyed in this new writing. In many cases, what they read about Edinburgh and Glasgow, particularly in guidebooks and in successful accounts of the cities, informed their ideas and aided a process of what can be described as ‘received ideas’ about the cities. This thesis extends the idea already forwarded by Mays that visitors initially preferred Glasgow over Edinburgh, although this view was not universally sustained. It also underlines the contribution by Durie about the emerging economic importance of tourism at this time and how what was written about the two cities influenced the choices of those who visited them.

In all of this analysis, the thesis has argued how important it was for the elites and middling sort to create good advertising for their city, from its historical associations to its contemporary contributions to the nation. Robert Morris argues that ‘British towns of the industrial revolution period were substantially the creation of their middle class, and in turn provided the theatre within which that middle classes sought, extended, expressed and defended its power.’<sup>3</sup> This thesis has shown that this was the experience of the middling sort also in the period 1752 – 1842 and was something which was much more nuanced and dependent on wider as well as local concerns at

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<sup>3</sup> Morris, R.J., ‘The Middle Classes and British Towns and Cities of the Industrial Revolution 1780-1870,’ in Fraser & Sutcliffe *The Pursuit of Urban History*, 286.

the time. The elites and middling sort worked together, then, to promote their cities and foster competition before the Victorian period. For Edinburgh and Glasgow the competition may have not been based on their economic concerns but it was expressed in cultural ways and particularly in their different and changing civic identities.

Evidence in this thesis has also suggested that, at times, the promotion of particular civic identities was meant to integrate the wider urban masses into society. Yet the elites and middling sort, who controlled such things as the opening ceremonies for their monuments and statues, ensured that they were often only open to an exclusive audience, even though many of them were made possible by public subscription. The two cities' public spaces were meant to have a social function but they were, in fact, not at all democratic in this period and served only to secure and reflect the ambitions of those who had realised them.

The thesis also posited the idea that local identity was often more important than the concentric loyalties of unionist-nationalism. *Britishness* and *Scottish*, as espoused by Smout, Morton and Colley, was important at times but such sentiments permeated only particular aspects of local identity and at times were secondary to it. In fact, those in the cities often employed some or all of these commitments only to further their local ambitions, as the improvements and Edinburgh's *Proposals* revealed. These intermeshing identities were, therefore, pragmatic aspects of how the elites and middling sort operated, at least in their cultural practices. As Mitchison has already articulated, 'in spite of a continuing sense of national identity, Scotland in the eighteenth century was a country of marked regional and ethnic differences.'<sup>4</sup>

Although there was a clear understanding of London as the metropolis, the two cities

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<sup>4</sup> R. Mitchison, 'Scotland 1750 -1850' in Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain*, 155-207, 155.



often took the lead in such things as their commemorations, independently of the capital and of each other. Edinburgh and Glasgow's different civic identities were primarily based on ideas extracted from the past, as when Edinburgh touted itself as 'Athens' and Glasgow as 'Venice'. This revealed how citizens employed their cities' strengths to advertise them by employing models from the urban past, as well as expressing their aspirations or the future development of their respective cities. In this sense, this was no different from other British towns, which according to Thrupp, writing almost half a century ago, also looked to the cities of the ancient world and which had also 'helped to produce another of the distinctive elements of the Western intellectual tradition, the application of the idea of evolution or progress to societies.'<sup>5</sup> These models betrayed contemporary preoccupations with the past and also Enlightenment influences of citizenship. 'Venice' as a commercial and independent principality and 'Athens' as an intellectual and political centre both allowed for those in the two places to emulate their particular ideals and realise their ambitions. This in turn encouraged their rivalry and heightened their awareness of each other.

George Trevelyan, in his classic work, may not have recognised the importance of civic rivalry<sup>6</sup> – and that of Edinburgh and Glasgow in particular – but this thesis reveals that it was very much a part of their respective identities. It was based not only on their differing economic focuses, but was embedded in all areas of their culture, from the civic histories through to their other testimonies that uncovered elements of such things as pride, confidence, prejudice and also ambition. Rivalry between the two cities was also an unspoken assumption and sometimes it was even implied without any

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<sup>5</sup> S. Thrupp, 'The City as the Idea of Social Order,' in O. Handlin & J. Burchard, (eds.) *The Historian and the City* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT, 1966), 121-132, 124.

<sup>6</sup> Trevelyan, *English Social History*, 579.

specific reference to the 'other' city. It was also expressed through the writing on their achievements and in how both places competed to have a place in history, architecture, monuments and statues, and in written expressions of attachment to the city.

Finally, the articulation of received ideas was not mere plagiarism but was, in fact, an important aspect of how ideas about the cities became embedded into people's consciousness. This is very clear in the examination of visitors' accounts as they were consumed, digested and regurgitated, continually conveying and reconveying the ideas. Nevertheless, some who had read the accounts were also critical of them and not everyone accepted what was presented to them. This showed that civic and national-civic testimonies were dialogues about the cities and they fuelled responses which challenged existing ideas and showed they were not static.

The discussion and exposition of these ideas about civic identity and rivalry contained in this thesis predates the Victorian period and suggest where the origins of civic pride and identity originated. More research still needs to be done, however, in order to establish whether this was something that was constructed before 1750 and also in what ways it continued, or intensified, beyond 1850. Many questions still remain, including whether or not Edinburgh and Glasgow were typical of other Scottish, British and European cities in this period. When did the wider public engage with these identities, accept or dismiss them, or forge new identities for themselves? Were there any examples where the two cities worked together and in harmony, that suggested their civic identities and rivalry were not important or could be discarded when times demanded? Did their social institutions, such as the churches and universities, or political structures, such as town councils cooperate or compete in a similar fashion to those arenas considered here? Finally, when did their identities become redundant or did they remain an important factor in their cultural makeup?

Much has been written on British and Scottish urban history and this thesis has sought to contribute to this through an examination of how civic identity and rivalry were created, fabricated, maintained and sustained and for what particular reasons. Cities are competitive entities so are not without elements of rivalry in many respects - and the period 1752 - 1842 was not without substantial and unprecedented challenges. This thesis has shown how those involved in their cities sought to shape their cultural and political identity: even when the middle classes had no direct political rights, or precisely because they were disenfranchised, these cultural politics substituted for formal political representation. The mercurial nature of the topic has not failed to challenge, but has been worth exploring as it uncovers how identity and rivalry were central to how those in the cities saw themselves and wanted others to see their cities.

Glasgow had reason to emulate Edinburgh, which, after all, was the capital even if commentators were keen to point out that by the end of the nineteenth century Glasgow *had* the capital. Competition was the practised norm and the contrasting nature of their civic identities and the realities of their economic and administrative functions meant that Edinburgh and Glasgow would always remain distinct and foster their uniqueness through their various historic and civic identities. The two cities still operate within these complicated parameters today.

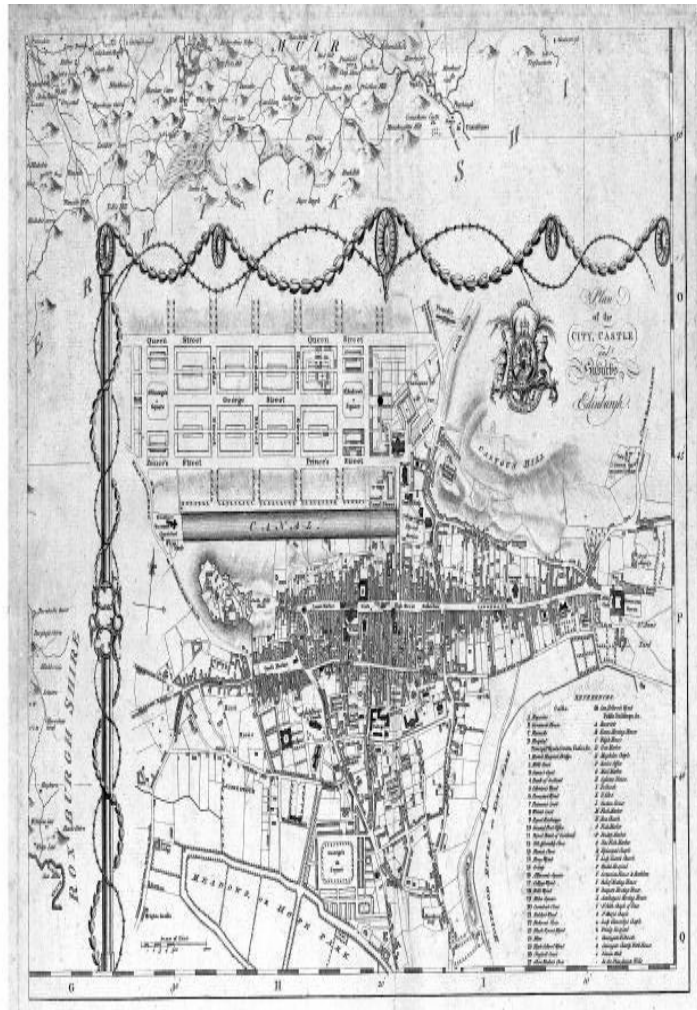
## Appendix A

### Edinburgh from the north by Knyff c.1700s



## Appendix B

### Map of Edinburgh 1773 with New Town plan



## Appendix C


### Map of Edinburgh 1831



## Appendix D

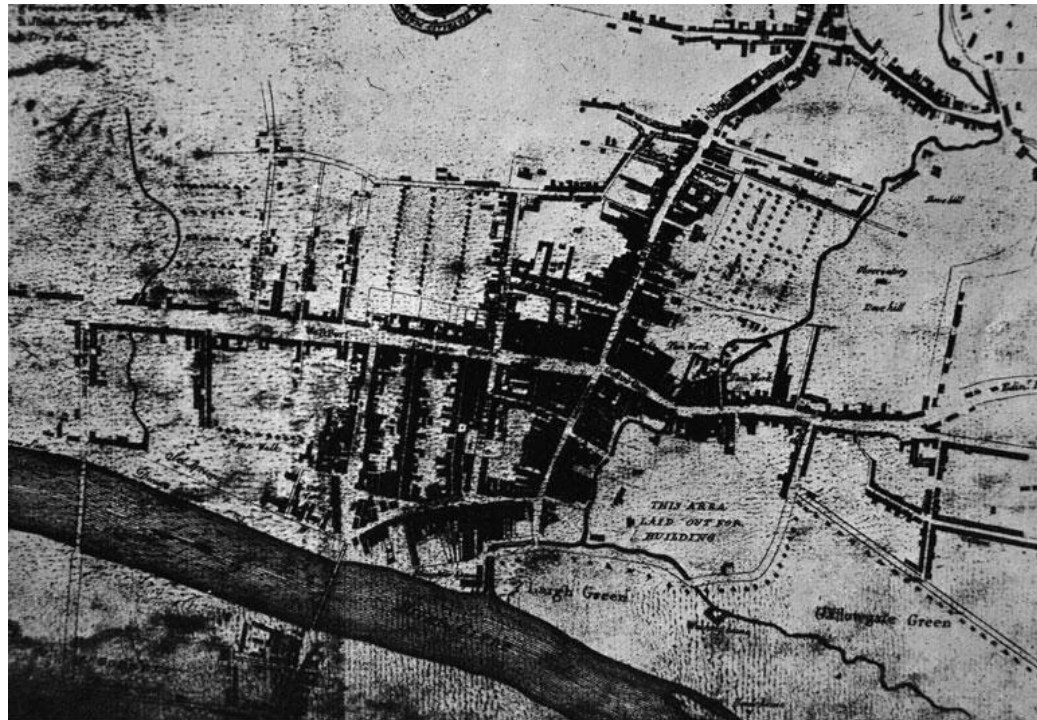
### Artist's representation of Glasgow c.1700s



 **scran** © Resource from Scran. For licensed use only. www.scran.ac.uk  
000-000-472-143-R | 03370393.jpg | 16-May-2012

## Appendix E

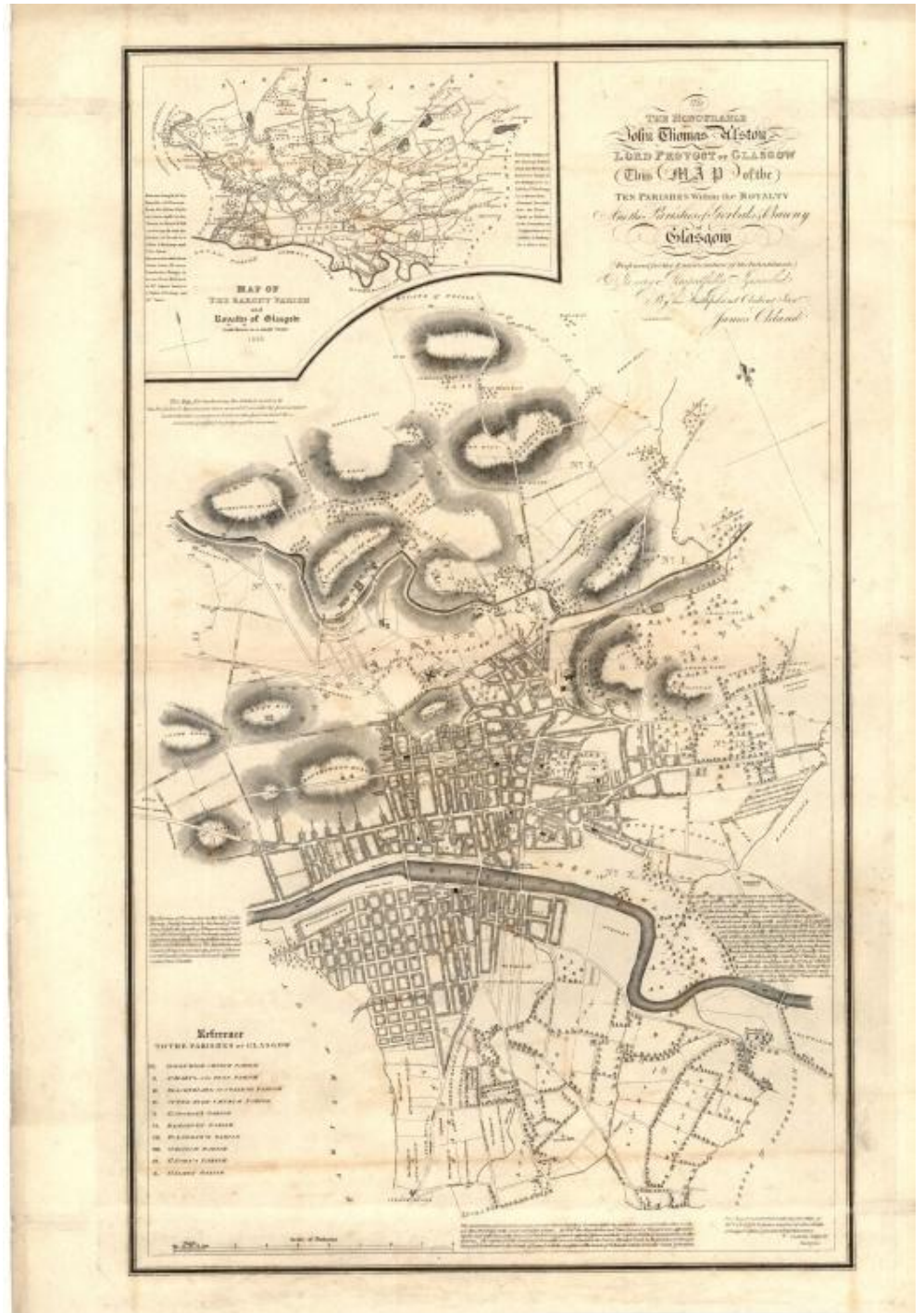
### Plan of Glasgow mid-eighteenth century





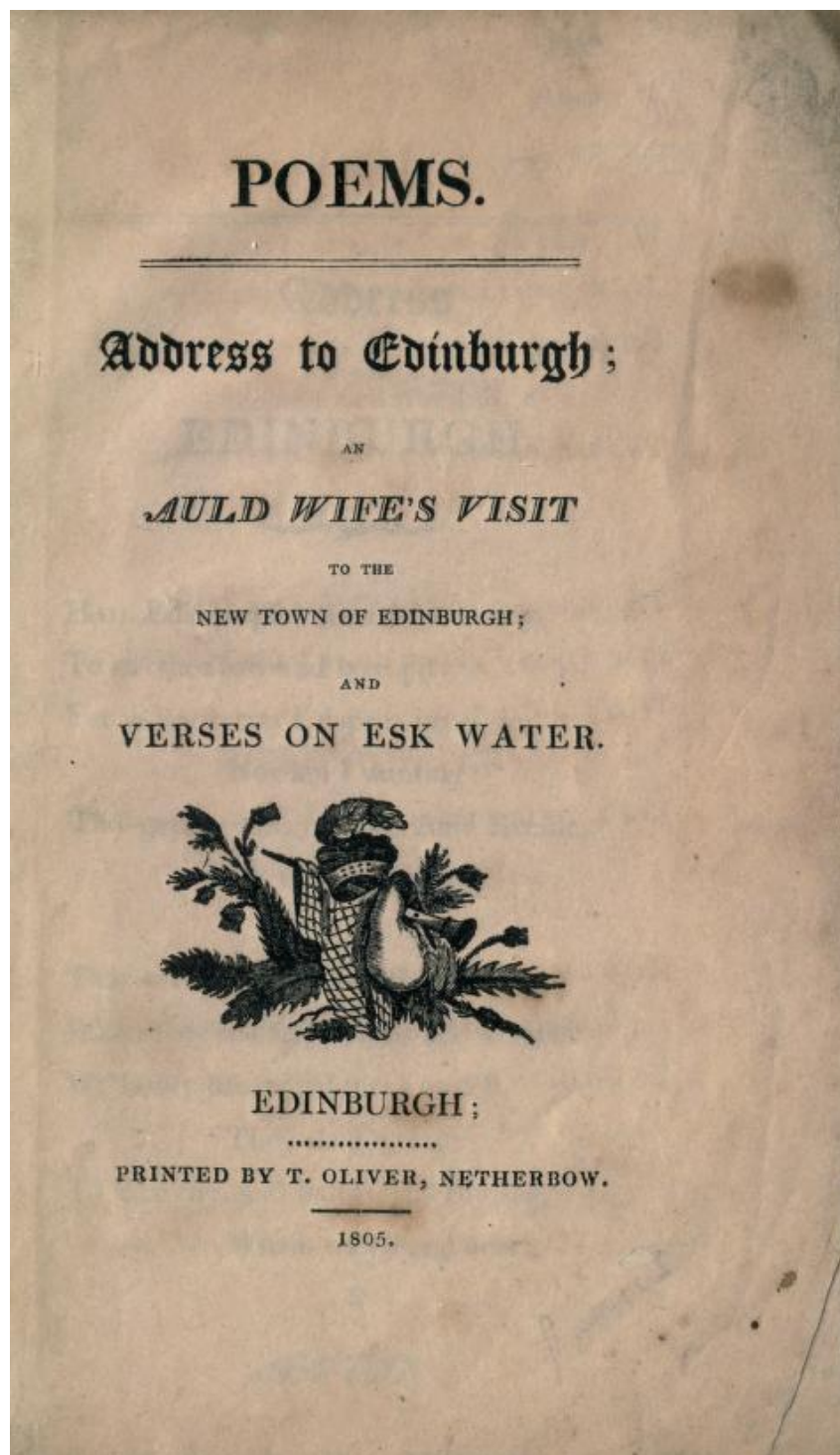
## Appendix F

### Map of Glasgow, 1822



## Appendix G

*Address to Edinburgh or An auld wife's visit to the new town of Edinburgh; and Verses on Esk Water*



## Appendix H

### Burns monument Edinburgh, 1830



## Appendix I

### Nelson's Column, London



## Appendix J

### Scott Monument, Edinburgh



## Appendix K

### National Monument, Edinburgh



## Appendix L

### George Square, Glasgow



## Appendix M

### Sir John Moore, Glasgow





## Appendix N

### James Watt, Glasgow



## Appendix O

### Sir Walter Scott, Glasgow



## Appendix P

### Queen Victoria, Glasgow



## Appendix Q

### Prince Albert, Glasgow



## Appendix R

### James Oswald, Glasgow



## Appendix S

### Robert Burns, Glasgow



## Appendix T

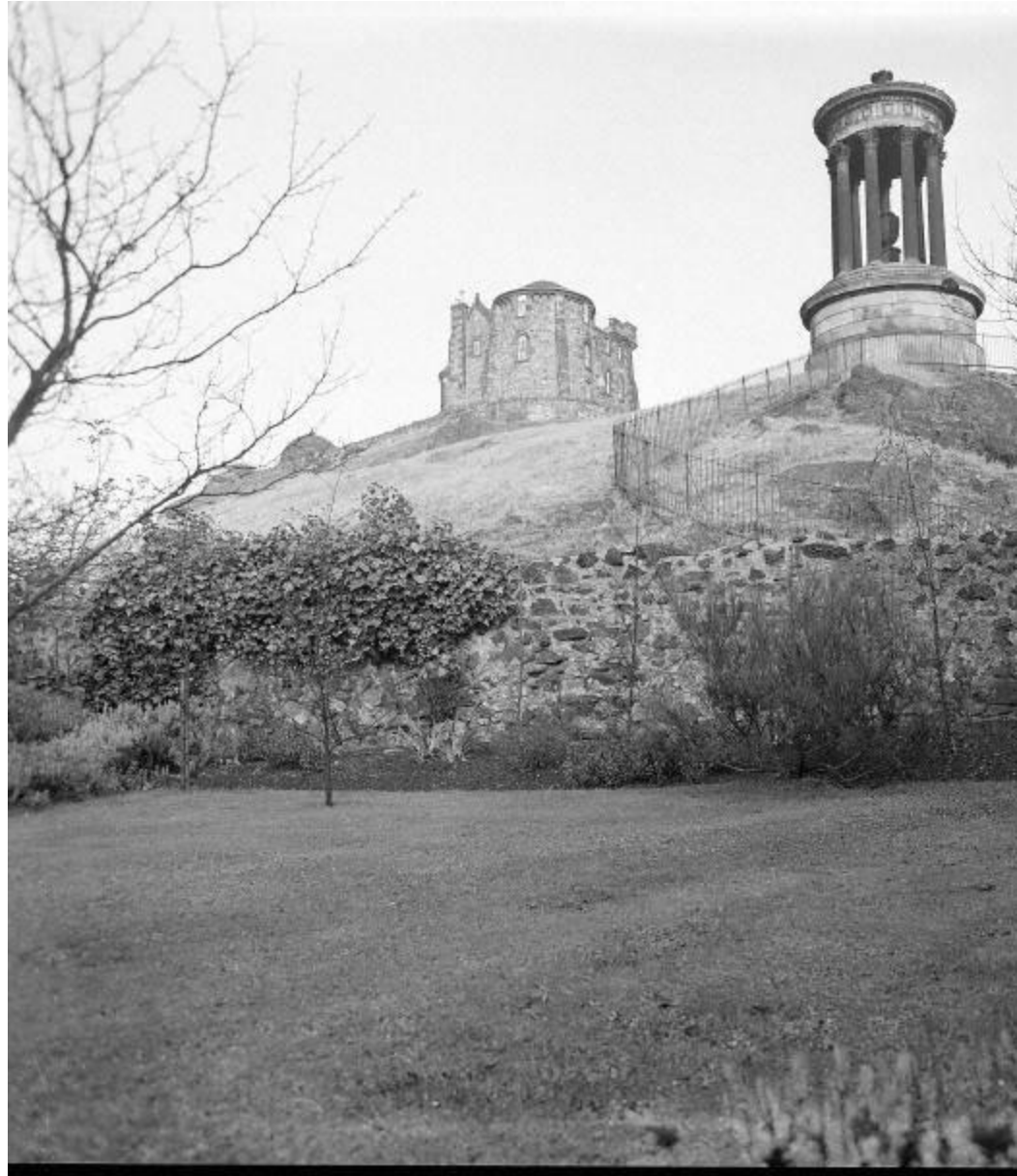
### Glasgow Green



(C) Resource from Scran. For licensed use only. [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk)  
000-000-049-933-R | 05004633.jpg | 15-Dec-2010

## Appendix U

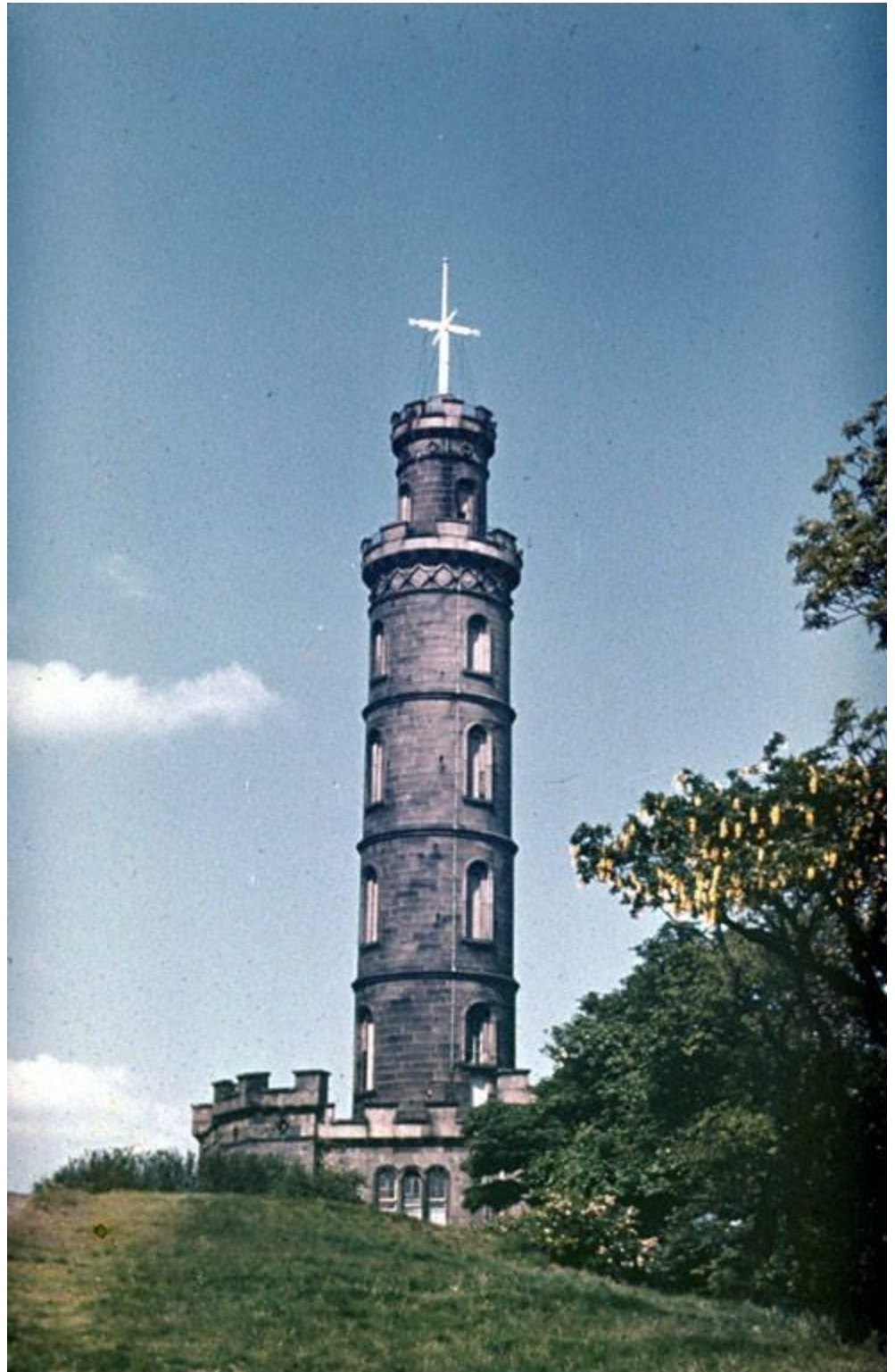
### Calton Hill, Edinburgh





## Appendix V

### Nelson Monument, Edinburgh



## Appendix W

### Burns' Monument, Edinburgh



(C) Resource from Scran. For licensed use only. [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk)  
000-000-127-101-R | 01330181.jpg | 15-Dec-2010

## Appendix X

### Dugald Stewart Monument, Edinburgh



## Appendix Y

### Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh



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000-000-121-087-R | 02496847.jpg | 15-Dec-2010

## Appendix Z

### Scott Monument, Edinburgh



## Appendix AA

### Charles II, Edinburgh



## Appendix BB

### William III, Glasgow



## Appendix CC

### George IV, Edinburgh





Appendix DD, A copy of the dedication on the  
statue as reproduced in J. Cleland, *Annals of  
Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1816)

Chp VI-set of the constitution of the burgh

1735 Statute to William III (Latin inscription translated) p.102

In Honour of

The most excellent prince,

William III, Sovereign of Great Britain,

Pious, Valiant, Invincible,

By whose Courage, Council and Address,

Often displayed in Greatest Danger,

To the United Provinces, well nigh overpowered,

Unexpected safety was obtained;

To Britain and Ireland,

Purer Religion, Law and Liberty

Were Restored, Maintained, and Transmitted

To Posterity

Under the Just Government of Patriotic Princes

Of the Brunswick line;

And the Yore of Slavery,

Intended by the French for the whole of Europe,

Was averted;

This monument of His Immortal Deserts,

In the XXXIII year after his decease,

Being accepted with the highest Approbation,

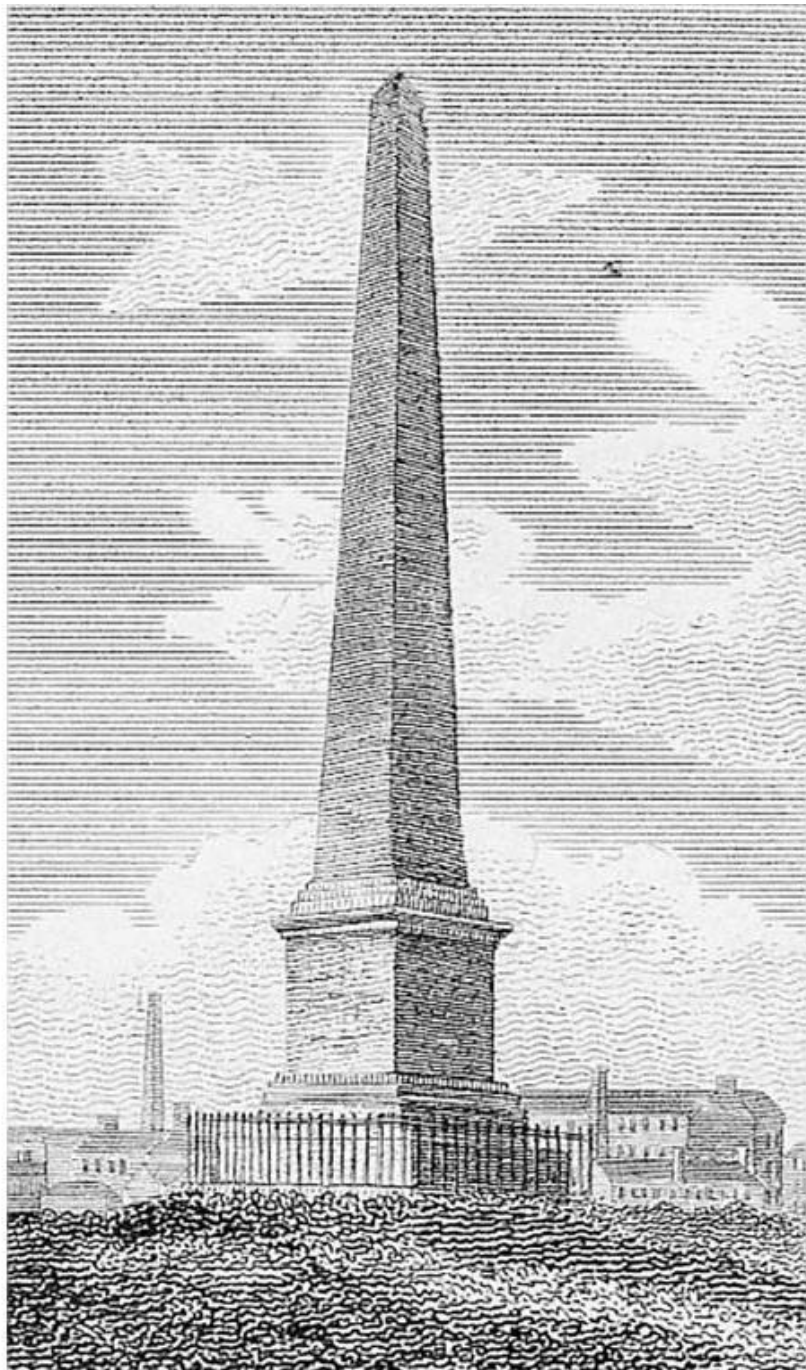
By the Magistrates and People of Glasgow,

Was erected by her Active and Faithful Citizen,

James Macrae, Late Governor of Madras, 1735.

## Appendix EE

Nelson's Monument, Glasgow Green, Glasgow,  
*Glasgow Delineated* (1821)



## Appendix FF

A. Nasmyth, 'Plan of View of Intended Nelson's Column,' in *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, February 1806.



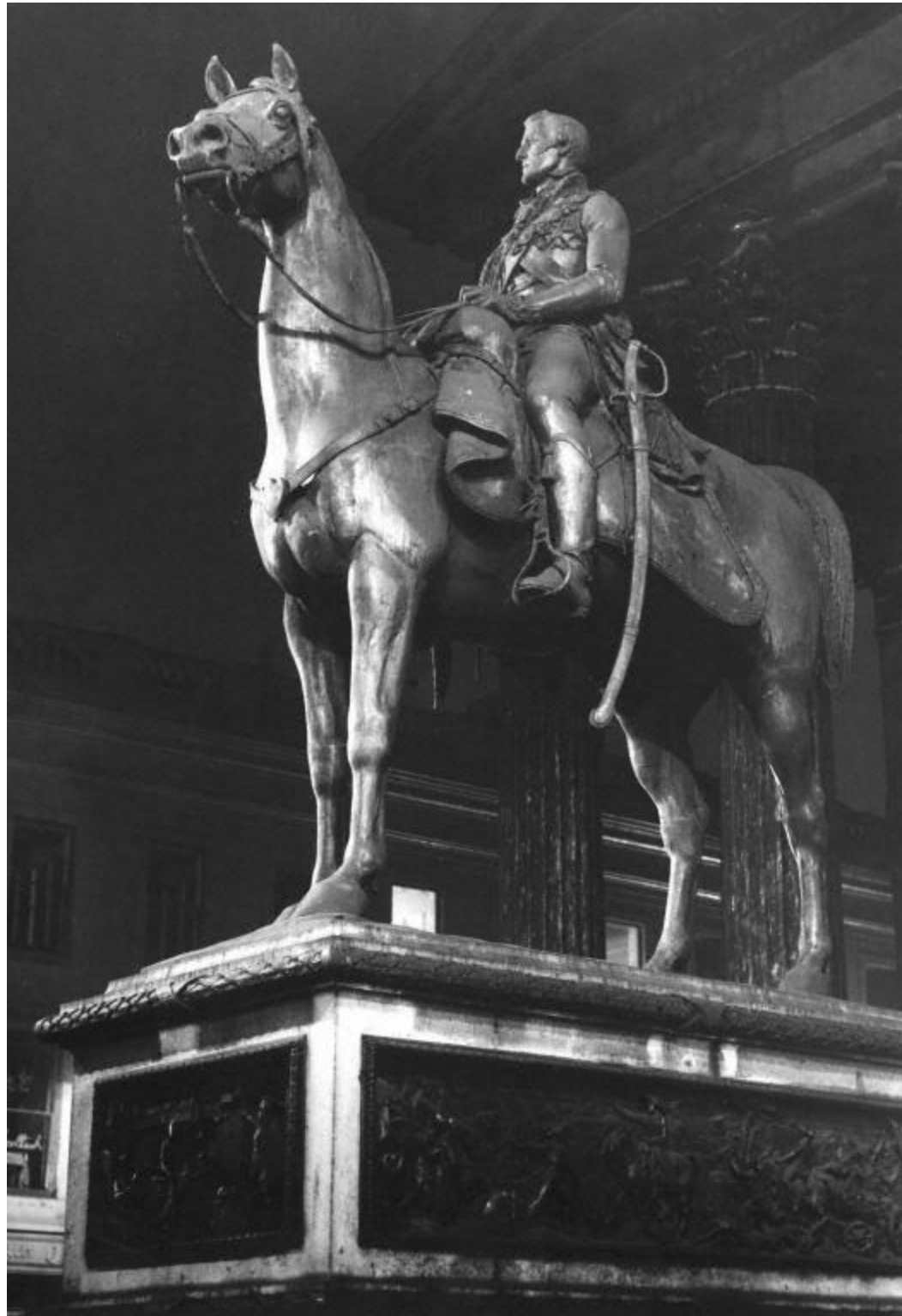
## Appendix GG

## Duke of Wellington, Edinburgh



## Appendix HH

## Duke of Wellington, Glasgow





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ECL -Edinburgh Room, Edinburgh Central Library

NA - National Archives, West Register House

NLS -National Library of Scotland

GCA-Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library

GUL -Glasgow University Library

EUL -Edinburgh University Library

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