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The politics of the people in Glasgow and the west of Scotland, 1707-*c*. 1785

Hisashi Kuboyama

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School of History, Classics and Archaeology

University of Edinburgh

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by the candidate and is the candidate's own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Hisashi Kuboyama

May 2012

Abstract

This thesis analyses the political development and the growth of popular political awareness in Glasgow and the west of Scotland from the Union with England of 1707 to the burgh reform movement in the mid-1780s, examining political disputes among the urban elite as well as the activities, arguments, and ideology of ordinary people. Through the rapid growth of Atlantic trade and manufacturing industries, Glasgow and the west of Scotland in this period experienced social and economic changes which had significant implications for the ways that political control was contested and political opinions were expressed. The region also possessed a distinctive tradition of orthodox presbyterianism and loyal support for the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian Succession, both of which underpinned the growth of popular political awareness in the mid- and later eighteenth century. By taking these social and economic changes as well as traditional religious and political characteristics of the region into account, this thesis establishes a dynamic picture of eighteenth-century Scottish politics which has in the past been overshadowed by an image of its stability.

Chapter One outlines the conditions, structure, and operation of urban and popular politics in eighteenth-century Glasgow. Chapters Two and Three demonstrate the existence of challenges to the political management by the great landowners and point out the popular dimension of these struggles. Chapter Four analyses how and why popular political consciousness developed in the age of the American Revolution, which led to the emergence of the burgh reform movement. Chapter Five examines popular disturbances, revealing the agency and vibrancy of the politics of the people. Chapter Six explores popular political ideology, focusing on the widespread appreciation of the British constitution and a distinctive Scottishness in the concept of liberty. This thesis concludes by asserting the importance of understanding politics in its broadest sense and also of incorporating the popular element as an integral part of any understanding of eighteenth-century Scottish politics.

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Abbreviations

Analecta	Robert Wodrow, *Analecta: or, materials for a history of remarkable providences; mostly relating to Scotch ministers and Christians. By the Rev. Robert Wodrow, minister of the Gospel at Eastwood*, 4 vols, edited by Matthew Leishman (Edinburgh, 1843-4)
BL	British Library
Cochrane Correspondence	James Dennistoun (ed.), *The Cochrane correspondence regarding the affairs of Glasgow 1745-6* (Glasgow, 1836)
Commons Journals	*The Journals of the House of Commons*
CM	*The Caledonian Mercury*
CTP	Joseph Redington (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury papers*, 6 vols (reprint of the 1868–89 edn, Nendeln, 1974)
DSL	Dictionary of Scots Language: http://www.dsl.ac.uk/
Fasti	Hew Scott (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: the succession of ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation,* vol. III: *Synod of Glasgow and Ayr* (new edn, Glasgow, 1920)
GBR	Sir J.D. Marwick and Robert Renwick (eds), *Extracts from the records of the royal burgh of Glasgow,* vols IV to VIII (Glasgow, 1908–13)
GC	*The Glasgow Courant*
GCA	Glasgow City Archives, The Mitchell Library, Glasgow
GJ	*The Glasgow Journal*
GMH	[W.H. Hill and Andrew Scott] (eds), *View of the merchants house of Glasgow: containing historical notes of its origin, constitution and property, and of the charitable foundations which it administers* (Glasgow, 1866)
GTH	Harry Lumsden (ed.), *The records of the trades house of Glasgow,* 2 vols (Glasgow, 1934)

GUL	Glasgow University Library, Glasgow
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*	D.W. Hayton (ed.), *The history of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690–1715*, 5 vols (Cambridge, 2002)
HoP, *Commons 1715-1754*	Romney Sedgwick (ed.), *The history of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715–1754,* 2 vols (London, 1971)
HoP, *Commons 1754-1790*	Lewis Namier and John Brooke (eds) *The history of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1754-1790*, 3 vols (London, 1985)
LG	*The London Gazette*
NAS	National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NSA	[Anon.], *The new statistical account of Scotland*, 15 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1845)
OSA	Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The statistical account of Scotland*, 21 vols (Edinburgh, 1791-1799)
Oxford DNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Online)
SM	*The Scots Magazine*
Scots Peerage	James Balfour Paul (ed.), *The Scots peerage: founded on Wood's edition of Sir Robert Douglas's peerage of Scotland; containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that kingdom,* 9 vols (Edinburgh, 1904-14)
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
Wodrow Correspondence	Thomas M'Crie (ed.), *The correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow, minister of Eastwood, and author of the history of sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1842)

Notes on the text

- All dates have been provided in Old Style, with the year beginning in January.

- Original spelling in primary sources has been maintained in quotations, but manuscript contractions have been expanded. Corrections are added only if the meaning requires elaboration. Names of persons and places have been standardised throughout the text, but in quotations they remain as they were spelled.

- Pound Scots and sterling have been identified as such where this is clear from the sources. 1 pound sterling = 12 pounds Scots.

Maps

Central Scotland showing the location of Glasgow

Central Scotland showing the location of Glasgow

T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds), *Glasgow*, volume I: *beginning to 1830* (Manchester, 1995), 19

Glasgow and the west of Scotland in the eighteenth century

Anthony Slaven, *The development of the west of Scotland: 1750-1960* (London, 1975), 2

Introduction

Two entirely different views of eighteenth-century Scotland have been depicted by historians. One of them is a Scotland in which the great landowners dominated politics and led the whole society towards improvement and the Enlightenment. In this Scotland, the landowners' dominance was so complete and pervasive that it faced no serious challenges from the rest of society. It is a landowners', well-ordered, authoritarian, stable, polite, and enlightened Scotland. Historians have long believed in and argued about this Scotland, but recently this view has been criticised and another view of Scotland has been presented. This is a Scotland in which the people at 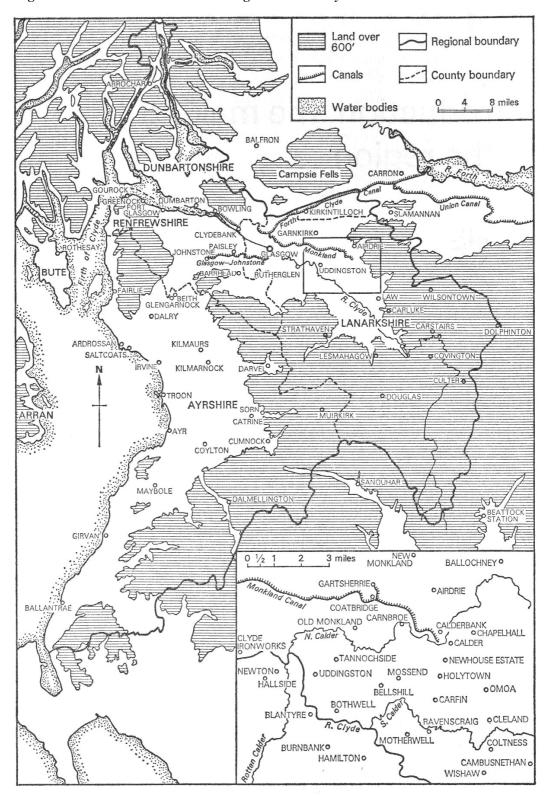large were frustrated with politics, religion, and society and were keen to express their voice and to act to effect change. In this Scotland, political control was contested, authority was challenged, and the landed dominance was attacked. It is a people's Scotland that is noisy, active, dynamic, rude, and sometimes violent.

This thesis is about the latter Scotland. It is an attempt to challenge the perception of a stable, quiet, landowners' Scotland. It is a study of the politics of the people. It looks at the actions, organisations, and beliefs of the people in eighteenth-century Scotland and aims to show how active, loud, politically-conscious they were. It also attempts to establish the importance of the politics of the people. It asserts that it is impossible to achieve a fuller understanding of eighteenth-century Scotland without appreciating the politics of the people.

I

Orthodoxy of stability and passivity

Eighteenth-century Scotland has often been seen by historians as politically stable. It has been argued that, unlike England, it lacked a sizeable political nation and active parliamentary electoral politics, and failed to produce significant radical or reform movements before the French Revolution. Its political development has been personified by the lives and public careers of two great political managers, Archibald Campbell, Earl of Ilay and later third Duke of Argyll, and Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville.[1] Understanding Scottish politics therefore

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[1] John Stewart Shaw, *The political history of eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999), especially Chapter 4, 'From Ilay to Dundas'; Richard B. Sher, 'Scotland transformed: the eighteenth century', in

has meant understanding how these political managers governed and managed the country. Political historians in the 1980s endeavoured to discover the nature and function of the political machine that Ilay and Dundas masterfully controlled and, in much the same way as Lewis Namier and his disciples had done with regard to eighteenth-century English politics,[2] reached the conclusion that the essential element of Scottish politics was management through influence, connection, and patronage.[3]

These works have certainly improved and enriched historians' understanding of eighteenth-century Scottish politics and their achievements should rightly be acknowledged. They are based on tremendous breadth and depth of archival research.[4] This body of work has created a much fuller, more detailed picture of eighteenth-century Scottish politics, serving at the same time to undermine the then conventional understanding that Scottish politics were practically moribund after the Union of 1707, an understanding largely influenced by the works of P.W.J. Riley and William Ferguson, who had painted a rather narrow and limited picture of Scottish politics as nothing but bribery and corruption.[5] This achievement of scholarly rigour at that time was particularly important, given the politically charged atmosphere surrounding Scottish academia in the 1960s and 1970s because of the resurgence of Scottish political nationalism, which had produced works of a largely partisan and controversial nature, rather

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Jenny Wormald (ed.), *Scotland: a history* (Oxford, 2005), 183-191.

[2] Works on eighteenth-century Scottish politics have been described as examples of 'Namierite' histories. Joanna Innes, 'Representative histories: recent studies of popular politics and political culture in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 4-2 (1991), 186. For Namier and his legacy, see Linda Colley, *Namier* (London, 1989) and John Cannon, 'Namier, Sir Lewis Bernstein (1888–1960)', *Oxford DNB*.

[3] Alexander Murdoch, *'The people above': politics and administration in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980); R.H. Scott, 'The politics and administration of Scotland, 1725-1748' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1981); John Stewart Shaw, *The management of Scottish society 1707-1764: power, nobles, lawyers, Edinburgh agents and English influences* (Edinburgh, 1983); Ronald Sunter, *Patronage and politics in Scotland, 1707-1832* (Edinburgh, 1986); D.J. Brown, 'Henry Dundas and the government of Scotland' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1989). Their historiographical precursors were P.W.J. Riley's *The English ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727* (London, 1964) and J.M. Simpson, 'Who steered the gravy train, 1707-1766?', in Nicholas T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison (eds), *Scotland in the age of improvement: essays in Scottish history in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh, 1970), 47-72.

[4] J. Wilson Ferguson, 'Review [untitled]', *American Historical Review*, 86-1 (1981), 138-139 (Review of Murdoch, *'The people above'*); Maurice Lee, 'Review [untitled]', *American Historical Review*, 89-3 (1984), 776-777 (Review of Shaw, *Management of Scottish society*).

[5] Arthur Marwick, 'Review [untitled]', *Journal of Modern History*, 54-3 (1983), 558 (Review of Murdoch, *'The people above'*); P.W.J. Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland: a study in Anglo-Scottish politics of eighteenth century* (Manchester, 1978); *idem.*, *King William and the Scottish politicians* (Edinburgh, 1979); William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the present* (Edinburgh, 1968), Chapter 2; *idem.*, *Scotlands' relations with England: a survey to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1977). For a recent and powerful rebuttal of this traditional understanding of the Union as a 'political job', see Christopher A. Whatley with D.J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2007).

than works of academic expertise. [6] Despite all the contributions they made to the advancement and sophistication of Scottish historical studies, however, their self-admitted concentration on the politics of a small number of great aristocrats in an exclusive, closed circle, as well as on administration by the governing elite, resulted in a lack of reference to the implications of politics in wider social contexts.[7] At the same time, it has been understood that the system of political management was so successful and the control of political managers was so complete that they faced no serious challenges. The management system did not work well after Ilay's death in 1761 simply because his possible successors, such as the earl of Bute and James Stewart Mackenzie, did not have his skills in seeking to operate it. A similar but different system began to operate in the mid-1780 under the direction of Henry Dundas.[8]

This understanding of political stability and lack of external challenges to the system of political management has been buttressed by a long-standing historiographical tradition which has emphasised the stability of Scottish society. Historians have, on the one hand, asserted the political, economic, and cultural dominance of landowners in Scottish society and, on the other hand, pointed out the peaceful, deferential, and 'uninflammable' character of the populace.[9] It has been argued that Scotland witnessed a relatively small number of conflicts, discontents, and disturbances.[10] The character and culture of the populace lacked the vibrancy and liveliness which their southern counterparts possessed and demonstrated.[11] It is this combination of powerful landed rule and the deferential character of the ordinary people that

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[6] For comments on this situation, see W.H. Marwick, 'A bibliography of Scottish economic history during the last decade: 1963-1970', *Economic History Review*, new series, 24-3 (1971), 479.

[7] Murdoch states that his subject is 'the tiny electoral nation of Scotland, the political elite who owned the land, had made the Union, and sent their representatives to Westminster'. Murdoch, *'The people above'*, vi. See, however, his other works looking at politics in a broader sense. John Dwyer and Alexander Murdoch., 'Paradigms and politics: manners, morals and the rise of Henry Dundas, 1770-1784', in John Dwyer, R.A. Mason, and Alexander Murdoch (eds)*, New perspectives of the politics and culture of early modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1981), 210-248; Alexander Murdoch, 'Politics and the people in the burgh of Dumfries, 1758-1760', *SHR*, 70 (1991), 151-171.

[8] Murdoch, *'The people above'*, Chapters 4 and 5; Brown, 'Henry Dundas and the government of Scotland', Chapter 1; Rosalind Mitchison, *A history of Scotland* (2nd edn, London, 1982), 344.

[9] T.M. Devine 'Unrest and stability in rural Ireland and Scotland, 1760-1840', in Rosalind Mitchison and Peter Roebuck (eds), *Economy and society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939* (Edinburgh, 1988), 126-139; T.C. Smout, *A history of the Scottish people 1560-1830* (London, 1969), Chapter 12 and 303-310, 412-420; Bruce P. Lenman, *Integration, enlightenment, and industrialisation: Scotland, 1746-1832* (London, 1981), 11 and 15.

[10] Devine, 'Unrest and stability in rural Ireland and Scotland'; W. Hamish Fraser, 'Patterns of protest', in T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (eds), *People and society in Scotland* I*: 1760-1830* (Edinburgh, 1988), 268-291; R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte, 'Introduction: Scottish society in perspective', in R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte (eds), *Scottish society 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989), 25.

[11] Lenman, *Integration, enlightenment, and industrialisation*, 11; Whyte and Houston, 'Introduction', 34.

has been seen as leading to the 'failure' of radical political movement in Scotland in the late eighteenth century.[12] The orthodox narrative of stability and passivity has been so influential that it has also been applied in the analysis of social dimension of Scottish Enlightenment.[13]

II

Revisionist historiography

There is, however, a recent and growing historiographical trend that has led to a revision of the orthodox understanding of Scottish politics and society in the eighteenth century.[14] Obviously inspired by the remarkable development of the studies of eighteenth-century English politics and society which has successfully revised the Namierite approach,[15] historians have since the mid-1980s attempted to challenge the orthodoxy of stability and passivity in Scotland by examining, with fresh insight, aspects of popular political conflict and have discovered evidence of instability in areas in which the orthodox narrative has long held sway.

One of these areas is the politics of the burghs. In older accounts, Scottish burgh politics in the eighteenth century have been notorious for their venality. The closed and exclusive system of urban government allowed the ruling elite, with bribery and corruption, continuously to elect themselves as magistrates and council members in order to control the towns. This dominance of the few, a so-called 'self-perpetuating' oligarchy, appeared to leave no

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[12] T.M. Devine, 'The failure of radical reform in Scotland in the late eighteenth century: the social and economic context', in *idem.*, (ed.), *Conflict and stability in Scottish society 1700-1850: proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1988-89* (Edinburgh, 1990), 51-64.

[13] Roger L. Emerson, 'How many Scots were enlightened?' in *idem.*, *Essays on David Hume, medical men and the Scottish Enlightenment: 'industry, knowledge and humanity'* (Surrey, 2009), 46.

[14] For a recent and careful attempt to reassess the extent of political stability and rehabilitate the vitality of popular political tradition, see Bob Harris, *The Scottish people and the French Revolution* (London, 2008), Chapter 1.

[15] E.P. Thompson, 'The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century', *Past & Present*, 50 (1971), 76-136; *idem.*, 'Patrician society, plebeian culture', *Journal of Social History*, 7-4 (1974), 382-405; Douglas Hay *et al.* (eds), *Albion's fatal tree: crime and society in eighteenth-century England* (London, 1975); John Brewer, *Party ideology and popular politics at the accession of George III* (Cambridge, 1976); John Brewer and John Styles (eds), *An ungovernable people? The English and their law in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (London, 1980); J.A. Phillips, 'Popular politics in unreformed England', *Journal of Modern History*, 52 (1980), 599-625; Linda Colley, *In defiance of oligarchy: the Tory party 1714-1760* (Cambridge, 1982); James E. Bradley, *Popular politics and the American Revolution in England: petitions, the Crown, and public opinion* (Macon, 1986); Tim Harris, *London crowds in the reign of Charles II: propaganda and politics from Restoration until the exclusion crisis* (Cambridge, 1987); Frank O'Gorman, *Voters, patrons and parties: the unreformed electoral system of Hanoverian England 1734-1832* (Oxford, 1989); Nicholas Rogers, *Whigs and cities: popular politics in the age of Walpole and Pitt* (Oxford, 1989); H.T. Dickinson, *Politics of the people in eighteenth-century Britain* (New York, 1994); Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the people: politics, culture and imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge, 1995).

room for serious political disputes or external challenges to the ruling few and so contributed to the ossification of the political system.[16] There is a growing body of evidence, however, that struggles within the urban elite over principles of urban representation and government, rather than over the distribution of offices and patronage, did exist and also that the urban men were sometimes able to reject aristocratic control and seek a measure of political independence.[17] At the same time, there were challenges to the urban elite mounted by the urban middling and lower ranks. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, strong discontent and demands were directed at the closed and exclusive nature of the urban oligarchy and at the magistrates' exercise of lay patronage, the patron's right to present a minister without consent of the congregation, and caused serious political disputes which involved wide sections of the townspeople, especially in Edinburgh and Glasgow.[18] Conflict and instability caused by the exercise of lay patronage were not confined to larger towns. It has been suggested that patronage problems created a high level of social tension in the smaller towns and even in the rural areas, leading to protests and sometimes provoking violent disturbances.[19]

Popular disturbance is another area of long-standing controversy. It has been argued that eighteenth-century Scotland witnessed a lower degree of violence and instability as well as a smaller number of disturbances than England, Ireland, and other European countries, reflecting the distinctive orderliness and stability of Scottish society in which the enforcement

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[16] William Ferguson, 'Dingwall burgh politics and the parliamentary franchise in the eighteenth century', *SHR*, 38:126 (1959), 89-108; Sunter, *Patronage and politics*, part III; Mitchison, *A history of Scotland*, 343-344.

[17] Alexander Murdoch, 'The importance of being Edinburgh: management and opposition in Edinburgh politics, 1746-1784', *SHR*, 68-1 (1983), 1-16; Sunter, *Patronage and politics*, Chapters 10 and 11; Janet V. Deatherage, 'The impact of the union of 1707 on early eighteenth-century Fife electoral politics, 1707-47' (PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2006).

[18] Alexander Murdoch, 'Politics and the people in the burgh of Dumfries, 1758-1760', *SHR*, 70 (1991), 151-171; R.A. Houston, 'Popular politics in the reign of George II: the Edinburgh cordiners', *SHR*, 72 (1993), 167-189; Richard B. Sher, 'Moderates, managers and popular politics in mid-eighteenth century Edinburgh: Drysdale "Bustle" of the 1760s', in John Dwyer, R.A. Mason, and Alexander Murdoch (eds), *New perspectives of the politics and culture of early modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, [1982]), 179-209; R.A. Houston, ' "Bustling artisans": church patronage at South Leith in the 1740s and the 1750s', *Albion*, 26-1 (1994), 55-77; Ned C. Landsman, 'Liberty, piety and patronage: the social context of contested clerical calls in eighteenth-century Glasgow', Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher (eds), *The Glasgow Enlightenment* (East Linton, 1995), 214-226.

[19] Callum G. Brown, 'Protest in the pews: interpreting Presbyterianism and society in fracture during the Scottish economic revolution', in Devine (ed.), *Conflict and stability in Scottish society*, 83-105. For an useful and insightful overview of patronage problem in the late eighteenth century, see Richard B. Sher and Alexander Murdoch, 'Patronage and party in the Church of Scotland 1750-1800', in Norman MacDougall (ed.), *Church, politics and society: Scotland 1408-1929* (Edinburgh, 1983), 197-220.

of law was rigorous and the supervision and control by the church over the people was rigid.[20] Ken Logue's path-breaking monograph on popular disturbances between 1780 and 1815 did challenge this view by revealing powerful evidence of popular disorder and violence, but its impact on eighteenth-century historiography has been somewhat limited because of its chronology.[21] Christopher Whatley and other historians have also demonstrated that there was a greater degree of disorder and violence in the Scottish Lowlands than has been maintained.[22] It is in fact hard to determine with any precision whether the level of violence and disorder in eighteenth-century Scotland was higher or lower than in other countries, because of the practical difficulties inherent in the study of popular disturbances.[23] Nevertheless, there has clearly been growing evidence suggesting that the orderliness and deference in Scottish social relations have probably been overemphasised by earlier historians.[24]

In revealing evidence challenging the orthodox view about the presence of stability and passivity in these controversial subjects, historians have also opened up new areas of enquiry and their results appear to contribute to the advancement of the revisionists' case in that they have demonstrated the existence and vitality of public and popular politics outside the governing elite. The heightened political awareness generated by the national crisis from the failure of the Darien project to the ratification of the Treaty of Union in 1707, together with the

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[20] S.J. Davies, 'The courts and the Scottish legal system 1600-1747: the case of Stirlingshire', in V.A.C. Gatrell, Bruce P. Lenman and Geoffrey Parker (eds), *Crime and the law: the social history of crime in western Europe since 1500* (London, 1980), 120-154; Leah Leneman, *Living in Atholl: a social history of the estates, 1685-1785* (Edinburgh, 1986); Rosalind Mitchison and Leah Leneman, *Sexuality and social control: Scotland, 1660-1780* (Oxford, 1989). Also see works cited in footnote 10.

[21] K.J. Logue, *Popular disturbances in Scotland 1780-1815* (Edinburgh, 1979).

[22] Christopher A. Whatley, 'How tame were the Scottish Lowlanders during the eighteenth century?', in Devine (ed.), *Conflict and stability in Scottish society*, 1-30; *idem.*, ' "The privilege which the rabble have to be riotous": carnivalesque and the monarch's birthday in Scotland, *c.* 1700-1860', in Ian Blanchard (ed.), *Labour and leisure in historical perspective, thirteen to twentieth centuries. Papers presented at session B-3a of the eleventh international economic history congress, Milan 1994* (Stuttgart, 1994), 89-100; *idem.*, 'The Union of 1707, integration and the Scottish burghs: the case of the 1720 food riots', *SHR*, 78 (1999), 192-218; Anne-Marie Kilday, *Women and violent crime in Enlightenment Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2007), Chapter 6; A.J.N. Raffe, 'Religious controversy and Scottish society, *c.* 1679-1714' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2007), Chapter 5; Valerie Wallace, 'Presbyterian moral economy: the Covenanting tradition and popular protest in lowland Scotland', *SHR*, 89-1 (2010), 54-72. The tensions and relationship between townspeople and garrisons have been explored by Andrew Mackillop, 'Confrontation, negotiation and accommodation: garrisoning the burghs in post-Union Scotland', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 15:1-2 (2011), 159-183.

[23] Roger Wells, 'Counting riots in eighteenth-century England', *Bulletin - Society for the Study of Labour History*, 37 (1978), 68-72.

[24] For less deferential labour relations, see Christopher A. Whatley, ' "The fettering bonds of brotherhood": combination and labour relations in the Scottish coal-mining industry *c.* 1690-1775', *Social History*, 12-2 (1987), 139-154; R.A. Houston, 'Coal, class and culture: labour relations in a Scottish mining community, 1650-1750', *Social History*, 8-1 (1983), 1-18; W.H. Fraser, *Conflict and class: Scottish workers 1700-1832* (Edinburgh, 1988).

growth of political communications connecting Edinburgh and the other towns, gave birth to a public sphere in Scotland, in which public opinion against the Union found expression. It has been demonstrated that this public opinion, as well as the riots and demonstrations that occurred across the country, had a significant impact on the final form of the Treaty of Union.[25] Popular ideologies have also been explored. Bob Harris and Christopher Whatley have shown that popular loyal support for the Hanoverian regime was more widely shared than has previously been believed.[26] Valerie Wallace has also argued that the popular Presbyterian tradition inspired and underpinned popular protests in west and south-western Scotland.[27]

Taken together, these revisionist works have shown that the stability and passivity of socio-political order in eighteenth-century Scotland has probably been exaggerated by earlier historians and that the populace at large was less 'tame' or 'uninflammable' than has previously been supposed. This is not to suggest of course that the orthodox narrative of stability is entirely wrong or that violence, instability, conflict, and disorder were the dominant and pervasive social features of eighteenth-century Scotland. What these revisionist works have made clear is that historians have previously deployed a disproportionate amount of time, effort, and interest in proving the stability of Scottish society, while the deference and obedience of the populace at large has been taken too much for granted. They have proved that the orthodox narrative has become dominant in the historiography not because eighteenth-century Scotland was an authoritarian, well-ordered, or stable society, but simply because 'no one has gone through the sources posing the right questions and collating the appropriate material'.[28] Despite the remarkable evidence revisionists have unveiled, however, the orthodox narrative still remains influential and is often accepted as the most convincing account of eighteenth-century Scottish society.[29]

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[25] Karin Bowie, *Scottish public opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* (London, 2007); Whatley with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*.

[26] Bob Harris and Christopher A. Whatley, ' "To Solemnize His Majesty's Birthday": new perspectives on loyalism in George II's Britain', *History*, 83 (1998), 397-419.

[27] Wallace, 'Presbyterian moral economy'. See also Colin Kidd, 'Conditional Britons: the Scots Covenanting tradition and the eighteenth-century British state', *English Historical Review*, 117:474 (2002), 1147-1176.

[28] I.D. Whyte, 'A relatively orderly, authoritarian, society?', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 12 (1992), 86-89.

[29] For instance, Bruce Lenman's *Integration, enlightenment, and industrialisation*, first published in 1981, has been 'revised and expanded' and re-published as *Enlightenment and change: Scotland 1745-1832* (Edinburgh, 2009), but its description of social and economic structure has not been updated

III

Aim and perspective

This thesis is an attempt to reconsider the orthodox narrative of political and social stability and to achieve a more balanced understanding of eighteenth-century Scottish politics. It does so by revealing significant evidence of the voice of the people that has hitherto not been added to the historians' knowledge. The problem of revisionists' historiography is that, although it has discovered remarkable evidence and developed its case against the orthodoxy of stability, its account of political development is patchy and tends to concentrate on the mid-eighteenth century.[30] This concentration creates gaps in the historiography. For instance, although politics at urban and local levels until 1715 and political reactions to the Jacobite Rebellions have been well researched,[31] historians have not paid that much attention to political development in the localities between 1715 and 1760.[32] Although political disputes and opposition against aristocratic control in Edinburgh after 1760 is well known,[33] those of Glasgow have still remained unclear. This thesis aims to fill some of these gaps in the current knowledge with evidence of continuous political disputes, of the existence, tenacity, and strength of opposition to the political control of the Argyll family, and of the growing political awareness among the middling and lower orders. It seeks to complement the patchiness of revisionist historiography by presenting a chronological narrative of a coherent and continuous development of opposition politics as well as popular involvement. It also reveals the agency and vibrancy of popular politics and the distinctiveness of popular political ideology.

In order to reconsider the orthodox interpretation of political and social stability and depict a fuller and more balanced understanding of eighteenth-century Scotland, a proper assessment of the orthodox conceptions of political and social relationships is necessary. The vital element of the orthodox theory of stability is the constant and penetrating influence of the

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or changed. *Ibid.*, 10-17.

[30] See works cited in footnote 18.

[31] HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*; Daniel Szechi, *1715: the great Jacobite rebellion* (New Haven, 2006); Bob Harris, *Politics and the nation: Britain in the mid-eighteenth century* (Oxford, 2002); Harris and Whatley, ' "To Solemnize His Majesty's Birthday" '.

[32] Important exception is, however, Deatherage, 'The impact of the union of 1707 on early eighteenth-century Fife electoral politics, 1707-47'.

[33] Murdoch, 'The importance of being Edinburgh'.

landed elite. It has been argued that the landed classes were the dominant and absolute social leaders, whose power 'was as little to be questioned as the power of God', especially in the countryside.[34] The great landowners were an hereditary elite, whose families had retained the same estates across generations. Their estates gave them immense power and authority in the localities. They leased their land to farmers and peasants and collected rents under the terms and conditions of which they had absolute control. Many of them had the right to vote for the sixteen representative peers of the Scottish peerage to go to Westminster. Their land enfranchised them for post-Union county elections and they could control the size of the electorate, which was only about 2,500 in the later eighteenth century, because the voting qualifications depended on who held the superiority of the land, rather than those who owned or worked it. They held legal authority in their private courts of sheriffdoms, regalities, and baronies, and even after the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, such practices as thirlage, or legal servitude, and the provision of labour services survived for much longer. Every landowner was also a heritor within his own parish, and, with the restoration of lay patronage in 1712, the landed classes could present ministers of the established church. The social and economic changes Scotland witnessed in the second half of the century, such as population growth, agricultural improvement, and early industrialisation, were all seen to work to the benefit of the landowners and to help consolidate their position as the social and political elite. In addition, the Presbyterian Revolution Settlement in 1689-1690, the Union of 1707, and the defeat of Jacobitism all eliminated disturbing elements from the landed classes and, by the late eighteenth century, broadly unified them in a political, ideological, religious, and intellectual sense. They were Presbyterian Whigs in politics and supporters of the Moderate party in the Church of Scotland, who promoted lay patronage and upheld moderate and tolerant religious values. They were keen promoters of the values of politeness and civility, as well as practitioners of the agricultural improvement. They had strong affinity with the Enlightenment thinkers and subscribed to their ideas and their theories.[35]

In this interpretation, therefore, the landed classes were the pillar and backbone of

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[34] Smout, *A history of the Scottish people*, 261.

[35] *Ibid.*, Chapter 13; Devine, 'Unrest and stability in rural Ireland and Scotland'; R.H. Campbell, 'The landed classes', in Devine and Mitchison (eds), *People and society*, 91-108; Lynch, *Scotland*, 354, 386; David Allan, *Scotland in the eighteenth century: Union and Enlightenment* (London, 2002), 63, 90-96, 108-115; Emerson, 'How many Scots were enlightened?', 46.

social stability. They controlled politics and government, initiated and led social improvements, and upheld the dominant ideas and values of a polite, civil, moderate, and enlightened society. They established close and mutually beneficial relationships with the leaders of the church and the promoters of Enlightenment. They were indeed the *sine qua non* of the orthodox view of eighteenth-century Scotland. In this version of Scotland, power, authority, influences, ideas, and values all originated at the top of society among the landed, governing, and educated elite and were received, accepted, and followed by the people at the bottom.

It needs to be pointed out, however, that, although this interpretation explains the nature of the landed dominance of eighteenth-century Scotland, the orthodox narrative is partial and one-sided, or at least limited, because it omits the political perspective of the ruled. Of course it is right to point out that the social hierarchy of eighteenth-century Scotland was both steep and rigid and that the social and political dominance of the landed elite was firmly established. It is wrong, however, to assume that the people at large deferentially accepted this elite dominance and had nothing to say or do about it. The governing elite certainly took the initiative in the political and social development of Scotland, but it does not follow from this that ordinary Scots obediently followed the elite initiative and did nothing other than help to promote it. The Enlightenment was no doubt driven by ideas and theories developed by the great thinkers and the educated literati, but it does not mean that historians can dismiss the ordinary peoples' own views and beliefs about the world. The top-down understanding of Scottish society and politics in which the dominance of the mighty elite was ubiquitous and paramount is an understanding which completely ignores the agency, initiative, and participation of the people at large, and hence it needs to be reconsidered and revised.[36]

IV

Who were 'the people'?

This study aims to integrate the politics of the people in a fuller and more balanced understanding of eighteenth-century Scottish politics. In other words, it seeks to bring the

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[36] This perspective is inspired by Thompson, 'Patrician society, plebeian culture'; Dickinson, *The politics of the people*, Introduction; Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish society 1707-1830: beyond Jacobitism, towards industrialisation* (Manchester, 2000), Chapters 4 and 5.

people back to the main stage of the political development of eighteenth-century Scotland. How, then, does this study understand 'the people'? Who were they?

The most obvious flaw of the orthodox approach to eighteenth-century Scottish politics is its excessive concentration on the landed classes, who were less than 400 in number and 0.0003 per cent of the whole Scottish population in the late eighteenth century.[37] Ideally, this study would regard the rest of the population as the people and take them into account of the political development in eighteenth-century Scotland as much as possible. Practically, however, a functioning definition of the people is necessary and this study defines the people by what they said and did, not by what they were. In other words, it defines the people in terms of their words and actions, rather than their economic status.[38] In this definition, the people were not necessarily poor, although in reality most of them were. A wealthy merchant, or even a great landowner, could technically be regarded as part of the people if they expressed their affinity with important tenets of popular politics. This definition is therefore inclusive and enables historians to consider varied aspects of popular politics. What is difficult and problematic about this approach is, however, how to detect such tenets of the politics of the people. Unlike early nineteenth-century Britain, where the Chartist movement was in full swing, Scotland before the French Revolution did not witness any large-scale and long-standing national popular political movement in which certain platform was evidently shared and provided coherence for the politics of the people until the movement against Catholic relief in 1779.

Nevertheless, there were some important strands of attitudes, actions, and ideas of eighteenth-century Scottish politics which could possibly be deemed as fundamental political tenets of the ordinary people in Glasgow and the west of Scotland. Politically, an ordinary Scot was a supporter of the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian Succession. He or she was a loyal subject of the British crown and was opposed to Jacobitism, episcopalianism, and Catholicism. He or she in town was not always against the landed and ruling elite, but was frustrated if external aristocratic influence or control by the town's elite became strong and

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[37] Campbell, 'The landed classes', 91; Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *General report of the agricultural state and political circumstances of Scotland*, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1814), i, 89.

[38] For the importance of treating political behaviour on its own terms and of not reading off political orientation from social location, Gareth Stedman-Jones, *The languages of class: studies in English working class history, 1832-1982* (Cambridge, 1984), especially Chapter 3.

detrimental to the interest of the townspeople. Religiously, she or he was a Presbyterian of the Church of Scotland and was proud of the heritage of their Covenanting ancestors. He or she was decisively against lay patronage. If these are the greatest common grounds shared by a majority of the people, there were of course contentious elements and ambivalent attitudes of popular politics, such as attitudes towards the Union and the British state, as well as opinions about the colonists during the American Revolution. These contentions and ambivalences of popular politics will be explored in the succeeding chapters.

This definition of the people based upon actions and words excludes some sections of the middling and lower sorts, particularly Jacobites and dissenters, both of whom decided to stand outside the pale of the Revolution Settlement. These outsiders were not great in number, although dissenters gradually increased in the latter half of the century.[39] In fact, historians have relatively been well informed of these dissenters. Revisionist historians have recently revealed that hard-line Covenanters possessed extremely radical ideas about politics and religion and played an important role in relaying radical ideas to later generations in the nineteenth century, contributing to continuing a radical tradition in Scottish history.[40] Nevertheless, even these revisionist historians have not been interested in the politics and political ideas of ordinary, loyal Presbyterian Scots, as if they accepted the traditional view of peaceable nature of ordinary Scots, satisfied with the Revolution Settlement and the restoration of Presbyterian government in 1690, and loyal to the Hanoverian regime. This study questions this view. It does not presuppose a link between orthodox presbyterianism and radical tendencies or staunch loyalism and political deference. Rather, it examines the politics and political ideas of ordinary loyal Presbyterians and asserts importance of loyalism in the development of active popular politics in Glasgow and the west of Scotland.

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The chronology and the region

A meaningful revision of the orthodox narrative of stability needs to reveal a body of coherent,

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[39] Matthew Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland: its origin and history, 1680-1876: with an appendix* (Paisley, 1893), Chapter 8.

[40] John Brims, 'The Covenanting tradition and Scottish radicalism in the 1790s', in Terry Brotherstone (ed.), *Covenant, charter, and party: traditions of revolt and protest in modern Scottish history* (Aberdeen, 1989), 50-62; Kidd, 'Conditional Britons'; Wallace, 'Presbyterian moral economy'.

not piecemeal or fragmentary, evidence and, based on this body of evidence, it needs to trace lines of political development which contains elements of conflict and which also shows a steady, if not linear or teleological, growth of political awareness among wide sections of the populace. This is probably best carried out by a close and in-depth examination in a certain locality of a long-term political development which not only encompasses a broad spectrum of issues and disputes in a social setting, but also integrates them into a coherent narrative.[41] This integration is particularly important because these issues and disputes previously have been treated separately by historians, making it hard for them to discover overlapping aspects and identify continuing or changing elements in seemingly unrelated issues.

This thesis therefore examines the political development and growth of popular political awareness in Glasgow and the west of Scotland from the Union of 1707 to the mid-1780s. It chooses 1707 as its starting point because the Union significantly changed the structure and operation of politics in Scotland, and its impact will be treated in Chapter One. The closing date is chosen partly because it enables this thesis to fill an existing vast gap in the historiography of popular politics of eighteenth-century Scotland, but mainly because it marks the date of the emergence of the burgh reform movement, which, as Chapter Four will demonstrate, represents a remarkable development of popular political awareness in this period.

In order to trace lines of political development and analyse the growth of political awareness in the changing course of national and international politics as well as changing social conditions, a proper periodisation is necessary. If the course of eighteenth-century Scottish politics before the French Revolution is to be split into two, the dividing line will be drawn on 1761, the year of the death of the third Duke of Argyll. The period between 1761 and the mid-1780s saw a remarkable growth of popular political awareness in and around Glasgow, which will be treated in great detail in Chapter Four. At the same time, although it appears to be commonplace for historians of eighteenth-century Glasgow to divide the period before 1761 at 1740,[42] this thesis sees 1730 as the crucial date in which the nature of urban politics started to

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[41] For the importance and benefits of looking at certain localities for the study of popular politics, see James E. Bradley, 'The British public and the American Revolution: ideology, interest and opinion', in H.T. Dickinson (ed.), *Britain and the American Revolution* (London, 1998), 124-154.

[42] T.M. Devine, *The tobacco lords: a study of the tobacco merchants of Glasgow and their trading*

change. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Three, it is in around 1730, not 1740, that the harsh partisan struggles between the Dukes of Montrose and Argyll over the control of the town abated and the Argathelian dominance began. Chapters Two, Three, and Four thus deal with these periods chronologically.

This thesis is set in Glasgow and the west of Scotland. The region lies within a great triangle with Arrochar at the head of Loch Long, Dolphinton on the eastern rim of Lanarkshire, and Ballantrae on the south Ayrshire coast. The region is defined here according to its socio-economic coherence as the hinterland of the region's capital, Glasgow. With Glasgow as its centre, the region was connected through its manufacturing industry, trade, and banking system.[43] It also formed a single jurisdictional, ecclesiastical, and administrative unit. While it was supervised by the west circuit court and the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, important administrative tasks such as distributing royal proclamations emanated from Edinburgh but were carried out via Glasgow across this region.[44]

The region is selected partly because, while historians have, with considerable passion and keenness, investigated and found out what was behind Glasgow's spectacular economic growth in this period, the growth of its Atlantic tobacco trade in particular,[45] there is a vast gap in current knowledge about its politics and political development. For instance, although Glasgow's political development from the Union to 1715 has been relatively well researched,[46] the period between 1715 and 1760 has not attracted historians' attention and has often been described as a period in which the Argyll interest gained and consolidated control over the council without much political opposition.[47] Glasgow's urban politics after 1760 has remained

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activities, 1740-1790 (Edinburgh, 1975); Marianna Birkeland, 'Politics and society of Glasgow 1680-1740' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1999); Gordon Jackson, 'Glasgow in transition, *c.* 1660 to *c.* 1740', in T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds), *Glasgow*, volume I: *beginnings to 1830* (Manchester, 1995), 63-105.

[43] Anthony Slaven, *The development of the west of Scotland: 1750-1960* (London, 1975), Introduction and Chapter 1.

[44] David M. Walker, *A legal history of Scotland*, 7 vols (Edinburgh, 1988-2004), v, 466; *Fasti*. A royal proclamation in May 1746 was sent through Glasgow to Hamilton, Renfrew, Paisley, Cambuslang, Dumbarton, Greenock, Kilmarnock, Ayr, Irvine, Kilwinning, and Saltcoats. NLS, MS16617, ff.187r-188r: Andrew Cochrane to Milton, 2 June 1746.

[45] Most notably, Devine, *The tobacco lords*.

[46] Sunter, *Patronage and politics in Scotland*, Chapters 10-12; David Wilkinson, 'Glasgow Burghs' in HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, i, 916-920.

[47] Romney R. Sedgwick, 'Glasgow Burghs' in HoP, *Commons, 1715-1754*, i, 399-400.

an under-studied area as well.[48] Despite the structural change in urban politics this study reveals, historians' attention has focused on the political relationship between the Argathelian interest and the town council, failing to take into account the remarkable growth of popular political awareness.[49]

Although a doctoral thesis by Marianna Birkeland has attempted to cover part of the historiographical gap and to examine the political and religious changes as well as the political culture of the town, its inadequate use of primary sources limits its usefulness. Birkeland's thesis, for instance, while making a good use of Robert Wodrow's *Analecta*, does not fully collate its account with other available and invaluable sources such as Montrose Correspondence and Saltoun Papers. As a result, it fails to present a more balanced account of Glasgow's political development and to reconstruct it in much detail.[50] The period of the American Revolution is covered by a doctoral thesis by Brad Jones, which gives passing reference to loyal support for the war against the rebellious American colonists in Glasgow, along with the other four British Atlantic communities. It places Glasgow's loyalism in its narrative of formation and expression of loyalism within a broad empire-wide conception of Britishness. While it rightly points out the existence of strong loyalism among the urban elite and the middling sorts of Glasgow during the American Revolution, its primary interest in the formation of Britishness in the British Atlantic world discourages it from examining the local political context behind these expressions of loyalism and to reveal its Scottish element.[51]

Historiographically speaking, it might well be said that eighteenth-century Glasgow is one of the areas in which the orthodox narrative still remains deep-rooted and historians' attention has been paid disproportionately to the governing and educated elite. A great deal is known about the economic activities and the social background of Glasgow's great tobacco merchants, commonly called 'the tobacco lords', as well as their role as patrons promoting the

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[48] For instance, Devine and Jackson (eds), *Glasgow* , a recent and probably most comprehensive collection of essays on Glasgow before 1830, does not contain any chapter on political development after 1740.

[49] HoP, *Commons 1754-1790*, i, 505-506.

[50] Birkeland, 'Politics and society of Glasgow'.

[51] Brad A. Jones, 'The American Revolution and popular loyalism in the British Atlantic world' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2006). See also *idem*., 'The American Revolution, Glasgow and the making of the second city of empire,' in S.P. Newman (ed.), *Europe's American Revolution* (London, 2006), 1-25.

arts and sciences.[52] Eminent professors at the University of Glasgow, such as Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and Thomas Reid, have also been favourite subjects of historians of the Enlightenment.[53] Except for these great merchants and Enlightenment thinkers, who were a tiny minority of the town's population, little is known about the middling and lower ranks, still less about their political lives.[54] Despite this lack of studies on the politics of the people in Glasgow, however, it has been argued that Glasgow's populace 'manifested little interest in political questions' before the French Revolution.[55] The political role even of these tobacco lords, many of whom served as provosts and magistrates and must have been influential in the politics of the region, has also been neglected.[56] Glasgow's history in the eighteenth century may be better known than other Scottish towns, but there has still been a gap in current knowledge about its politics and political development, and this thesis aims to fill that gap.

Another key factor in the selection of Glasgow and the west of Scotland as a region worthy of in-depth study is its economic peculiarities which had significant social and political ramifications. As will be discussed in detail in Chapters Three and Four, the growth of the textile industry driven by the Atlantic trade gave birth to communities of active and articulate weavers and spinners who later played a prominent role in the growth of popular political awareness. The region's economic and social transformation thus had a significant impact upon the course and nature of its politics, making it suitable for an exploration of the complex relationship of politics broadly defined with the economy, society, culture, and religion of the region. As Chapter Six will discuss, the region also possessed a distinctive political and religious character which had been formed through its experiences and interpretation of its history before the Glorious Revolution and which, as popular ideologies, also inspired and

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[52] T.M. Devine, 'The Scottish merchant community, 1680-1740', in R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner (eds), *The origins and nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1982), 26-41; *idem.*, 'A Glasgow tobacco merchant during the American War of Independence: Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, 1775-1781', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 33 (1976), 501-513; *idem.*, 'The golden age of tobacco', in Devine and Jackson (eds), *Glasgow*, 139-183; Richard B. Sher, 'Commerce, religion and the enlightenment in eighteenth-century Glasgow', in *ibid.*, 312-359.

[53] Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher (eds), *The Glasgow Enlightenment* (East Linton, 1995).

[54] Notable exceptions are Landsman, 'Liberty, piety and patronage'; Stana Nenadic, 'The middle ranks and modernisation', in Devine and Jackson (eds), *Glasgow*, 278-311; Christopher A. Whatley, 'Labour in the industrialising city, *c.* 1660-1830', in *ibid.*, 360-401.

[55] I.G.C. Hutchison, 'Glasgow working-class politics', in R.A. Cage (ed.), *The working class in Glasgow 1750-1914* (London, 1987), 99-141.

[56] J.R. Anderson and James Gourlay (eds), *The provosts of Glasgow from 1690 to 1832* (Glasgow, 1942). The entry for the Glasgow district of burghs in HoP, *Commons, 1690-1715* has shed light on part of its politics and the merchants' role in it. David Wilkinson, 'Glasgow Burghs' in *ibid.*, i, 916-920.

underpinned the growth of political awareness in the mid- and later eighteenth century.

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VI

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The sources

Since the voice of the people mostly had to be recorded by those in authority in order to be kept in some written form, the survival of primary sources for the politics of the people largely depends on the function of government and administration. In this sense, eighteenth-century Scotland is not an ideal subject for historians of popular politics, because the system of government and administration in the localities, as will be discussed below, remained more rudimentary and less centralised than in England. The Union of 1707 with England brought about a considerable organisational change in politics and government and, as a result, caused administrative and judicial confusions. It also preserved a number of Scottish institutions in church and state, which turned out to be problems for the London government and slowed down the pace of centralisation. Although the abolition of heritable jurisdictions in the aftermath of the Forty-Five rebellion paved the way for a further judicial and administrative integration of Scottish institutions into the machinery of the British state, only in the late nineteenth century that most of the important differences between Scottish and English local government disappeared.[57] These differences affected the conditions in which the voice of the people was recorded and therefore decide the ways in which historians of popular politics work.

A major difference in the government was the function of the Secretaries of State. While the Secretaries acted as ministers for foreign, domestic, Irish and colonial affairs and were also connected with military and naval matters, they were entrusted with almost all the aspects of domestic government. Since 1689 there were two departments of the Secretary, northern and southern, and, at the Union, two Secretaries of Scotland, Lord Mar and Lord Loudon, were appointed Secretaries of State within Scotland. In 1709 these Scottish secretaryships were abolished, and the Duke of Queensberry was appointed a third Secretary of State for Great Britain. Although all three Secretaries were to manage domestic affairs indifferently, the third Secretary, in reality, had very little to do with English affairs and was

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[57] Anne Whetstone, *Scottish county government in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Edinburgh, 1981) 116.

expected to look after Scottish business. In July 1711, the third secretaryship was abolished upon the death of Queensberry, but in 1713 it was revived and bestowed on the Earl of Mar, who was dismissed in September 1714 and succeeded by the Duke of Montrose. Montrose was succeeded by the Duke of Roxburghe in 1716, but in August 1725 the office became vacant again with the dismissal of the Duke of Roxburghe. It was not until 1742 that the vacancy was filled up by the Marquess of Tweeddale, but he resigned in January 1746, which in effect abolished the third secretaryship permanently. This series of appointments, dismissals and vacancies of the third secretaryship signifies to some extent its dysfunction as the office for Scotland's affairs. In fact, the politics and government of Scotland was in the hands of political managers such as Lord Ilay, later third Duke of Argyll, who from 1725 until 1761 exercised considerable influence over Scottish affairs without ever holding the office of Secretary.[58]

This difference in the function of the Secretaries of State in politics and government of England and Scotland had much impact upon the keeping of the State Papers. The State Papers (domestic) are the accumulated papers of the Secretaries of State relating to home affairs up to *c*. 1782. As the State Papers, as well as the Home Office Papers after 1782, contain information on every facet of early modern government, including social and economic affairs, religious policy, and law and order, they are one of the major sources for historians of eighteenth-century English popular politics. At the same time, the State Papers Scotland, letters and papers received from Scotland by the Secretaries of State, are not so large in size or rich in content and so do not have the abundance of information that the State Papers Domestic possess.[59] Presumably, much of the information and intelligence which the third Secretary should have dealt with was sent to the political managers. Unfortunately, however, papers and correspondence of the most important manager, third Duke of Argyll, were lost or destroyed at some point in the nineteenth century.[60]

Another major difference in the government between England and Scotland in the eighteenth century lay in the legal system. The Treaty of Union stipulated that the Scottish law

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[58] Mark A. Thomson, *The secretaries of state 1681-1782* (Oxford, 1932), 2-3, 29-38; E.B. Fryde *et al.* (eds), *Handbook of British chronology* (3rd edn, London, 1986), 195; Murdoch, *'The people above'*, 3-7.

[59] For instance, while State Papers Scotland series II, covering the period between 1688 and 1783 (SP54), have 48 volumes, State Papers Domestic, George I, covering only 1714-1727 (SP35), have as much as 78 volumes and State Papers Domestic, George II, (SP36) have 163 bundles and volumes.

[60] William Coxe (1748–1828), writer and historian, was known to have access to the Campbell Papers and transcribed a few documents. See BL, Add. MSS 9129.

and its legal institutions should be preserved, with an alteration that added the House of Lords to the Scottish justice system as the court of last resort. The central legal institutions of eighteenth-century Scotland were composed of the Court of Session, the High Court of Justiciary, the High Court of Admiralty, and the Court of Exchequer in Scotland. While the Court of Session dealt with civil matters and litigation relating to property and possessions, criminal matters including riots or breaches of the peace were under the jurisdiction of the High Court of Justiciary.[61] The High Court of Justiciary dealt with major cases of disorder in Scotland such as the Shawfield riots and the Porteous riots. The records of the High Court of Justiciary are kept in the National Archives of Scotland and have widely been used by historians.[62] The judges of the High Court went on circuit across the country and held the Circuit Court. In the early eighteenth century there were three circuit courts, south (Dumfries and Jedburgh), west (Stirling, Glasgow, and Ayr), and north (Perth, Aberdeen and Inverness). The Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747 suppressed the heritable justiciarship of Argyll and brought Argyll and the Western Isles into the western circuit, while it separated Ayr from the western circuit and added it to the southern circuit. The Circuit Courts were held twice a year in April or May and in October in the eighteenth century, except for the period between 1711 and 1747. The judges were to continue six days at least at each of the circuit towns. They could remit complex and difficult cases for the consideration of the High Court of Justiciary.[63]

Along with these central legal courts, justice in the locality was administered by several different institutions. In eighteenth-century Scotland, there was a distinction between burghal and landward administration. In the burghal areas, the jurisdiction was vested in the magistrates. While they had a civil jurisdiction as extensive as that of the sheriff in the landward areas, in criminal matters their jurisdiction was considerably limited. They dealt with petty riots and breaches of the peace, but not cases involving any bloodshed. Their sentences could be reversed by the sheriff of the county, who also had jurisdiction over things done in the

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[61] In theory it was possible to appeal from the High Court to the House of Lords, but the competency of such an appeal was much doubted since the Union, and in practice such appeals were rejected. David M. Walker, *A legal history of Scotland*, 7 vols (Edinburgh, 1988-2004), v, 454-455. In 1781 the incompetency of such appeals was finally established.

[62] Logue, *Popular disturbances in Scotland*; Kilday, *Women and violent crime in Enlightenment Scotland*.

[63] Walker, *Legal history of Scotland*, v, 466.

burgh.[64] The landward areas were divided into sheriffdoms, regalities, and baronies, all of which had their own courts at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[65] Those who held an hereditary sheriffdom were great and powerful landowners, such as the Duke of Montrose for Dumbarton, the Duke of Queensberry for Dumfries, and the Earl of Eglinton for Renfrew. The sheriff was the most important office in Scottish local government and the sheriff court was responsible for hearing the vast majority of civil and criminal cases. The sheriff had extensive jurisdiction over numerous civil matters and in all criminal matters except for the four pleas of the crown (murder, fire-raising, rape, and robbery).[66]

The landward administration was changed dramatically by the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion in 1746 and the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions. The Heritable Jurisdictions (Scotland) Act, 1747[67] abolished heritable sheriffs and lords of regalities and also limited baronial jurisdiction in criminal matters to assaults and lesser crimes. While regalities disappeared with their courts, the sheriff courts survived and were reconstituted with the new judges appointed by the crown. The abolition of heritable jurisdictions put the sheriff courts under stronger and more direct control of the central government and resulted in their immediate strengthening as the institution for local administration. The problem for historians of Scottish popular politics is, however, that, in spite of this importance in the local government and administration, the sheriff court records on criminal cases in the eighteenth century were mostly lost or very patchy and badly kept. Out of the eighteenth-century criminal records of the eight sheriff courts in the west and south-west, only one survived.[68] The bulk of the records of numerous criminal cases which must have been brought before the sheriff courts were lost. In addition, the Justice of Peace in Scotland never had that extensive jurisdiction in criminal matters which their English counterparts did.[69] This makes the records of the Circuit Courts virtually the only available source on disturbances on smaller scale for historians, but they do

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[64] *Ibid.*, 305-306. None of the criminal records of Glasgow burgh court records in the eighteenth century survived.

[65] 'Landward' in Scots English means 'In or of the country as opposed to the town, non-urban, rural'. *DSL*.

[66] *Ibid.*, 479-486. For regalities and baronies, see *ibid.*, 487-488.

[67] 20 Geo. II, c. 43.

[68] NAS, SC37/50: Record of Criminal Jury Trials. The first volume contains a record of criminal cases heard in the Court of Regality and Justiciary of Hamilton 1710-1746 and was used from 1750 as the sheriff court criminal record.

[69] Whetstone, *Scottish county government*, 28.

not contain detailed information about the criminal cases after 1748 because an Act stipulated that the witness's evidence on trials at the Circuit Courts and the High Court not inferring death or demembration should not be recorded in the minute books as the practice 'has by Experience been found very inconvenient, and to occasion great Delay as well as Expense'.[70]

Despite all these disadvantages for the study of popular politics in eighteenth-century Scotland, this study has made the most of the available sources, some of which have previously been untapped by historians. For instance, it has found that the State Papers Scotland contain very detailed information about the causes and consequences of the Shawfield riots of 1725 as well as the prosecution of the rioters at the High Court of Justiciary. Moreover, although the Campbell papers have been lost, the information of politics and government in the localities could be glimpsed in the correspondence of Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, Argyll's most important agent in Edinburgh. The political developments in the localities have also been reconstructed by an extensive use of the correspondence of the Duke of Montrose and his agent Mungo Graeme, as well as by the correspondence and memoir of Robert Wodrow, minister of Eastwood. These sources have enabled this study to examine the politics of the burgh in the first half of the eighteenth-century in greater details than previously. This study has also extensively used pamphlets and newspapers. Glasgow after 1760 witnesses a proliferation of local pamphlets relating to local political and religious issues. This study has made a great use of pamphlets on the Wynd church dispute which are held in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow. It has also revealed the people at large attempted to express their opinion in loyal addresses to the king which were published in the *London Gazette*. It has collated this opinion expressed in public media with information obtained from the minutes of the town council, the merchants house, the trades house, and trade incorporations of Glasgow in order to assess the strength of popular loyalism and its role in the growth of popular political development.

VII

Approach and structure

Chapter One, as an introductory chapter of the thesis, outlines the conditions, structure, and operation of urban and popular politics in eighteenth-century Glasgow and also discusses the

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[70] The Sheriffs (Scotland) Act, 1748, 21 Geo. II, c. 19.

problem of the sources. The first part, comprising Chapters Two to Four, is chronologically organised, and examines the political development and growth of popular political awareness in Glasgow and the west of Scotland. The second part, consisting of Chapters Five and Six, analyses several different aspects of popular politics from a thematic perspective.

The chronological approach of the first part may require some elaboration. This approach is taken in Chapters Two to Four with a view to presenting a coherent narrative of political development which particularly focuses on the existence, strength, and tenacity of political opposition against the Argathelian dominance as well as its popular dimension. The strength of this type of chronological and narrative approach is that, by looking cross-sectionally at seemingly separate events and developments, it makes it possible to reveal overlapping elements in these events and developments and consider their wider implications. This approach, therefore, is particularly useful in analysing the interconnectedness of political and religious changes at national and local levels in eighteenth-century Scotland. Another merit of this approach is that it enables analysis of long-term change and continuity by making a chronological comparison of the nature, scale, and scope of historical matters. As will be discussed in this study, Glasgow in the eighteenth century witnessed rapid economic and social change. Glasgow at the time of the Union was a Scottish provincial trading and manufacturing town of approximately 10,000 people, while Glasgow in the mid-1780s had approximately 40,000 inhabitants and became an international trading hub linking Europe and North America with thriving textile industries established in its environs. This socio-economic change had a significant impact on the political development and political culture of Glasgow, and the chronological approach provides an analytical vantage point to examine political implications of the socio-economic change by tracing continuous and long-term political development as well as growing importance of popular dimension in the locality.

This approach, however, necessarily involves its weaknesses as well. While it is suitable for an analysis of interconnectedness of politic, religious, and socio-economic changes, it tends to fail to show explicit patterns of complex historical development. Rather, its narrative could present simple, linear and, progressive historical development which might seem to be based on teleological assumption that historical development is driving towards some sort of goal. As a result, it could selectively focus on what fits to the teleological model or assumption

and overlook uncertainties and contingencies of historical development.[71] Chapters Two to Four of this study is based on the chronological approach and might therefore be interpreted as running the risk of presenting a selective, simple, and linear story of historical development towards the 'awakening' of popular political consciousness in the mid-1780s.

In order to avoid these weaknesses inherent in the chronological approach, this study pays attention not only to the growth of political awareness, but also factors and elements which had restricting and adverse effect upon it. While emphasising the strength of opposition against the Argathelian dominance and the growing extent of popular involvement in it, Chapters Two and Three look at strength and effectiveness of the Argathelian control and failures of challenges to it. Avoiding presenting a story of linear and straightforward growth of popular political awareness, Chapter Four implies the importance of external and contingent factors such as the War of American Independence and the anti-Catholic campaign. At the same time, this study attempts to complement the weaknesses of the chronological approach in Chapters Two to Four with the structural analysis of political operation in Chapter One and a thematic approach taken in Chapters Five and Six.

Chapters Two examines the fierce political struggles between the friends of the duke of Montrose and the Campbell brothers, the second duke of Argyll and the earl of Ilay between 1707 and *c.* 1730 and reassesses the nature of the politics of the burgh in this period. It demonstrates the existence of challenges to the political management by the great landowners. It also demonstrates that these factional struggles were not confined to the town council, but created tense divisions in the town's churches and university that involved the middling and lower sorts. Chapter Three looks at the period from approximately 1730 to 1760. It points out the continuing element of urban independence and reveals evidence of instability in urban politics and challenge to the Argathelian dominance. It contextualises this politics of independence in the social and economic changes in this period and argues that the urban elite's sense of independence was underpinned by their growing pride in Glasgow's remarkable economic development. Chapter Four analyses how and why popular political consciousness developed in the age of the American Revolution, which led to the emergence of the burgh

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[71] Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig interpretation of history* (London, 1931); Ernst Mayer, 'When historiography is Whiggish?', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 51-2 (1990), 301-309.

reform movement. It examines opposition mainly mounted by the middling sorts, the tradesmen in particular, to the town council's attempt to exercise its right to lay patronage in a settlement of the Wynd church in 1762. It shows the tradesmen continuing to be the most active and articulate section of the town during the American Revolution. They started to express their strong attachment to the crown and the British state after George III's declaration in 1775 against the rebellious American colonists. The growth of popular political awareness fully blossomed in the atmosphere of crisis caused by the Catholic Relief bill in 1778-9 and led to the emergence of the burgh reform movement in the mid-1780s.

Chapter Five considers the nature of popular disturbances. While pointing out a notion shared by historians that popular disturbances were directly reflective of socio-economic conditions and hence of social stability, it aims to examine popular disturbances as part of the politics of the people and to show the agency, creativity, and vibrancy of ordinary people that were revealed in popular disturbances. Chapter Six explores popular political ideology. While pointing out the strong attachment to the British constitution in public discourse and popular ideology, it argues that, despite its Britishness at the level of rhetoric, the popular conception of liberty contained at its core a strong element shaped by the Scottish Presbyterian tradition of the region. This thesis concludes by asserting the importance of understanding politics in its broadest sense and also of incorporating the popular element as an integral part of any understanding of eighteenth-century Scottish politics.

Chapter One

Reconstructing the political world of the people

Introduction

The interpretation of political stability in eighteenth-century Scotland rests on an assumption that the political world of the governing elite was a closed and autonomous entity, entirely independent and separate from the world outside it. Historians' analysis and consideration of this world have been made without referring to the rest of society. Within this world, the great landowners monopolised power and authority as well as access to the London government, controlling institutions of justice and administration at both national and local levels and distributing offices and patronage. Although there were differences and rivalries within the landed elite, these were basically personal and factional and therefore did not affect the stability of this political world. It maintained its absolute stability because it consisted only and exclusively of the landed classes who were not affected by any political, social, or economic changes.[1]

Although this interpretation explains how the politics of the elite operated, it does not take the political perspective of the ruled into account. The elite's political world seems to have been closed and exclusive, but it was in fact not entirely separate from the people at large. The names of the political managers were widely known and their rule and government had certain reputations among the people at large; their policy and administration had a significant impact upon social and economic conditions and so affected the people's lives; and their decisions on national and international issues formed public and popular opinions about these decisions. The politics of the elite thus affected the rest of society and the people at large not only possessed, but also attempted to express their opinions about the political managers, the government's policy and administration, and their support for or opposition to the elite's decisions. Eighteenth-century Scotland certainly did not possess a political system which

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[1] T.C. Smout, *A history of the Scottish people 1560-1830* (London, 1969), 261-265; Alexander Murdoch, *'The people above': politics and administration in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980), Chapter 1; John Stewart Shaw, *The management of Scottish society 1707-1764: power, nobles, lawyers, Edinburgh agents and English influences* (Edinburgh, 1983); T.M. Devine, 'Unrest and stability in rural Ireland and Scotland, 1760-1840', in Rosalind Mitchison and Peter Roebuck (ed.), *Economy and society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939* (Edinburgh, 1988), 126-139.

officially paid attention to these popular reactions and institutionally reflected these in the system's way of government and decision-making. The political system was not destabilised by the people's reactions. The popular reactions did, however, reach the ears of the ruling elite and sometimes affected it. While popular support gave the ruling elite confidence in its policy, negative or hostile reactions raised serious concerns and sometimes even alarmed the ruling elite. In a broader understanding of politics including the perspective of the ruled, therefore, the political world of the great landowners and that of the people were, though unofficially and indirectly, connected and did affect one another.

An understanding of the interaction between the political world of the governing elite and that of the people at large from the perspective of the latter requires an examination of how the people at large expressed their opinions within the existing political structure. It is true that the political management was powerful and pervasive and the political structure was closed and stable. The burgh magistrates and town council, subject to external aristocratic control, could elect themselves and continue their control over the town for a long time. A strict political structure, however, should not guarantee its effective operation. The people at large did indeed possess means of expressing, institutionally and extra-institutionally, their opinions and exerting pressures on the urban elite. Since the voice of the ordinary people outside the political structure could not be expressed within the formal procedures, it took many forms of articulation. It could be heard and found in street demonstrations, newspapers, pamphlets, petitions and addresses, handbills, rumours, and riots. While there were distinctive patterns to these articulations embedded in social customs and traditions, the expression, content, and scope of this type of politics were subject to changes over time, especially changes brought about by a rapidly developing print culture. By employing these traditional and novel means, the people at large endeavoured to make an impact upon the politics of the governing elite. Their efforts were not always successful but, for a fuller understanding of eighteenth-century Scottish politics, it is important to examine the politics of ordinary Scots and find out what they were thinking, what they were attempting to do, and how they intended to achieve their goals. Their voice is not easy to hear, but it is worth discovering if historians aim to achieve an integrated and broad understanding of politics.

This chapter aims to reconstruct the political world of the people and to show how it

was connected to, and had an impact on, the governing elite in an urban and social setting of Glasgow and the west of Scotland. It first surveys the formal political structure of eighteenth-century Glasgow such as its hierarchy of representation, local and national electoral system, and political management. Secondly, it considers the ways the people at large who remained outside this political structure expressed their voice and exerted pressure on the governing elite. Thirdly, it looks at the close relationship between politics and religion, particularly the patronage issue in church government. Finally, it looks at the Revolutionary and Covenanting traditions, the historical character traits of this region in politics and religion which was formed through its historical experience and provided a basic formula on which the popular political conceptions and ideology were built.

<div align="center">I</div>

Political structure

In eighteenth-century Glasgow, as in other royal burghs of Scotland, not all the townspeople were involved in the formal urban political procedures. There were many restrictions and limitations which allowed only a tiny minority of townspeople to be represented on the town council and have a right to vote at municipal elections.[2] First of all, there was a strict distinction between burgesses and non-burgesses, or freemen and unfreemen, in terms of rights and privileges as well as duties and requirements in urban public affairs. At the time of the Union, the population of Glasgow was between 12,000 and 13,000 and the number of burgesses is estimated to have been between 1,000 and 1,200.[3] Only burgesses were allowed to run their trade and manage a business within the town's boundaries and to exercise the privileges and liberties: to hold property; to buy or sell within the town; to have access to and make use of the town's common lands; to be a member of the merchants house or the trades

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[2] For the rights of burgess and their participation in urban government, see David Murray, *Early burgh organization in Scotland: as illustrated in the history of Glasgow and of some neighbouring burghs*, 2 vols (Glasgow, 1924), i, Chapter 9 and 'The letter of gildry', in John M'Ure, *A view of the city of Glasgow: or, an account of its origin, rise and progress, with a more particular description thereof than has hitherto been known. ... By John McUre alias Campbel, ... Glasgow, 1736* (Glasgow, 1736), 166-194. 'The letter of gildry', recorded in 1605, stipulated the rights, liberties, privileges and duties of burgesses in fifty four articles. It is also printed in *GMH*, 59-81.

[3] James Cleland, *Enumeration of the inhabitants of the city of Glasgow and county of Lanark ...* (Glasgow, 1832), 206-207; Marianna Birkeland, 'Politics and society of Glasgow *c.*1680-*c.*1740' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1999), 179.

house; and to enter the town's hospital. In addition it was their duty to pay stents or assessments and to patrol and guard the town. Non-burgesses such as apprentices, journeymen, servants, and the general labourers of the town could not exercise any of these privileges.[4]

Burgesses were divided into two groups, the merchants and the craftsmen. Merchants, roughly 400 to 500 in number at the beginning of the eighteenth century, were engaged in commerce and trade with other countries as well as wholesale and retail activity in the town. Merchants' guilds, initially religious and social fraternities privileged by the sovereign with exclusive rights and monopolies of trade, had come to be called the merchants house. It regulated commercial activities, exercised distinctive jurisdiction within the burgh, and functioned as a charitable institution for the guild brethren. The house was directed by the dean of guild, who was the head of the dean of guild court, a member of the town council and a justice of the peace for Lanarkshire *ex officio*.[5] While merchants monopolised lucrative foreign trade, craftsmen, or tradesmen, were involved in manufacturing and other services. They were also allowed to run their shops and sell their products, from which non-burgesses were prohibited. They formed their own fraternities, which developed into the trades house on the one hand and the fourteen incorporated trades on the other. The trades house had several functions to perform: to regulate the activities of craftsmen; to manage the crafts hospital; to collect and administer the funds of the hospital and of guild brethren of the crafts; to make acts and statutes to establish good order among the crafts; and to settle disputes between the crafts. It was managed by the deacon convener and his council, consisting of the deacons of the incorporated trades of the previous year, the newly elected deacons, and some additional representatives, or 'assistants', from the trade incorporations. The 'assistants', fifty-four in total at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had been at first appointed by the deacon convener, but later it was decided that they should be nominated by the deacon of each craft, twelve of whom the trade incorporations could freely elect.[6]

The merchants house was represented by thirteen members on the town council, and

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[4] Murray, *Early burgh organization*, i, 135 and 161; M'Ure, *View of the city of Glasgow*, 160-161 and 172-173.

[5] T.C. Smout, 'The Glasgow merchant community in the seventeenth century', *SHR*, 47 (1968), 66-67; James McGrath, 'The medieval and early modern burgh', in T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds), *Glasgow,* volume I: *beginnings to 1830* (Manchester, 1995), 25-6; *GMH*, 1-34.

[6] *GTH*, i, ix-xiii.

the trades house by twelve. These twenty-five councillors and the magistrates, who were the provost and three baillies, consisted of the town council with the dean of guild, the deacon convener, the treasurer and the master of works as the extraordinary councillors. The town council was the supreme body in urban regulation and governance. It could change all the acts and statutes passed by the merchants house and the trades house. The magistrates were in charge of the most important aspects of urban government and administration. The provost was *ex officio* a justice of the peace of Lanarkshire. The baillies, along with the provost, were responsible for keeping the peace within the town and presided over the burgh court which dealt with civil and criminal cases in the burgh. The modes of electing the magistrates and town council were closed and strictly controlled. The provost and two of the three baillies had to be merchants and were chosen at the Michaelmas election from a list, or 'leet', presented by the incumbent magistrates. The council members were elected by the present magistrates and those of the previous two years, twelve in total. The dean of guild, the director of the merchants house, and the deacon convener, the leader of the trades, were chosen, from lists presented respectively by the merchants house and the trades house, by the magistrates, councillors, the deacons of incorporated trades, and as many merchants 'added [to] make the merchants and trades ranks both alike in number'. It is thus obvious that the interest of merchants was deliberately protected, allowing a tiny minority of them, probably less than fifty in number, to manage the whole process of election and to establish oligarchic rule.[7] The trades were able to choose the deacons of their crafts by a sort of popular vote but the deacons were overshadowed on the council by the majority control of the merchant rank. The merchants house was under the strong influence of leading merchants who also dominated the council, leaving little room for merchants of smaller fortune to express their opinions. There were thus virtually no formal channels for the majority of the burgesses to represent their interests, still less for non-burgesses.

Nor did the people outside the town council have any franchise in parliamentary elections. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the town council remained the most important body in electoral politics in the Scottish burghs. Before the Union of 1707 with

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7 Smout, 'Glasgow merchant community', 66-67; 'Act of Council anent the Sett of the Burgh of Glasgow, confirmed by the General Convention of the Royal Burrows', in *GMH*, 195-200; *GBR*, vi, 462-466.

England, the sixty-six royal burghs had sent commissioners to the Scottish parliament in Edinburgh, which was unicameral, consisting of representatives from the lords, shires, and royal burghs. The number of electors in shires was limited compared to that of the counties in England and the burgh representatives were chosen by the town councils, leaving the ordinary people out of the formal electoral procedures altogether. This does not necessarily mean, however, that they were deprived of access to or involvement in politics prior to the Union. The presence of a national assembly in the capital city made it one of the most important constituents of Scottish political life before the Union and its commissioners from each shire and royal burgh provided the localities with news, information, and issues of political importance and helped to develop political awareness, which was growing as a result of the frequent sittings of the Scottish parliament after the Revolution in 1689-90. This political awareness then culminated in the emergence of a national public sphere as well as in the occurrence of nationwide popular demonstrations and disturbances during the Union parliament between 1706 and 1707.[8] This political system, structured around the Scottish parliament and activated within the national public sphere, was changed by the Union. The Treaty of Union abolished the Scottish parliament and stipulated that the Scottish nobles be represented by sixteen elected peers in the House of Lords and the Scottish shires and burghs by forty five members in the House of Commons, of which thirty were the shire representatives and fifteen the burgh ones.[9] Given the number of members in the final session of the Scottish parliament in 1706, which was 302 in theory,[10] this was a considerable numerical reduction. While Glasgow, as a royal burgh, had sent a commissioner to the Scottish parliament of its own, after 1707 it was merged into a regional unit called the Glasgow district, consisting of Glasgow, Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Rutherglen, which was represented by a single MP. The manner of electing an MP in the district contained no popular involvement or democratic element at all. Each town sent a delegate, normally the provost, to the presiding burgh where the election was

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[8] D.W. Hayton, 'Constitutional experiments and political expediency, 1689-1725', in S.G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: fashioning a British state, 1485-1725* (London, 1995), 276-305; D.J. Patrick, 'Unconventional procedures: Scottish electoral politics after the Revolution', in K.M. Brown and A.J. Mann (eds), *The history of the Scottish parliament*, vol. II: *parliament and politics in Scotland, 1567-1707* (Edinburgh, 2005), 208-244; Karen Bowie, *Scottish public opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union 1699-1707* (London, 2007).

[9] The post-Union Scottish electoral system is closely examined in HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, i, 141-177.

[10] K.M Brown and A.J. Mann, 'Introduction: parliament and politics in Scotland, 1567-1707', in *idem.* (eds), *The history of the Scottish parliament*, 51, footnote 164.

held and the delegates voted for their own candidates. If the votes were split, the presiding burgh had the casting vote, making its management crucially important for politicians.[11] There was no rule or restriction on the burghs about how to choose the delegate and the candidate, and it was even unnecessary to make the name of candidates known to the public, although it seems to have become a convention in Glasgow to record it in council minutes from the 1780s.[12]

The closed and exclusive nature of the electoral system at both municipal and national levels was augmented by strong and careful management by great landowners, which, it has been argued, was one of the most prominent features of eighteenth-century Scottish politics.[13] Many burghs were managed and controlled by powerful nobles. Campbeltown and Inverary, for instance, were under the instructions and orders of the Duke of Argyll; Kirkwall under the Earl of Morton; Lanark under Lord Hyndford.[14] In the case of Glasgow just after the Union, the person who had the strongest interests and influences in the town was James Graham, first Duke of Montrose (1682-1742). He was one of the most important political managers in Scotland at this time and a leader of a group of Scottish politicians called 'the Squadrone', which emerged during the final sessions of the Scottish parliament in the early 1700s as a political group. Having already acquired enormous properties and lands through inheritance and succession, he purchased in 1703 the estates of Lennox and Darnley, which bestowed on him many of their jurisdictions such as the hereditary sheriffdom of Dumbarton, the custodianship of Dumbarton Castle, and the jurisdiction of the regality of Lennox. Owning these estates and being a friend of the ministry gave Montrose substantial wealth and access to offices and places. He also held in his estates considerable ecclesiastical patronage to present ministers to kirks. In addition, he had a strong influence on the professors and masters of the college of Glasgow, who elected him chancellor in 1714. All this patronage and these interests enabled him to be the political manager of this area at the time of Union.[15]

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[11] William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the present* (Edinburgh, 1968), 133-135; Ronald Sunter, *Patronage and politics in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1986), Chapters 10-12.

[12] *GBR*, vii, 610-611.

[13] See works in footnote 1.

[14] HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, i, 170-171.

[15] Ronald M. Sunter, 'Graham, James, first duke of Montrose (1682–1742)', *Oxford DNB*; *Scots Peerage*, vi, 261-265.

III

Operation of politics

It seems that the political structure and system of representation in eighteenth-century Glasgow was thus closed and exclusive, leaving little room for internal conflicts or external challenges. This closed and exclusive political structure, however, did not produce political stability at the level of its operations or suppress the vibrancy and vitality of the politics of the people. Three aspects of the local political operations need to be considered: aristocratic influence upon the town; the post-Union importance of the town council; and the political role of the middling and lower sorts.

First of all, despite the strength of aristocratic influence, the town councils were not always at the mercy of the patrons, especially in burghs where commercial interests were strong. In Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Glasgow, local merchants who dominated burgh politics chose their own merchant candidates as their parliamentary representatives in the first few general elections after the Union. It soon became clear, however, that these merchant MPs lacked the political knowledge and experience to be effective agents to promote the interests of their constituencies and the urban leaders came to realise the importance of establishing and maintaining connections with aristocratic political managers. They nevertheless maintained some degree of independence and, in burghs where patrons had to struggle with rivals, it was the local politicians who decided the winner of conflict between the patrons. In these cases, the patrons had to curry favour and solicit support from the council through careful and skilful management.[16] This was exactly the political circumstances of Glasgow at the beginning of the period under consideration. Although the Duke of Montrose was widely regarded as the patron of the town, he encountered serious challenges from the interest of the family of Argyll, which, after the Union, gained strength through political changes at Westminster.[17] As will be shown in Chapter Two, the fierce and continuous rivalry between the two camps provided the urban leaders with opportunities to show their own preference and independence.

Secondly, the changes in the system of parliamentary representation brought about

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[16] Sunter, *Politics and patronage in Scotland*, Chapter 10; HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, i, 168.

[17] Sunter, *Politics and patronage in Scotland*, Chapter 11; HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, ii, 916-920.

by the Union caused a marked shift in the focus of political operation in the localities and this shift appeared to give the people at large a greater role in the local political scene. In the post-Union political structure, a greater importance was added to the town council in the local political operation. The Union made government and parliamentary politics more remote from the ordinary people in Scotland, at least in terms both of physical distance and of degree of representation. The national political scene at Westminster became too far away for ordinary Scots to reach. Instead, the town council, which was within the reach of the people at large and with which they had daily contact, became the focal point of the nation's political life. After the Union, it became the place where parliamentary elections were held when the burgh hosted them. It also remained the place where municipal elections and administration took place, and it was the centre of urban authority. Although it goes without saying that the town council had previously been an important public place in the locality, the changes wrought by the Union had a great impact upon the people's understanding and appreciation of their political world. Before 1707, it was the parliament in Edinburgh that served as the very heart of national political life. It would be interesting to imagine what was in their mind when the anti-Union disturbance broke out in Glasgow in December 1706 and a group of protesters led by a former sergeant from a Scottish regiment named George Finlay, allegedly a Jacobite, tried to march from Glasgow to Edinburgh 'to raise parliament'.[18] After 1707, the populace in Scotland did never do anything like this, focusing their attention instead on the town council, and therefore the tolbooth, the most recognisable symbol of authority in urban landscape, became the physical and symbolic centre of urban political life.[19]

Due to the importance of the town council both in local and parliamentary politics, political disputes in eighteenth-century Scottish burghs centred around its control, its constitution, and whom it represented. Alexander Murdoch has revealed that Edinburgh witnessed a series of serious struggles over the town's government and constitution within the

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[18] Daniel Defoe, *The history of the Union of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1709), 66; Bowie, *Scottish public opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union*, 142.

[19] For example, the rioters at political disturbances at Dumfries in the autumn of 1759 broke into the council house during the municipal election and then systematically attacked the symbolical representations of burgh authorities. Alexander Murdoch, 'Politics and the people in the burgh of Dumfries, 1758-1760', *SHR*, 70 (1991), 151-153.

council between the 1740s and the 1780s.[20] In Aberdeen in 1735 there was a struggle between the landed heritors and merchants over the proportion of tax to be paid, resulting in a division within the magistrates.[21] A dispute within the town council of Linlithgow in 1754 even gave rise to two rival sets of the magistrates and councils.[22] Glasgow proved no exception. Although the small group of elite merchants dominated the town council, this does not mean that there were no differences or conflicts between the urban leaders over the administration and government of the town. As will be argued in Chapter Two, there occurred serious struggles between the urban leaders, particularly when the Dukes of Montrose and Argyll were in conflict with each other and attempted to control the politics of the town. Sometimes the town council encountered challenges from other incorporated bodies as well. Robert Houston's article has demonstrated that the cordiners of Edinburgh possessed a remarkable sense of independence and sought to influence politics and decision-making of the town council through electing their favoured deacons.[23] The town council of Glasgow frequently met with oppositions from the merchants house and the trades house too. When an opposition group of the urban leaders was ousted from the town council, there were still possibilities for them to put the merchants house under their influence and wait for the next chance to come, as was the case in the early 1740s and the 1760s. In addition, the trades house remained, as it had been in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[24] against the town council on account of its limited involvement and representation in the formal procedures of municipal elections throughout the period under consideration. The tradesmen also repeatedly claimed, though without much success, the right to alter the burgh sett, and this claim eventually culminated in a nationwide movement towards a reform of the burgh constitutions and wider parliamentary franchise in the mid-1780s.

Third, although they were outside the formal political processes, tradesmen, and to some extent merchants of smaller fortunes, possessed various means of expressing their own

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[20] Alexander Murdoch, 'The importance of being Edinburgh: management and opposition in Edinburgh politics, 1746-1784', *SHR*, 68-1 (1983), 1-16.

[21] David Findlay and Alexander Murdoch, 'Revolution and reform: eighteenth-century politics, *c.* 1690-1800', in E.P. Dennison, David Ditchburn, and Michael Lynch (eds), *Aberdeen before 1800: a new history* (East Linton, 2002), 271.

[22] Murdoch, 'Politics and the people in the burgh of Dumfries, 1758-1760', 164.

[23] R.A. Houston, 'Popular politics in the reign of George II: the Edinburgh cordiners', *SHR*, 72 (1993), 167-189.

[24] McGrath, 'The medieval and early modern burgh', 17-62.

sentiments, grievances, and opposition to the ruling oligarchy and attempted to make an impact upon urban politics. Some of the means had been invented a long time in the past and were kept as integral parts of customs and traditions of Glasgow's political culture. One of their most common repertoires was street demonstration. Tradesmen marched through the streets and expressed their sentiments by shouting slogans or carrying banners when they found measures taken by the urban authorities or parliament over issues of local or national significance to be unsatisfactory. For example, during the last session of the Scottish parliament in the winter of 1706, anti-Unionist tradesmen took to the streets when they learned about the provost's decision not to send an anti-Union address of the town to the crown. They marched through the town with an inscription on their hats, stating 'No incorporating Union', written in red.[25] Tradesmen could also articulate their opinions through taking part in public rituals and ceremonies, in which they could show their loyalty towards the crown and the constitution achieved by the Glorious Revolution and the Hanoverian Succession.[26] They were an important part of street pageantry during celebrations of royal birthdays, important military victories, and other occasions favoured by the local community.[27] In addition, tradesmen and merchants, as burgesses, were able to express their own resolutions and determination by joining volunteer forces raised at times of national crisis. When the Convention of Estates was meeting in Edinburgh in 1689, five hundred volunteers from the town's trained bands, 'levied and armed', were sent to Edinburgh to protect the Convention. The town's trained bands also joined the government's force during the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715.[28]

Along with these traditional ways, there were other means created, enhanced, and elaborated over this period by utilising the rapid development of print culture in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, as shall be demonstrated in Chapter Four. One of these newly developed articulations was petitioning and addressing. Petitions and addresses were by

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[25] HMC, *Mar & Kellie MSS*, ii, 318: Earl of Mar to Sir David Nairne, 10 November 1706; NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. IV, f. 154r: Thomas Brown to Robert Wodrow, 8 November 1706.

[26] As to the importance of public rituals and ceremonies in urban political culture in eighteenth-century England, see Peter Borsay, '"All the town's a stage": urban ritual and ceremony', in Peter Clark (ed.), *The transformation of English provincial towns 1600-1800* (London, 1984), 228-258.

[27] Bob Harris and Christopher A. Whatley, ' "To Solemnize His Majesty's Birthday": new perspectives on loyalism in George II's Britain', *History*, 83 (1998), 397-419. In the manufacturing areas around Glasgow, such as Kilbarchan and Paisley, the tradesmen became part of official processions on the king's birthday from the 1760s. *GJ*, 23-30 June 1768.

[28] John Gibson, *History of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1777), 100, 108-109.

no means a novel manner of expressing grievances, but as the century progressed, they were signed by more people, sent by more bodies, and printed in more newspapers with greater frequency than before. It is clear that these middling sorts of people came to realise, probably from the 1760s, the importance, usefulness, and impact of newspapers to publicise their opinions and promote their interests.[29] From the 1770s, they started to have their resolutions published in newspapers when there were issues of grave importance such as the American Revolution and the Catholic Relief bill. At the same time, with the growth of a local printing industry in Glasgow, the middling sorts also became more aware of the cheapness, ease, and effectiveness of publishing pamphlets. The sheer number of pamphlets published in Glasgow relating to religious and political disputes after 1760 is remarkable, considering its relative previous quietness about events and issues of national importance such as the excise crisis, the emergence of a patriotic opposition, and the Seven Years' War, which had all stirred public attention and given rise to a flood of pamphlets, addresses, and petitions in England.

Glasgow in the latter half of the century also witnessed a rapid growth of an associational culture, as did other towns of a similar size in the rest of Britain.[30] Glasgow's development was different from its English counterparts in terms of its political functions, however. Numerous clubs and societies were founded with a view to discussing questions about literature, moral philosophy, and political economy. These clubs and societies might have debated political issues and functioned as an important public space to discuss, share, and develop their members' understanding of politics and society, but there is hardly any evidence on this aspect of associational culture.[31] In Glasgow the traditional institutions had a more important role. In the 1760s many of the trades incorporations started to open subscriptions and raise funds to be used for their political, not fraternal purposes, as Chapter Four will demonstrate. During the anti-Catholic relief campaign, it was the incorporations of trades, together with local parishes, another important traditional institution, that initiated, organised,

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[29] Bob Harris argues that, while the growth of the Scottish press was slow and limited in the eighteenth century, the political role of the newspapers became stronger from the 1760s and further intensified from the 1780s. Bob Harris, 'Scotland's newspapers, the French Revolution and domestic Radicalism (*c.* 1789-1794)', *SHR*, 84:1 (2005), 39-45.

[30] John Money, *Experience and identity: Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1760-1800* (Manchester, 1977); Peter Clark, *British clubs and societies c. 1580-1800: the origins of an associational world* (Oxford, 2000).

[31] John Strang, *Glasgow and its clubs* (London, 1856).

and founded societies and associations of a much broader basis such as the Committee of Correspondence and the Eighty-Five societies.

While all of these developments in the political activity of the middling sorts, together with the inherent internal struggles among the elite merchants, placed serious challenges before the urban authorities, the authorities also had to deal with the unfreemen and labouring poor. Although in Scottish burghs they had no formal involvement, participation, or representation in local and parliamentary elections, this does not necessarily mean that they were ignored or were not taken into account as an element of politics broadly defined. When they had grievances and wanted to air their sentiments for or against the authorities, they were able to do so in a variety of ways: demonstrations on the streets; gathering in great number in and around public places; cheering and huzzaing; sending threatening letters; blocking and barricading churches; and, as a last resort, rioting. These popular activities and pressures were hard for the authorities to dismiss because these were based on a broad consensus of the community, of which the authorities were a small minority. When the crowd took to the streets and gathered together, the magistrates, as the local authorities in charge of keeping the peace of the town, were forced to face crowds of dozens, or sometimes hundreds, of the populace. Even when the crowd became angry, violent, and uncontrollable, it was not easy for the magistrates to depend upon military force, because it could take the troops at least one or two days to arrive and because, after the troops left, they had to live in the community with an angry crowd that might seek revenge. It was important for them to be patient, to negotiate, to pacify the crowd, and to listen to, if not accept, their grievances. In this sense, they were truly 'the prisoners of the people'.[32]

Glasgow and the west of Scotland witnessed numerous popular disturbances of different dimensions during the period under consideration, as Chapter Five will demonstrate. It is clear that social ranks of those who participated in these disturbances were widely varied and difficult to generalise. For example, among the seventy-three active participants in the Shawfield riots in 1725 were many burgesses including eight butchers, seven weavers, six

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[32] E.P. Thompson, 'The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century', *Past & Present*, 50 (1971), 79.

smiths and even two merchants.[33] The boundary between the middling sorts and the lower sorts, or burgesses and non-burgesses, is not always easy to draw when it comes to the activities of the crowd. During the Union crisis in the winter of 1706, for example, the anti-Union crowd that marched through the streets was said to consist mostly of 'handicrofts men' or 'companies of the [ap]prntices'.[34] It was the masters of these apprentices, however, who were blamed for the conduct of these workers and apprentices. The magistrates warned the masters that, if their apprentices were not restrained, 'they would tear yr burgesse tickets att the crosse'.[35] The masters were blamed certainly because they were responsible for their workers' and apprentices' conduct, but they did not seem to have taken any serious steps to stop their workers and apprentices. Several days later, a similar crowd of young apprentices appeared again and marched through the streets. Before they dispersed, they 'read a proclamation over the crosee ag[ains]t the Union, qrunto they declared they would stand with yr lives & fortun'.[36] It seems probable that these apprentices met so little, or virtually no, obstruction that they could, baldly enough, read their proclamation at one of the most important public places in the town. This suggests that their conduct was implicitly supported, or at least was not objected to, by most of the local community. As long as these activities of the crowd were based on the support of a broad consensus of the community, it would be pointless to attempt to draw an artificial distinction between the middling sorts and the lower sorts for a proper understanding of the operation of crowd politics.

<div align="center">IV</div>

Religion and politics

Religion was politics in eighteenth-century Scotland. The endless religious strife and bloody conflict between presbyterians and episcopalians over the control of the national church since the Reformation meant that religion and politics were inseparable. At the same time, the system of ecclesiastical government politicised the appointment of ministers to local parishes

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33 NLS, MS2966, ff.277-281: 'List of the Prin[cipa]ll Actors in the Mobb att Glasgow, the 24th, 25th, & 26th of June 1725'.

34 HMC, *Mar & Kellie MSS*, 318: Earl of Mar to Sir David Nairne, 10 November 1706; NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. IV, f. 159r: Thomas Brown to Robert Wodrow, 20 November 1706.

35 *Ibid.*, f. 155r: the same to the same, 11 November 1706.

36 *Ibid.*, f. 159r: the same to the same, 20 November 1706.

and quite frequently caused serious conflict in the locality. In the system of presbyterian church government in Scotland, the congregation or at least its male heads of households traditionally believed that it had the right to call its minister to the parish. On the other hand, patrons of the churches such as the crown, great landowners, town councils, and universities, also claimed to hold the right to present ministers to their churches, which was commonly called 'lay patronage'. In 1649, the Scottish parliament abolished lay patronage and established the right of congregations to call ministers by the popular votes of heritors, elders, and heads of families in the parish. The 1649 establishment was undone in 1660, when lay patronage was reinstated together with monarchy and episcopalianism. The Revolution Settlement of 1690 again reversed the situation, restoring presbyterianism and granting the right of calling ministers to the congregation. In 1712, however, the Tory government at Westminster tried to institute a tighter control over the church government in Scotland, and lay patronage was again restored by an Act of Parliament.[37] In the Church of Scotland, this patronage controversy caused severe divisions among the clergy, eventually leading to the Secession in 1733 by Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine and other concurring ministers, who were against lay patronage and formed the Associate Presbytery. Even after the Secession, the division within the national church was not healed and it became even deeper in the middle decades of the century, causing two rival factions to emerge, one of which was the Moderate party, the other the Popular party.[38]

The patronage issue also gave rise to serious problems in the parishes and, in Glasgow and the west of Scotland, the conflict was harsh. As there has been little systematic analysis on the type, location, number, pattern, and nature of patronage issue in the localities,[39] it is hard to tell how widely and frequently disputes over church settlement occurred and how the congregation reacted to unpopular presentations. According to Richard Sher and Alexander Murdoch, however, unpopular presentations were mostly made by members of the gentry and

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[37] Richard B. Sher and Alexander Murdoch, 'Patronage and party in the Church of Scotland 1750-1800', in Norman MacDougall (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929* (Edinburgh, 1983), 197-220.

[38] Ferguson, *Scotland*, 121; J.R. McIntosh, *Church and theology in Enlightenment Scotland: the Popular party, 1740-1800* (Edinburgh, 1998), 16-24.

[39] But Sher and Murdoch have offered a very useful and insightful survey of patronage controversy between 1750 and 1800. Sher and Murdoch, 'Patronage and party in the Church of Scotland 1750-1800'. See also C.G. Brown, 'Protest in the pews: interpreting presbyterianism and society in fracture during the Scottish economic revolution', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Conflict and stability in Scottish society, 1700-1850: proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1988-89* (Edinburgh, 1990), 83-105.

nobility who possessed strong interests in the local communities.[40] In addition, the gentry and nobility were in many cases under the influence of even greater landowners and political managers, most notably the Earl of Ilay, who not only controlled a number of presentments himself, but also could have access, through his power, to presentments held by the crown.[41] Sometimes the conflict over church settlement in the localities was caused by different presentations from two rival politicians. At other times, the patron's presentation was often in dispute on account of opposition from the congregation. Unpopular presentations were often made by the gentry or the powerful nobility who had little or no regard for the rights and opinions of the congregation. They considered that the ecclesiastical government of the Church of Scotland owed its existence to the civil power and that the right of the patron should be exercised without any consultation of the wishes of the parishioners. Interestingly, however, presentations made by patrons who did pay some attention to the inclination of the people were sometimes opposed by the congregation. For instance, when the parish of Easter Kilpatrick in Dumbarton became vacant in 1730, its patron, the Duke of Montrose, presented Andrew Gray, son of John Gray, minister of the Wynd church of Glasgow. Montrose's presentation encountered such strong opposition from the parish that, upon Gray's appointment, the church was barricaded by a crowd and the sheriff of the county, who tried to enter the church, was driven off and wounded by the crowd.[42] Montrose was surprised at such strong opposition because he believed that he 'never intend to fail in civiletys' to the heritors in the parish.[43] This signifies the complex nature of patronage problem in the localities. The relationship between the patron and the congregation was not necessarily a deferential one. The people in the parish could express their opposition to the patron through a popular vote, and when their voice was not heard, they sometimes resorted to physical actions, including violence to unpopular ministers. As long as the church settlement was a matter related to decision-making and exercise of power, it was in the realm of politics broadly defined, and it was one of the important areas in eighteenth-century Scotland where the politics of the people

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[40] Sher and Murdoch, 'Patronage and party in the Church of Scotland', 199.

[41] H.R. Sefton, 'Lord Ilay and Patrick Cuming: a study in eighteenth-century ecclesiastical management', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 19:3 (1977), 203-216.

[42] *Fasti*, 356.

[43] NAS, GD220/5/872/7: Duke of Montrose to Mungo Graeme of Gorthie, 24 July 1730.

was at work.

V

The Revolutionary and Covenanting traditions

At the time of the Union with England in 1707, Glasgow possessed distinctive political and religious character traits that had been nurtured and established through its history and experience during the turbulent times of the seventeenth century. The two cardinal pillars which constituted Glasgow's political and religious character were its staunch support for the Revolution Settlement and the Covenanting tradition.

After the Restoration, the restored monarchy brought with it episcopacy, and the Archbishop of Glasgow came back as feudal superior of the town and retained the right to select the provost and baillies. The provosts installed by the archbishop manipulated elections and controlled the council by corruption and bribery. The Presbyterian clergy was thrown out, Covenanters were persecuted, and conventicles were suppressed.[44] The unpopularity of the restored order was amplified to such an extent that the news of James VII's flight and the arrival of the Prince of Orange was received with great delight and enthusiasm. In December 1688, the council sent an address signed by most of the council to the Prince of Orange and, in March 1689, at the request of the Prince of Orange, it sent, 'for the Preservation of the Sacred and Civil Liberties of the Nation', five hundred 'levied and armed' men to protect and assist the convention of estates held at Edinburgh.[45] These expressions and acts of loyalty to the new monarch were rewarded with royal approval of the autonomy of Glasgow's urban government. In June 1689, on account of the order from the Convention parliament, the baillies and council were elected by a poll of all the burgesses and this was confirmed by the statement of William and Mary in January 1690 that the town council of Glasgow shall have the 'full power, right and libertie to choise and elect their proveist, baillies and haill other magistrats in the ordinar maner and at the ordinar tyme, as freelie as any other royall burgh in the said kingdome'.[46]

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[44] Gordon Jackson, 'Glasgow in transition, *c.* 1660 to *c.* 1740,' in Devine and Jackson (eds), *Glasgow*, 63-68.

[45] M'Ure, *View of Glasgow*, 100; Gibson, *History of Glasgow*, 100.

[46] *GBR*, iii, 438.

Thus, for Glasgow, the Revolution was deliverance 'from Popery and arbitrary Tyranny'.[47] By the time of the Union, Glasgow had an established reputation and firm self-image as a Whiggish town with steadfast loyalty to the Revolution Settlement and Hanoverian Succession. It was regarded as a 'naturally Whiggish' place, while the provost, Robert Rodger, also proudly stated that 'it is very well honour that the Town of Glasgow stands upon the revolution foott, and will apear for the protestant succesion'.[48] Glasgow's loyalty to the Revolution Settlement was also closely related to its reluctance to obey external authorities such as political managers and the ministry. In fact this sense of independence was a recurring issue in parliamentary elections in the Glasgow district of burghs during this period.

Covenanters were those who supported the National Covenant of 1638 and the Solemn League of 1643, believed in the spiritual independence of the Church and sole headship of Christ within it, and hence defied any control or intervention in church affairs by the state.[49] In the early seventeenth century, field preachers and conventicles of Covenanters rapidly expanded and flourished in the west and southwest and Glasgow became one of the most important hotbeds of the movement.[50] This deep-rooted Covenanting tradition imbued the people in Glasgow and the west with a radical notion of ecclesiastical and civil government, which made this region politically active and, on occasion, disorderly. Glasgow witnessed popular unrest when national events of grave public concern occurred. One of these examples was the serious anti-Union riots in the winter of 1706 which obviously had a Covenanting aspect, as the crowd was against the incorporating Union and hence the possible abolition of the Church of Scotland.[51] The way in which the populace understood and accepted the Covenanting tradition was not so simple as it seems, however. As long as there existed a wide spectrum of political and religious principles in radical presbyterianism, from the extremist defiance of the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian Succession to the more moderate acceptance of the *de facto* legitimacy of the British state and its institutions, it would not be

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[47] M'Ure, *View of Glasgow*, 292.

[48] HMC, *Stuart Papers*, iii, 49: J. Le Brun (Capt. John Ogilvie) to the Earl of Mar, 9 October 1716; NAS, GD220/5/266/8: Robert Rodger to Montrose, n.d., 1711.

[49] K.M. Brown, 'Covenanters', in N.M. de S. Cameron *et al.* (ed.), *Dictionary of Scottish church history and theology* (Edinburgh, 1993), 218-219.

[50] McGrath, 'The medieval and early modern burgh', 30-31.

[51] Bowie, *Scottish public opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union*, 141-142.

sensible to regard the Covenanting tradition as a single, solid, or coherent one, easily and unanimously understood by all the ranks of the Scottish people. There was in fact a strand of Calvinism which experienced a significant modification, making it suitable to enter into the mainstream of eighteenth-century Scottish intellectual thought.[52] There must have been diverse versions of the Covenanting tradition, maintained among groups with different social, political, and religious status and persuasions that were transmitted and inherited in different ways. The heritage of the Covenanters is better understood and explained when it is considered as in plural, rather than single, terms.

The Covenanting legacy was passed on in the form of oral tradition through generations in the west of Scotland. Commentators on the tradition and customs of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries mention the abundance of tales and tradition relating to the sufferings of the Covenanters shared in the localities, especially among the lower echelons of society.[53] In Dumfries and Galloway, east Ayrshire, and south Lanarkshire, the oral traditions of the Covenanters were so rich that the stories of Covenanters' lives and deaths were still fresh in the memory of the locality in the late nineteenth century.[54] This oral tradition of the Covenanters was augmented by reading practice. Although there has been a long debate over the level of education and literacy of the Scottish people and some historians have negative opinions about their writing abilities,[55] it appears, as T.C. Smout has demonstrated, that many ordinary Scots were at least able to read and own a Bible.[56] In addition, Peter Laslett has shown that Scottish workers of humble status had a keen interest in subscribing to collected sermons of popular preachers, and Smout concluded that there could be 'a real and pressing enthusiasm for reading, obviously of the Bible and other religious books but also for ballads

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[52] Richard J. Finlay, 'Keeping the Covenant: Scottish national identity', in T.M. Devine and J.R. Young (eds), *Eighteenth century Scotland: new perspectives* (East Linton: 1999), 126.

[53] *OSA*, ii, 116, vii, 611; Robert Forsyth, *The beauties of Scotland: containing a clear and full account of the agriculture, commerce, mines, and manufactures; of the population, cities, towns, villages, &c. of each county ...* 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1805-8), ii and iii.

[54] Robert Simpson, *Traditions of the Covenanters: or, gleanings among the mountains*, 3 vols (2nd edn, Philadelphia, 1870), i, 7.

[55] R.A. Houston, 'The literacy myth?: illiteracy in Scotland, 1630-1760', *Past & Present*, 96 (1982), 81-102; ditto, *Scottish literacy and the Scottish identity: illiteracy and society in Scotland and northern England 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1986).

[56] T.C. Smout, 'Born again at Cambuslang: new evidence on popular religion and literacy in eighteenth-century Scotland', *Past & Present*, 97 (1982), 114-127.

and chap-books'.[57] There is also evidence to suggest that Scottish lowlanders in the late eighteenth century preferred a certain type of Covenanting tract. While relatively affluent farmers possessed 'more bulky and expensive' books such as those of 'Sir David Lindsay, of Buchanan, of Knox, of Rutherford, of Bunyan, and of Boston; and of Wodrow too', poorer peasants had books of 'a similar tendency ... but on a lesser scale, being usually pamphlets, or religious tracts: such as *Christian Ker*, *Elizabeth West*, Peden's *Prophecies*, *The Hind let loose*, and *The Holy War*, purchased from travelling chapmen at a cheap rate'. Both groups were so well acquainted with their Bibles that 'they could almost tell the place of any particular passage, where situated in their own family Bible, without referring to either book, chapter, or verse'.[58]

The legacy of the Covenanters was thus maintained through both oral transmission and reading, but it was also preserved in material ways. The most obvious objects that were expected to store the traditions of the Covenanters were tombstones and monuments. In the burial grounds, moors, and hills of south-west Scotland, there were, and still are, numerous tombstones and memorials of those Presbyterians who lost their lives in the severe persecution they suffered in the years before the Revolution. It is hard to know the precise number of erected tombstones and monuments because not a few of them must have been already broken and lost, but there were perhaps more than one hundred in the south-west of Scotland.[59] Presumably most of the tombstones were erected at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Considerable efforts were made to preserve these gravestones and monuments, as well as to record their existence, locations, and inscriptions. In the late eighteenth century, many of the tombstones in the Lowlands were said to be cleaned and repaired by Robert Paterson, a Cameronian stonemason from Hawick, on whom Walter Scott's novel *Old Mortality* was based.[60] Although there is no documentary evidence on his work, nineteenth-century writers who visited these graves pointed out that tombstones 'All over the south-west of Scotland' had a

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[57] Peter Laslett, 'Scottish weavers, cobblers and miners who bought books in the 1750s', *Local Population Studies*, iii (1969), 7-14; Smout, 'Born again at Cambuslang', 123.

[58] George Robertson, *Rural recollections; or, the progress of improvement in agriculture and rural affairs* (Irvine, 1829), 98-100. These comments were made on the 'the condition and mode of living ... prior to the year 1765, or about that time; partly known to myself, and partly from credible testimony'.

[59] Thorbjörn Campbell, *Standing witnesses: a guide to the Scottish Covenanters and their memorials with a historical introduction* (Edinburgh, 1996).

[60] Arthur Sherbo, 'Paterson, Robert (*bap.* 1716, *d.* 1801)', *Oxford DNB*.

Chapter One

common feature in their letterings, 'the same bold deeply-cut Old Mortality type'.[61]

Another important means of storing Covenanting traditions and memories was through relics and memorabilia. Covenanters' flags, believed to have flown on such battlefields as Pentland Hills, Bothwell Bridge, and Drumclog, were preserved in at least Loudoun, Shotts, Douglas, Sanquhar, Lochgoin, and Avondale in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries.[62] The parish of Fenwick claimed to possess not only the Covenanting banner believed to have been used at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, but also the sword of John Paton, a captain of the Covenanters, who was involved in the Pentland rising and Bothwell Bridge and who was later seized and executed in 1684.[63] Not surprisingly, the authenticity of these Covenanting memorabilia has been much doubted,[64] but the role which these objects were expected to play in maintaining the traditions can not be easily dismissed. They were carefully preserved, as a kind treasure in the locality. In the late eighteenth century, the people of Fenwick considered these items 'as precious relicks'.[65] In the parish of Shotts, in the late nineteenth century, the banner was kept by 'a family named Orr for the past two hundred years', and when it was shown to visitors, 'the farmer took down a bag from the top of a wardrobe and brought the flag out of it', as if it was a precious possession of the family.[66] This material culture of the Covenanting tradition made it possible for early nineteenth-century radicals and reformers to exploit these relics in the cause of political reform.[67]

These were the ways in which the Covenanting traditions were maintained, transmitted, and passed on through generations in the west and south-west of Scotland. It is not surprising that people who were surrounded by, and grew up in, the oral, printed, and

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[61] *A cloud of witnesses for the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ: being the last speeches and testimonies of those who have suffered for the truth in Scotland since the year 1680. Reprinted from the original editions, with explanatory and historical notes by the Rev. John H. Thomson* (Edinburgh, 1871?), xvi; J.H. Thomson, *The martyr graves of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1903), 341. There was also a vogue among those radicals or reformers who associated themselves with the Covenanters for erecting new gravestones and monuments as well as renewing or repairing those already erected. Gordon Pentland, *Radicalism, reform and national identity in Scotland, 1820-1833* (London, 2008), 142.

[62] William McMillan, 'The Covenanters after the Revolution of 1688', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 10-3 (1950), 142-143; *NSA*, v, 836.

[63] George Robertson, *Topographical description of Ayrshire; more particularly of Cunninghame* (1820), 353; Alison G. Muir, 'Paton, John (d. 1684)', *Oxford DNB*.

[64] McMillan, 'The Covenanters after the Revolution of 1688', 141-143.

[65] Robertson, *Topographical description of Ayrshire*, 353.

[66] William Grossart, *Historic notices and domestic history of the parish of Shotts* (Glasgow, 1880), 95; Thomson, *The martyr graves of Scotland*, 233.

[67] Pentland, *Radicalism, reform and national identity in Scotland*, 144.

material Covenanting culture considered themselves 'In their religious sentiments, ... [as] nearly all the descendants of the more ancient covenanters'.[68] Robert Forsyth, a writer from South Lanarkshrie, commented on the ordinary people of Ayrshire in the late eighteenth century:

> in the moors, mosses, and fastness of Airshire, several monuments, erected to the memory of persons belonging to the presbyterian party, who were put to death between the restoration and the revolution, are to be found scattered over the country; and the memory of the inhabitants still stored with traditions concerning them, which, even to this day, preserve alive a fixed detestation against the principles of the house of Stuart.[69]

Conclusion

The political structure of eighteenth-century Glasgow was closed and exclusive, preventing a vast majority of the townspeople from being represented on the council and taking any part in the formal political procedures. The structural changes by the Union seem to have made politics more remote from the people at large and their role insignificant and therefore to have helped to increase the political stability in eighteenth-century Scotland. This chapter has begun to suggest that this impression of a narrow, exclusively oligarchical politics omits important elements of political operation in an urban setting. The Union increased the importance of the town council in electoral politics in Scotland and made it subject to more constant and intense political conflict in the localities. The middling sorts not only possessed and exploited traditional measures to express their opinions in urban politics, but also increased their abilities of political articulation by taking full advantage of the potential of the press and its development. The physical proximity of the urban authorities to the ordinary people in town made them vulnerable to pressure of the politics of the crowd which were in most occasions based on communal consensus. The problem of lay patronage politicised religion and the people at large strongly opposed the exercise of lay patronage not only by the local authorities, but also by the landed classes.

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[68] *Ibid.*; Robertson, *Rural recollections*, 98.

[69] Forsyth, *The beauties of Scotland*, ii, 489-490.

This chapter has also outlined the Revolutionary and Covenanting traditions, the region's character traits in politics and religion. Glasgow's staunch support for the Revolution Settlement inspired the townspeople's reluctance to accept external control and influence as well as their sense of political independence. The Covenanting tradition of the region, preserved and passed on through oral culture and reading practice, as well as material culture, imbued the people at large with self-recognition as descendents of the Presbyterian martyrs. Throughout the period under consideration, these political and religious traditions served as a basic frame of reference of the politics of the people and helped actions and ideas of popular politics to develop with a distinctive regional character.

Part I

The growth of popular political awareness

Chapter Two

'Let the Good Town of Glasgow be your Party': party strife and the rise of the Argathelians, 1707-*c*.1730

Introduction

The Union of Scotland and England in 1707 and the changes it brought about in the administration and government in Scotland made relations between the two countries closer, but with more influence centred on the southern capital London. The Scottish parliament was abolished and Scottish representation was incorporated into Westminster, and although Scottish nobles still retained considerable influence and heritable jurisdictions in their homelands, the Union put the whole of the discretionary powers to distribute offices and patronages in the hands of the crown and the ministry. For Scottish landowners, the political scene moved from Holyrood down to Whitehall and a struggle for power and control came to mean a fight for winning as much favour from the crown and the government as possible.

In the few years immediately after the Union, those nobles such as James Douglas, second Duke of Queensberry (1662-1711), and James Ogilvy, first Earl of Seafield (1663-1730), who had been attached to the court interest and played a significant part in bringing the Union into effect, were entrusted with Scottish affairs by Sidney Godolphin, then in power at Westminster. Godolphin's arrangement came to an end in 1710, when a Tory ministry took power with Robert Harley as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Unlike Godolphin, Harley attempted to manage and control Scottish affairs directly, but by 1713 his attempt turned out to be a failure. While by the death of Queen Anne in 1714, heavyweights of Scottish politics such as the Duke of Queensberry and James Hamilton, fourth Duke of Hamilton (1658-1712), had passed away or retreated from the political front line, a new, younger generation of politicians had emerged into prominence. This new generation of Scottish politicians was largely divided into two groups, the Squadrone and the followers of John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll (1680-1743) and Archibald Campbell, Lord Ilay and later third Duke of Argyll (1682-1761). The Squadrone, having appeared as a coherent force during the last years of Scottish parliaments, was a small group of Scottish country Whigs distinguished by family tradition of opposition to the Stuart monarchy. The leading figures of the Squadrone were Alexander Hume Campbell,

second Earl of Marchmont (1675-1740), John Ker, first Duke of Roxburghe (*c.* 1680-1741), and James Graham, first Duke of Montrose. They became attached to Stanhope and Sunderland and, with them, came to have influence with the king. The Campbell brothers and their followers were the remnants of the Court party headed by Queensberry, with particularly strong influence among the academic, ecclesiastical, and legal circles in Edinburgh. The brothers later became associated with chief Whig ministers such as Robert Walpole and Lord Townshend.

The fortunes of the Squadrone and the Campbell brothers mainly depended on the outcome of political struggle between the English ministers. In the aftermath of the Jacobite rebellion in 1715, Stanhope and Sunderland decided to cut down the influence of Townshend and Walpole in the ministry by removing Townshend from the office of Secretary of State, and, by 1717, they managed to oust both Townshend and Walpole from the ministry. With the rise of Stanhope and Sunderland, the Squadrone came to dominate Scottish politics, with Roxburghe as a Secretary of State and Montrose holding the office of Great Seal. Walpole, however, retained his influence in the House of Commons and the Treasury and again came to dominate the ministry in 1722. When Walpole came to power and established himself as the prime minister, the Squadrone supported Walpole's opponents. Walpole turned to the Campbell brothers for support and advice in the management of Scottish affairs and entrusted them with the distribution of crown and government patronages. The Campbell brothers, especially Ilay, proved to be Walpole's useful managers of Scotland, and, with the decline of the Squadrone as national political force by 1725, their dominance of Scottish politics continued until Walpole fell from power in 1742.[1]

While the rivalries and struggles between Scotland's great landowners in the first three decades of the eighteenth century are thus well researched, Scottish politics in this period has often been characterised as merely factional battles within the closed circle of great aristocrats, and hence as lacking any significant social depth.[2] It has recently been argued, however, that politicians' struggle for control had wider and deeper implications in Scottish

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[1] P.W.J. Riley, *The English ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727* (London, 1964); Alexander Murdoch, *'The people above': politics and administration in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980), 28-33; John Stuart Shaw, *The political history of eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999), Chapter 3.

[2] Riley, *English ministers and Scotland*; William Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the present* (Edinburgh, 1968), 133-144.

society than was previously supposed. The rivalry between the Squadrone and the Argathelians, for instance, caused considerable tension and occasional disorders in the University of Glasgow, since the appointment of professors was the crown's prerogative and therefore their distribution was affected by the course of political struggle.[3] The church was also another arena of factional fights between the two camps, especially after the restoration of lay patronage in 1712.[4] The political fault lines ran so deeply in Scottish society that their impact was seen and felt in almost all aspects of public life. In addition, the consolidation of Argyll dominance in Glasgow was not achieved without difficulty, and the antipathy towards the Campbell interest among some of the urban elite, especially after the customs reform in 1722 and the Shawfield riots of 1725, was stronger than has previously been explained. Those urban leaders, backed up by anti-Argyll sentiments rapidly developing among the middling and lower sorts, sought the independence of the town from aristocratic control and posed difficult problems for the political managers.

This chapter aims to consider the extent of the social implications and repercussions of these political struggles between the Squadrone and the Argathelians in Glasgow between 1707 and *c.* 1730. It also demonstrates the strength and continuity of opposition among the urban elite against Argyll's aristocratic control of the town as well as widespread popular support for them.

I

Glasgow and the Duke of Montrose, 1707-1714

Glasgow at the time of the Union had a close relationship with the first Duke of Montrose. Due to his high profile as in the London government[5] as well as his vast estates and enormous properties in and around Glasgow, Montrose could exercise considerable influence in the region. It was to Montrose that the provost and the magistrates of Glasgow turned for advice

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[3] R.L. Emerson, 'Politics and the Glasgow professors, 1690-1800', in Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher (eds), *The Glasgow enlightenment* (East Linton, 1995) 21-39; *idem., Academic patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities* (Edinburgh, 2008), Chapters 3 and 4.

[4] Henry Sefton, 'Lord Ilay and Patrick Cumming: a study in eighteenth-century ecclesiastical management', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 19 (1977), 203-216; Marianna Birkeland, 'Politics and society of Glasgow 1680-1740' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1999), Chapter 2.

[5] Riley, *English ministers and Scotland*, 34.

about a possible Jacobite invasion in the aftermath of Union.[6] It was also through Montrose that the burghs, incorporations, and churches in the west sent address as to the crown and got in touch with the government.[7] It was therefore natural that Montrose and his agents in Glasgow, Mungo Grahame of Gorthie in particular, sought to consolidate his influence in the region by winning the elections for the first parliament of Great Britain in 1708. At the same time, the Argyll family and their friends had a keen eye on Glasgow and sought to curtail the Montrose interest there. Their most important agent in Glasgow was Daniel Campbell of Shawfield (1671/2-1753), a merchant, who by the time of Union had established a close relationship with the Argyll family and become one of the most prominent figures of the town.[8]

In May 1708, the elections for the first parliament of Great Britain took place. Montrose, together with William Ross, twelfth Lord Ross (*c.* 1656-1738), another Squadrone man, intended the election of Ross' brother, Hon. Charles Ross of Balnagowan (1667-1732). Montrose and Lord Ross told the town council of Glasgow of their intention, but did not obtain any positive answer.[9] In fact, the town council, managed by John Aird (*c.* 1654-1730), a powerful merchant-politician connected with the Argathelian Earl of Dundonald, had already decided to support Robert Rodger (*c.* 1650-aft.1715), a local merchant and the provost since October 1707. Rodger's competitor for the seat was Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, who secured support from Rutherglen and Renfrew. At the election in Glasgow in May, the commissioner of Dumbarton town council, who was supposed to support Rodger, did not arrive on time, which meant that Shawfield would return as he defeated Rodger by only one vote. Rodger, however, skilfully dealt with this problem by using his right of 'præses', or the chair, as the commissioner of the sitting burgh to fix the time of the meeting and delayed it, and, after the late arrival of Dumbarton delegate, he commenced the election and returned himself.[10]

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[6] NAS, GD220/5/148/9: magistrates of Glasgow to Duke of Montrose, 1 December 1707.

[7] NAS, GD220/5/162/2: John Hamilton of Bardowie to Montrose, 24 March 1708

[8] For biographical information on Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, see T.F. Henderson, 'Campbell, Daniel (1671/2–1753)', rev. D.W. Hayton, *Oxford DNB*; David Wilkinson, 'Glasgow Burghs' in HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, i, 916-920; *idem.*, 'Daniel Campbell', in *ibid.*, iii, 444-446; Romney Sedgewick, 'Glasgow Burghs' in HoP, *Commons 1715-1754*, i, 399-400; J.M. Simpson, 'Daniel Campbell' in *ibid.*, i, 520; M.D. Young, (ed.), *The parliaments of Scotland: burgh and shire commissioners*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1992-3), i, 100-101.

[9] According to *Scots Peerage*, Charles Ross was involved in the failed plot of Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie to restore the exiled house of Stuart in 1690, but this is now much doubted. *Scots Peerage*, vii, 258-259; HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, iv, 307.

[10] HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, ii, 917-918.

The next election took place in 1710. Rodger retired from his parliamentary career, and Thomas Smith (*d*.1716), dean of guild of Glasgow, was returned at the election at Dumbarton. Deemed a firm Hanoverian Whig, Smith proved to be a very useful Member for the town. His activities as a representative satisfied the town council, so that the council gave him financial recompenses for his London expenses for each session.[11] At the next election in 1713, although a contest from Daniel Campbell of Shawfield was expected, Smith avoided it by making an arrangement with Shawfield to support his candidacy for Lanarkshire and procuring endorsement from Colin Campbell of Blythswood, who had a strong interest in Renfrew and was also said to have 'both Dumbarton and Rugland [Rutherglen] at his nod'. Smith was returned 'unanimously' at the election at Renfrew in September.[12]

Although Rodger and Smith had different abilities in terms of their parliamentary business, they shared several important characteristics as the representatives for Glasgow. They were both staunch supporters of the Revolution Settlement as well as the Hanoverian Succession; they were local men and had held important municipal offices, which provided them with familiarity with what constituted the town's interest; they maintained harmonious relations with the council; and, most important, they held relative independence from party politics. Although his election as MP in 1708 was endorsed by Montrose, it is wrong to regard Rodger as a Squadrone man.[13] Smith was far from being a party politician as well. According to Mungo Graham of Gorthie, 'There is not a firmer man in the House than' Smith and that he 'is led by nobody'.[14] The independence of Rodger and Smith did not necessarily imply their difficult relationship with Montrose, however. In fact, they occasionally showed their deferential attitudes towards the duke. After winning the 1708 election, for instance, Rodger wrote a complimentary letter to Montrose in order to consolidate his controversial return, which impressed Montrose so much that he later commented that Rodger had 'the best right to sit in the House' and would 'be much more ours' than the Campbell interest.[15] Smith also expressed his obedience to Montrose on occasion, saying in May 1713 that it was his 'pleasure

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[11] This paragraph draws much on *ibid.*, 918-919; v, 511-513.

[12] NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. VII, no.126, f.184: John Cross to Robert Wodrow, 19 September 1713.

[13] HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, v, 293.

[14] NAS, GD220/5/807/12: Mungo Graham to Montrose, 21 December 1710.

[15] Quoted in HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, v, 293.

of doing what y[ou]r Grace is please'd to command'.[16] It is evident that, while the urban leaders and their parliamentary representatives retained a strong sense of independence, they regarded Montrose as their patron and were able to maintain amicable relations with him.

In addition, Montrose's influence extended beyond the realm of municipal and electoral politics. He was elected as the chancellor of the University of Glasgow in October 1714 and established a close relationship with the Principal John Stirling (1654-1727), who had already built up his interest in the college.[17] Montrose's influence at the university also helped him gain strong support from the town's clergy. Principal Stirling and John Simson (1667–1740), professor of divinity since 1708, both *ex officio* members of the Presbytery of Glasgow, took a leading role in the affairs of the church. At the Presbytery of Glasgow, at least eight out seventeen charges of the Presbytery of Glasgow were in one way or another related to the Montrose interest. By 1714, while retaining the sole distribution of crown and government patronages in the locality,[18] Montrose thus succeeded in creating a sphere of influence which encompassed the town council, the church, and the university and reached his zenith as the manager and patron of Glasgow.

II

Glasgow, Argyll and the Jacobite rebellion

Queen Anne died without a direct heir in August 1714 and Georg Ludwig, elector of Hanover, came to the throne as George I. The new regime changed the political climate and the fortunes of politicians. Although the Tories were dominant in the ministry and Parliament in Anne's last years and the queen herself had a close relationship with the Anglican Church, the new king was a practising Lutheran with a slight coolness towards Anglicanism and some sympathy for presbyterianism. George, in his mid-fifties upon his accession, was an experienced politician with views, determination, and abilities to consolidate the Hanoverian Succession and promote pan-European Protestantism.[19] In his reign, most of the Tory politicians fell out of favour, and

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[16] NAS, GD220/5/320: Thomas Smith to Montrose, 3 March 1713.

[17] Emerson, *Academic patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 49-59.

[18] J.M. Price, 'Glasgow, the tobacco trade, and the Scottish customs, 1707-1730: some commercial, administrative and political implications of the Union of 1707', *SHR*, 63-1 (1984), 29.

[19] R.M. Hatton, *George I: elector and king* (London, 1978).

the Whigs, who had proved their long-standing loyalty to the Hanoverian Succession, came into power. For Argyll and Ilay, both staunch supporters of the Protestant and Hanoverian Succession, George I's accession was the long-awaited moment of change, as they had been out of favour in the last few years of Queen Anne's reign. Argyll was named, along with Roxburghe and Montrose, in the list of regents to form an interim administration until George's arrival in England, while Ilay was appointed as Lord Clerk Register. At the same time, the Campbell brothers were not the only Scottish Whigs who gained on this occasion. The secretaryship for Scotland, which became vacant with Mar's dismissal and for which Argyll was believed to have ambition, went to Montrose, with Roxburghe appointed as keeper of the Great Seal. This showed that, while the Campbell brothers received favour from George I, the Squadrone, who were Hanoverian Whigs as well, still held better offices and established a stronger connection with the ministry headed by a group of English Whig leaders commonly called the Junto.[20]

The new reign of George I was, therefore, an opportune moment for the Whigs. The two groups of Scottish Whigs came to dominate Scottish politics and its course was characterised by their struggle for power and control. At the time of George I's accession, however, although there were certainly continuing tension and rivalries between the Squadrone and the Argathelians, there was also an atmosphere of co-operation among the Scottish Whigs to get rid of the Tories and Jacobites from the political scene. In fact, they needed to co-operate, because the reign of George I was not yet firmly established. After his coronation, disturbances and high-church demonstrations broke out across England, and the threat of Jacobite invasion loomed large.[21]

In this critical situation, the general elections of 1715 took place.[22] The Squadrone and the Argathelians were instructed to co-operate during the election campaign, and in the Glasgow district of burghs they sought the re-election of Thomas Smith. This unusual pact did not satisfy Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, who was seeking to be the candidate for Glasgow. In spite of Argyll's instruction to support Smith, Shawfield did not abandon his hope and wrote to Argyll that he would serve the duke as he desired. At the same time, he alleged in Glasgow that

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[20] Shaw, *Political history of eighteenth-century Scotland*, 53-54.

[21] *Ibid.*; W.A. Speck, *Stability and strife, 1714-1760* (London, 1977), Chapter 7.

[22] The electoral politics in Glasgow between 1715 and 1716 is closely examined by Ronald Sunter, *Patronage and politics in Scotland, 1707-1832* (Edinburgh, 1986), 199-208.

he had received no command from Argyll to support Smith and also that Argyll's support would be given to him. Shawfield's attempt did not influence the Squadrone-Argyll pact, however, and Smith was duly re-elected in February 1715. Shawfield nevertheless did not give up, and still sought to gain the seat at the next opportunity, which came unexpectedly soon. In January 1716, Smith suddenly died in London, and the Glasgow district had to hold a by-election. Now that the Jacobite risings had been suppressed and the temporary pact between Montrose and Argyll was abandoned, the competition would obviously be between a Montrose man and Shawfield, who this time secured Argyll's support. While Montrose and Gorthie were desperate to find a suitable candidate, Shawfield was conducting an effective campaign, securing endorsement from Rutherglen and Renfrew. He had little doubt about Glasgow's support, as the council was under the influence of John Aird, another Argathelian agent. Shawfield's long-sought victory appeared to be inevitable. At the by-election in February 1716 at Rutherglen, he was returned without a contest.

This was just the beginning of an irrecoverable setback for the Montrose interest in Glasgow. Shawfield and friends of the Argyll family seemed so successful in cultivating the council that, at the municipal elections in October 1716, it was reported that 'P[rovost] A[ird's] partie carried all',[23] and, as a result, 'ther's not one man who was suspected of favouring the D[uke] of Montrose … left in the toun council of Glasgow'.[24] Probably the council changed sides not only because of the influence and management of Shawfield, but also the impact of the Jacobite rebellion upon Glasgow. For a town with staunch support for the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian Succession, the rebellion was a grave threat which needed to be quashed at any cost. In fact, it did cost the town a considerable sum of money. In August 1715, having already been alarmed with rumours and intelligence about the Jacobite rising, the town council sent an address to the crown to express its support and offer a regiment of five hundred infantry at its own expense. This Glasgow voluntary regiment, headed by John Aird, was incorporated into the regular army in Stirling, which was under the command of the Duke of Argyll. In order to defend itself against a possible Jacobite attack, the council also fortified the town by building barricades, digging entrenchments, and setting up cannon according to

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[23] NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. XI, no.171, f.235: Alexander Porterfield to Robert Wodrow, 5 October 1716.

[24] Duncan Warrand (ed.), *More Culloden papers*, 5 vols (Inverness, 1925), ii, 147.

Argyll's advice. By the end of 1715, these, together with the other expenses such as locking up Jacobite rebels in the town's tolbooth, cost the town more than 10,000 pounds Scots.[25] This expense had to be made up for income from new imposts, or tax duties, which were granted only through the parliamentary legislation. Now that their representative was a Campbell, it was natural for the urban leaders to turn to Argyll for the access to power and resources.

This material consideration was augmented by the reputation that Argyll had earned in fighting in defence of the Revolutionary and Hanoverian cause. He took up command in Scotland and, gathering a small number of available troops at Stirling, kept the rebels in the north. At the battle of Sheriffmuir, although seriously outnumbered by the Jacobite army, he managed to halt the Jacobite advance and made them retreat to Perth. When he came to Glasgow in December 1715 after the battle of Sheriffmuir, he was warmly welcomed. On his visit, 'six piece of cannon are to be fir'd three time when he comes to the ports while the musick bells play all the time, and that no body may see the entry the trains bands are to line the streets'.[26] Argyll began to be so admired in Glasgow that it was reported to Montrose that 'Some folks in this town have the impudence to say that we ought to support the D[uke] of A[rgyll] because he is the only man that can & will ... appear for the Interest & humour of his Country'.[27] In Glasgow, Argyll was now regarded as patriot and defender of the country. This image of him as a patriotic hero, as well as the material consideration of seeking compensation for the loss of considerable amount of money on account of the rebellion, probably led the town council to switch its allegiance from Montrose to Argyll. Mungo Graeme of Gorthie reported to Montrose on the changed mood in the council: 'They are wiser then to be directed, they think they can't be wrong when they put themselves under the protection of those they think has the power ... the secret is they have [their] own views'.[28] This remark implies that, although the council showed deferential attitude to the magnates, it had its own interest to pursue for the benefit of themselves, and this had to be carefully managed and cultivated. Now the urban leaders chose Argyll as their patron. The rapid rise of the Argathelians to a position of ascendancy on the council would impede the Montrose interest in Glasgow.

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[25] *GBR*, iv, 539-540; 545, 547, 549, 553-575.

[26] NAS, GD220/5/529/3: Charles Morthland to Montrose, 30 November 1715.

[27] NAS, GD220/5/1918/5: The same to the same, 6 February 1716.

[28] NAS, GD220/5/819: Mungo Graeme of Gorthie to Montrose, 17 February 1716.

III

Argathelian challenges against Montrose, 1716-1722

At Whitehall, Argyll's moment did not last long. Immediately after Sheriffmuir, he was replaced as commander-in-chief by William Cadogan, a protégé of the Duke of Marlborough. When the rebellion was suppressed in the summer of 1715, Cadogan was rewarded with the Order of the Thistle and a peerage, but Argyll and Ilay were removed from all their offices, except for Ilay's lifelong office of lord justice general. The background to this ill treatment to Argyll lay in his close relationship with the Prince of Wales, the future King George II. Argyll was the prince's groom of the stool and came to be his mentor in political matters. It was thought that Argyll exercised too great an influence on the prince, and the ministers were afraid that he would possibly plot against them with the prince. He therefore had to be dismissed.[29]

In Scotland, the situation was different. The Argathelians managed to maintain their influence on the burgh councils, and they were particularly successful in Glasgow. From 1716 onwards, they tightened their grip on the council through the influence and management of Shawfield and John Aird. Although relations between them do not seem to have been amicable,[30] Aird was generally deemed as one of the Shawfield's 'great Agents' and they appear to have worked together for the Argyll interest in Glasgow.[31] Shawfield, as a parliamentary representative for Glasgow, acted in support of the town's interests and helped pass acts to allow the council to levy an impost on two-penny ale for the expense during the rebellion. His management of the council was so successful that he was re-elected in the general election in 1722 without contest, although there was a failed Squadrone intrigue against it.[32]

The Argathelian ascendancy was also evident in their aggressive attempts to cut down Montrose's interest in the university and in the church. At the university, the Squadrone Principal Stirling came under severe criticism from the students and professors. Although Stirling significantly contributed to the expansion of the university and to the improvement in

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[29] Shaw, *Political history of eighteenth-century Scotland*, 57-58; Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the present*, 138.

[30] NAS, GD220/5/821/5: Mungo Graeme of Gorthie to Montrose, 8 June 1716.

[31] NAS, GD220/5/712: Charles Morthland to Montrose, 16 January 1717; J.R. Anderson and James Gourlay (eds), *The provosts of Glasgow from 1690 to 1832* (Glasgow, 1942), 51.

[32] NAS, GD220/5/837/14: Adam Cockburn to Montrose, 23 November 1721.

teaching and facilities, he packed the college with relatives and friends recruited from the Squadrone.[33] Students were excluded from the elections of chancellor and rector, the right to whose nomination was in the hands of the principal.[34] Professors and students found Stirling's management highly unacceptable and detrimental to their own rights as well as to the university. Their growing discontents against Stirling would help the Argathelians find supporters and undermine the Squadrone interest in the college. Against this background, there occurred from 1716 a series of disputes originating from the rectorial election.[35] At this election in March 1717, dissident members of the faculty refused to reconfirm the rectorship of Sir John Maxwell of Pollock (1648-1732) for the next year. Maxwell of Pollock had been in this office since 1691 and was one of the closest allies of Principal Stirling. The opposition camp consisted of eight professors, half of whom were members of Stirling's marital and family circle.[36] William Forbes, one of the opposition professors, explained to Maxwell of Pollock that the reason for their opposition was to make a public demonstration of the need to 'cross a groundless despotick power' of Principal Stirling. It is evident, however, that they intended to promote the Argathelian interest and 'putt the highest Contempt upon the poor principal', since they chose as their rector William Mure of Caldwell (*d*. 1722), who was known to be a close friend of the Duke of Argyll.[37] Annoyed with this intrigue, Stirling asked Montrose for a royal visitation commission to discipline the opposition group, as well as for 'discontinuing the Rector of the University and in Chusing a new one'.[38] Montrose quickly secured a royal commission and, on the advice of Stirling, appointed the visitors, almost all of whom were supporters of Montrose and Principal Stirling.[39] The visitation in November established the rules relating to the rectorial elections that enabled the chancellor, rector, principal, and professor of divinity to form a committee to choose three nominees for the rectorship. They also

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[33] Emerson, *Academic patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 60-62: James Coutts, *A history of the University of Glasgow: from its foundation in 1451 to 1909* (Glasgow, 1909), 198.

[34] Emerson, *Academic patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 60-62. Students had been allowed to vote in the elections of chancellor and rector at the Revolution, but the method of choosing the rector was changed in 1692 so that the student members were excluded from the electoral process. *Ibid*., 62.

[35] Emerson mentions a disturbance of students caused by the election of Montrose as chancellor in 1715, but provides no source for this. *Ibid*., 61.

[36] *Ibid*., 59.

[37] GUL, MS Gen.205, no. 2-17: William Forbes to Sir John Maxwell, 4 March 1717; NAS, GD220/5/1932/2: James Graham of Killearn to Graham of Gorthie, 2 March 1717.

[38] NAS, GD220/5/1933/5: Principal Stirling to Montrose, 8 March 1717. Mure refused to serve as rector.

[39] Emerson, *Academic patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 65.

decided that the rector should be elected by a body which excluded the students and that the students be involved in none of the electoral process.[40] The rectorial election was to take place in November, and Montrose authorised Stirling to put Maxwell of Pollock on the list of nominees.[41] The election was accordingly held on 11 November, from which the opposition professors absented themselves. Maxwell was re-elected as rector, with Mungo Graham of Gorthie as vice rector.[42]

Montrose thus managed to defend his interest at the university during the rectorial election disputes in 1716 and 1717, but the opposition by students and professors continued well into the next decade. At the same time, Montrose's friends came under Argathelian attack in the church after 1716. Despite the sudden change of political climate in Glasgow in the aftermath of the 1715 Rebellion, the presbytery and the town's ministers still appear to have remained loyal to Montrose. On the Duke of Argyll's visit to Glasgow in January 1716, after the battle of Sheriffmuir, while he was fêted by the town council and urban leaders, the church ministers of the town, in their audience with him, 'said nothing to him att all [and] only made a bow'.[43] In this stronghold of the Montrose interest in the town, the Argathelians intervened in the appointment of a new minister. At the end of 1716, the congregation of Glasgow's North West parish, commonly called the Ramshorn parish, gave a call to John Anderson (1671-1721), minister of Dumbarton. The Ramshorn parish had been vacant since the death of Alexander Main in 1711.[44] Theologically speaking, John Anderson could have been a minister suitable to the character of the town, as he was one of the ablest controversialists at that time through advancing his strong justifications for upholding Presbyterian principles.[45] What made his call difficult were his political affiliations. He was known to be closely connected with the family of Argyll, having served as tutor to the second duke and being on close terms with the duke's uncle, John Campbell of Mamore (*c.*1660-1729), MP for Dumbartonshire.[46] The political intention of

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[40] *Ibid.*, 66; Anne Skoczylas, *Mr Simson's knotty case: divinity, politics and due process in eighteenth-century Scotland* (Montreal & Kingston, 2001), 185.

[41] GUL, MS Gen.205, no.28: Duke of Montrose to John Stirling, 5 November 1717.

[42] Emerson, *Academic patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 66.

[43] NAS, GD220/5/1918/2: Charles Morthland to Montrose, 9 January 1716.

[44] Skoczylas, *Mr Simson's knotty case*, 179.

[45] For instance, John Anderson, *A defence of the church-government, faith, worship & spirit of the Presbyterians ...* (Glasgow, [1714]).

[46] J.R. McIntosh, 'Anderson, John', in Nigel M. de S. Cameron *et al.,* (eds), *Dictionary of Scottish church*

the call was so obvious that the ministers of the town 'are unwilling to goe into the call'.[47] They proposed that the presbytery postpone the call, while the pro-Argathelian council, as the patron of the Ramshorn church, consented to the call and requested the presbytery to proceed to its moderation. The presbytery denied both requests, and the magistrates and the Ramshorn parish brought the case to the synod. With both sides protesting and appealing against one another, it was not until April 1718 that the synod decided to transport Anderson from Dumbarton to Ramshorn. This decision was again appealed by Glasgow ministers, and the case was brought before the General Assembly in May 1718, when it was finally decided to translate Anderson. Anderson was duly admitted in the parish in August 1718.[48]

The Anderson case reveals the inextricably intertwined relations between politics, the church, and the university in early eighteenth-century Glasgow. Anderson's appointment, led and promoted by the council, was clearly part of the Argathelian project to undermine Montrose's influence in Glasgow, and therefore it was opposed by the ministers of the town as well as by Montrose's friends at the university. Attacks on Anderson was directed not to his theology, but to his connections with the Campbell family as well as his hostile and contemptuous attitudes towards friends of Montrose. For instance, he was accused by William Stewart of Pardovan, Principal Stirling's son-in-law, of uttering at John Campbell of Mamore's house 'several unbecoming Expressions … against Mr. *Stirling* the Principal' on his financial chicanery regarding university bursaries. Professor Simson joined the anti-Anderson campaign, advising a congregation in Glasgow not to 'break the Hearts of five Godly Ministers [of the town] in favours of one Man'.[49] It was principal Stirling and professor Simson who were most active in opposing Anderson's appointment.[50] Anderson was well aware that the opposition to his appointment was politically motivated. He later published Stewart of Pardovan's letter with a lengthy refutation, and in it he wrote that 'One party has been very Angry with me … The old Advice, *BEAR DOUN ANDERSON*, is certainly the best Politick at Present'.[51] Clearly the

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history and theology (Edinburgh, 1993), 11; *idem.*, 'Anderson, John (1671–1721)', *Oxford DNB*.

[47] NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. XI, no.199, f.283: Alexander Porterfield to Robert Wodrow, 5 November 1716.

[48] Skoczylas, *Mr Simson's knotty case*, 180-181; *Fasti*, 438.

[49] John Anderson, *A letter. From Mr. Anderson, minister of Dumbarton, to Walter Stewart …* (Glasgow, 1717), 4 and 6.

[50] Skoczylas, *Mr Simson's knotty case*, 180.

[51] Anderson, *A letter*, 3.

ecclesiastical and educational institutions of the town had both become intensely politicised, and tension appeared to increase in the course of the dispute. Robert Wodrow (1679-1734), minister of Eastwood, thought 'the heats' over the Anderson case would 'threaten this Church' and Anderson's translation to Glasgow looked 'very like more flames in that poor place'.[52]

Although the main participants of this dispute were ministers and professors of the town, the politicising effect of the case went far beyond the narrow circle of the elite and split the urban community into two. In May 1717, for instance, there occurred a dispute at the Wynd church over the election of an elder, James Peadie. As elders of the town's parishes were members of the presbytery, their elections at the parish level could easily be disputed and the contest became intense. Peadie, later chosen as provost in 1727, was a local merchant with a strong connection with the Squadrone interest as a cousin of Professor Simson and a brother-in-law of James Hamilton of Aikenhead, a Squadrone laird. His election to the parish was very narrowly achieved, and the pro-Squadrone minister, John Gray, had to use his casting vote to ensure it.[53] There was also an element of popular involvement as well. When the supporters of Anderson met with strong opposition from the town's ministers, they obviously attempted to pressurise the presbytery to take the opinion of the Ramshorn congregation into serious consideration by bringing to its meeting 'Burgesses … in considerable Numbers for obtaining a Concurrence with their Call'.[54] In fact, the opinion of the Ramshorn's congregation was for Anderson, as it was they who first gave a popular call to him. The popular involvement did not seem to have much of an impact upon the course of events, but, as will be shown below, this kind of mobilisation or manipulation of the people for factional purposes became a tactic increasingly employed by both the Squadrone and the Argathelians in this period. These incidents signify that the party struggles in eighteenth-century Glasgow had wider social and popular implications than has previously been suggested.

Another implication to be mentioned with regard to the Anderson case was the change it brought about in the constitution of ecclesiastical government in Glasgow. One of the arguments raised by those against Anderson's call was that the call was unacceptable because

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[52] *Analecta*, ii, 330.

[53] Skoczylas, *Mr Simson's knotty case*, 181.

[54] Anderson, *A letter*, 7.

all calls had been given by the whole general session of the town, not by one particular session.[55] The five ministers of the town, who dissented from the call, contended that the right of the general session to give calls was important for the independence of the church, since otherwise the town council, as the patron of the town's parishes except for the Inner-High church, could overrule a single church session.[56] They also complained that they were not advised of this matter, in spite of their right to be consulted in the election of a minister.[57] At the same time, each congregation technically had the right to call its own minister, as the others did, while the town council, as the patron, could present a minister to a vacant church. This issue therefore involved the rights and interests of three different bodies concerned in the church appointments in Glasgow. It was not until 1721 that the differences were finally settled, and the three bodies reached an agreement and set up rules relating to the call of a minister in Glasgow. The rules were commonly called 'the Model', in which the congregation of a session of the vacant church would first nominate a person they judged proper and would then consult the general session and the town council respectively. After agreement from the general session and the town council were obtained, a session of the vacant church would apply to the presbytery for the moderation of a call 'in a general meeting of the magistrats and toun councill and all the sessions of Glasgow, where the election is to be determined by plurality of votes'.[58] Since the model was properly followed thereafter by the magistrates and town council, as well as by the general and particular sessions, there were few disputes over church appointments in Glasgow until 1761, when the appointment of a minister to the Wynd church was disputed.[59]

The Anderson case was, along with their loss in the parliamentary by-election in 1716, the beginning of the decline of the Squadrone interest and the start of the Argathelian dominance of Glasgow. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the Argathelian influence was consolidated without any difficulty or that there were no fight-backs from the Squadrone. The political processes in Glasgow until 1725 were full of party struggles, and, as Wodrow wrote

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[55] The general session, comprised of five (six after 1718) parishes in the town, met to discuss matters concerning the needs and life of the town. Cameron *et al.*, *Dictionary of Scottish church history and theology*, 355-356.

[56] Skoczylas, *Mr Simson's knotty case*, 180.

[57] William Tennoch, *An examination of the Overtures. Concerning kirk-Ssessions and presbytries, transmitted by the commission of the General Assembly, to presbytries* (Glasgow, 1720), 13.

[58] *GBR*, v, 108.

[59] The Wynd church dispute shall be discussed in Chapter Four.

with hindsight in 1723, the divisions in the town after the Anderson case 'are not yet over wholly – now six years after!'[60]

<div align="center">IV</div>

The rise of the Revolutioners and the interest of the town, 1722-1725

The Argathelian ascendancy in Glasgow was halted by customs reform in 1722 and 1723, which contemporaries believed affected the town's economy severely and for which Daniel Campbell of Shawfield was held responsible. The origins of the customs reform in 1722-3 lay in the customs establishment in Scotland immediately after the Union.[61] The Union stipulated that the customs and excise system of Scotland would be reorganised on the lines of those of England, except for the excise duty on a few articles. The setting up of new customs and excise boards in Scotland did not go smoothly, however, because of many obstacles.[62] The smuggling and re-exporting of tobacco were notorious in particular, and those who were believed to benefit from it were the Glasgow merchants. The tobacco trade in Scotland increased considerably in the two decades after the Union, more than four-fifths of which were under Glasgow merchants' control. It was claimed, however, that much of the imported tobacco was damaged and had evaded duty. The tobacco imported by Glasgow merchants was therefore contributing little to the revenue income of the treasury. The Glasgow merchants did remarkably well in the English and Continental markets, but, at the same time, their success was resented by English competitors who feared that their trade was being ruined by Glasgow's smuggling. As a result, in 1721, English merchants in London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Whitehaven petitioned the treasury for a remedy for their suffering from Glasgow's illegal and unfair competition. In September 1722, a bill originating from this petition was brought into the House of Commons and was passed as an act for the reform of customs establishment in Scotland in March 1723. The act ordained that the Scottish customs board be abolished and integrated into the customs board of London; customs officers at the Scottish ports be removed; and the new officers be appointed by the order of the treasury.

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[60] *Analecta*, iii, 320.

[61] This paragraph draws much on Price, 'Glasgow, the tobacco trade, and the Scottish customs'.

[62] T.C. Smout, *Scottish trade on the eve of Union 1660-1707* (Edinburgh, 1963), 33.

It appears that there was a party motive behind this legislation. George Baillie of Jerviswood, a Squadrone politician, believed that its purpose was 'to get rid of the old officers at Port Glasgow' who were all friends of Montrose.[63] He also suggested that Shawfield was one of 'the principal movers of this project, for they are very bigg with W[alpo]l'.[64] Whatever the motive behind this legislation was, the act was put into effect, and thereafter the tobacco trade in Glasgow began to decline rapidly. In December 1723, Robert Wodrow wrote that:

> The neu regulations about tobacco very much affects Glasgou and the country about; and wheras, formerly, some years, near sixty ships would have sailed for tobacco wherin Glasgou people wer concerned, this year they say they are scarce seven; and wheras one merchant would have bought up of the manufacture in and about Glasgou one thousand pounds worth of goods to send for tobacco, it's but feu this year that but twenty pounds worth. This cannot but affect multitudes.[65]

In Glasgow it was widely believed that Shawfield was responsible for the customs reforms. The negative feelings against Shawfield and the Argathelians were amplified by a report that 'P[rovost] Aird, since the Rebellion, has a hundred pound from the Government, secretly tacked to one of Shaufeild's son's salarys'.[66] To make matters worse, Shawfield's son was a customs officer, and when this information became known to the public, great opposition was made against him.[67] According to Wodrow, this widespread opposition against Shawfield and Aird gave rise to a political change in the council in autumn of 1724: '[I]n short, the greatest ferment has been against Shaufeild that can be expressed. ... Upon all these accounts a party was formed in toun and Council called Plotters and Revolutioners, and they caryed the neu Magistrates'.[68]

Shawfield himself was well aware that this growing hostility would lead to the political changes. He wrote to Townshend in July 1725, just after the Shawfield riots occurred, that:

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[63] HMC, *Polwarth*, iii, 248-250: George Baillie of Jerviswood to Lord Polwarth, 1 March 1723.

[64] *Ibid.*, 283: George Baillie of Jerviswood to Lord Polwarth, 10 July 1723.

[65] *Analecta*, ii, 392. As Jacob Price has pointed out, this reduction of the tobacco trade was not due to the customs reform, but to a poor crop in Chesapeake in 1723 and a structural change that took place in the Atlantic tobacco market. Price, 'Glasgow, the tobacco trade, and the Scottish customs', 34.

[66] *Analecta*, iii, 166.

[67] GD 220/5/989/1: Charles Morthland to Montrose, 7 July 1720.

[68] *Analecta*, iii, 166.

> [A] party in the town of Glasgow ... persecuted me all last year, as if I had been the destroyer of their trade, ... Their unjust clamour upon this head so far prevailed that at Michaelmass last they got the government of the town wrested out of the hinds of my friends into their own.[69]

The newly emerged group, 'Plotters and Revolutioners', or more commonly called 'the Revolutioners', appear to have consisted of those who had been brought into the magistracy in 1724 and 1725, men such as Charles Miller and John Stark. Born in 1671, the son of a maltman, Miller was admitted a burgess by right of his father in August 1713 and chosen baillie in 1715 as well as provost in 1723. Interestingly, he had been in a close relationship with John Aird, who controlled the council when Miller came into the magistracy in 1715. When, at the 1716 by-election, the council was discussing how to reply to the Duke of Argyll's letter in favour of Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, it was Miller who said 'it would be hard to dissoblige the D[uke] of Argyll at this Juncture'.[70] Miller's political affiliations are difficult to know from this scant information, but it is clear that, although he expressed his obligation to the duke, he does not appear to have been a keen supporter of the Argyll interest. It is also clear that he broke up with Aird at some point in 1716, because he was not chosen as a magistrate between 1716 and 1723, in which period Aird, with the help of Shawfield, maintained tight control over the council. John Stark, another Revolutioner provost, was born in 1685, the son of a merchant, and was admitted a burgess by right of his father in 1706. He was brought into the magistracy in 1724 as dean of guild and then chosen as provost in 1725.[71] Stark's election as provost was quite unusual, because, while all the provosts from the Union until 1724 had experience of serving as merchant-baillie, he had none. This probably indicates that Stark represented a new force of urban politics which came into the council in 1724 and purged Shawfield's friends. Their political and religious persuasions remain obscure. According to Shawfield, commenting on the 1724 municipal elections, they were 'a party ... Supported by the countenance of the people then in power in Scotland',[72] implying their Squadrone connections.[73] There is no evidence,

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[69] TNA, SP54/15/34: Daniel Campbell to Townshend, 1 July 1725.

[70] NAS, GD220/5/628 /1: Charles Morthland to Montrose, 24 January 1716.

[71] Anderson and Gourlay, *The provosts of Glasgow*, 51-52.

[72] TNA, SP54/15/34: Daniel Campbell to Townshend, 1 July 1725.

however, of their Squadrone connections in the correspondence of the Duke of Montrose and Graham of Gorthie. In addition, George Lockhart of Carnwath, a Jacobite politician, denied the Revolutioners' connection with the Squadrone. He regarded them as 'a set of discreet men that will not sacrifice the town to either Argyll's or Squadrone party's projects'.[74] If Lockhart is to be believed, the Revolutioners had no factional interest that unified them and were attempting to distance themselves from the party struggle between the Argathelians and the Squadrone.

The Revolutioners faced extremely difficult problems in the aftermath of the Shawfield riots in June 1725. The magistrates were criticised for not taking any effective steps to quell the mob and assist the troops sent from Edinburgh.[75] They were treated in a disrespectful manner by the Argathelian Lord Advocate, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, who came to Glasgow to investigate this incident and unduly took them into custody and took them to the Edinburgh tolbooth. They had to face attacks from the Argathelians, who understood the Shawfield riots and the magistrates' actions as a party conspiracy and believed that they were under the influence of the Squadrone, or even Jacobites.[76] These attacks, however, met criticism in a local pamphlet which argued, 'you will think it very strange that they should be carried Prisoners to *Edinburgh* … as being Guilty of some horrible crime. It is said, and perhaps its really so, that the great Crime chargeable upon them is, That *they favoured not* Mr. Campbell's *Interest in the late Election of Magistrates, and of a common Council for this City*'.[77] Another pamphlet defended the conduct of Provost Miller, who 'did all that was possible for a Man to do'.[78]

Despite the harsh Argathelians' attack, the people in Glasgow were in favour of the Revolutioners. When they came back to the town after their imprisonment in Edinburgh's

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[73] Birkeland suggests that the Revolutioners were 'broadly aligned with the Squadrone, or the old Country party'. Birkeland, 'Politics and society of Glasgow', 211.

[74] Daniel Szechi (ed.), *Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwath 1698-1732* (Edinburgh, 1989), 235: George Lockhart to the Old Pretender, 25 July 1725.

[75] *CM*, 29 June 1725; *LG*, 13-17 July 1725; *Daily Courant*, 13 July 1725.

[76] Warrand (ed.), *More Culloden papers*, ii, 246: Duncan Forbes to John Scrope, 24 June 1725; William Coxe, *Memoirs of the life and administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford*, 3 vols (London, 1798), iii, 440-441: John Campbell to Walpole, 31 July 1725. The Argathelians' suspicions regarding Jacobite involvement appear to have been groundless. Daniel Szechi, *George Lockhart of Carnwath, 1681-1731* (East Linton, 2002), 133.

[77] *A letter from a Gentleman at Glasgow, to his friend in the country, concerning the late tumults which happened in that city* ([Glasgow?], 1725), 19.

[78] *A letter from a gentleman at Glasgow to his friend in London. Containing, an impartial history of the late tumults at Glasgow, on the commencement of the malt tax* (London, 1725), 23.

tolbooth, 'they were met at five or six Miles distance from the Town by some Hundreds of the Inhabitants on Horseback, who conducted them into the City, where they were received with ringing of Bells and other Demonstrations of Joy'.[79] They managed to secure a majority in the municipal elections in 1725, and when John Stark, the new Revolutioner provost, appeared in the staircase of the tolbooth after the election, 'He was welcomed with the loudest Huzza's and Acclamations of the people, in such a manner that I was never witness so the like before; a general token all were pleased'.[80] The factional struggle between the Squadrone and the Argyll interest, the slump in the tobacco trade on account of the customs reform, the growing hostility against Shawfield, and the Shawfield riots, all had a unifying effect upon urban political society in Glasgow and gave the Revolutioner magistrates enthusiastic popular support.

In fact, before the elections of 1725, there was a campaign to support the Revolutioner magistrates. William Tennoch published a series of pamphlets in their favour, in which the ideological and political principles presumably similar to the Revolutioners were well articulated. The paramount theme in Tennoch's argument was a strong criticism of the factional struggles in Glasgow. The town was now 'infested with crafty Men in the Council, that seem to have no other Design, than to support little Interests of their own'.[81] Tennoch made it clear that he was against both of the parties: 'I am as much against your allowing the S[quadrone] to manage you, as the A[rgathelians]'.[82] Convinced that the intention of these parties was to destroy and ruin the town, he advised to 'take Care of having any other Design than the publick Good of the City, when you come to make Choice of *Magistrates* and *Counsellors*'. He believed that 'All true Lovers of the Place concur in thinking, that the only fit Persons for being *Magistrates* at this Time, must be such as are not only Honest Men, but Men of Wisdom and Publick Spirit'.[83] For Tennoch, the public interest meant nothing but the interest of the town: 'For God's Sake, therefore Gentlemen, take Care, throw off all Parties of

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[79] *A letter from a gentleman in Glasgow, to his friend in the country, concerning the late tumults which happened in that city*, 18.

[80] NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. XVI, no.280, f.414: J. M. to Robert Wodrow, 5 October 1725.

[81] [William Tennoch], *A copy of the two letters to the magistrates and town–councils of Glasgow* ([Glasgow, 1725?]), 3.

[82] [*idem*], *A letter to the magistrates and town council of Glasgow* ([Glasgow?, 1725]), 1-2.

[83] *A copy of the two letters to the magistrates and town–councils of Glasgow*, 4.

great Men, let the Good Town of *Glasgow* be your Party'.[84] Tennoch's plea for government by men of public spirit seemed to be realised by the victory of the Revolutioners in 1725.

The Revolutioners' moment did not last long, however. At a national level, it was a period in which the system of political management was rapidly emerging. With Walpole's rise to power and the fall of his rivals and the Squadrone, the Campbell brothers came into prominence at Westminster and began to dominate Scottish politics. Walpole was impressed with Ilay's handling of the malt tax issue in the summer of 1725 and established a close friendship and political association with him. Ilay, entrusted with the task of taking care of Scottish affairs, built up a strong interest in the administrative, financial, and legal institutions in Edinburgh and constructed an effective system of management by distributing patronage of all sorts to his friends.[85] It was this management system that quickly undermined the Revolutioners' control of the council. Although urban leaders resisted the intervention of the Argathelians in urban affairs, the Argathelians fought back with more determined spirit to make their interest more deeply entrenched.

V

The Argathelian dominance and the challenge against it, 1726-27

After 1725, the decline of Montrose's influence in Glasgow was accelerated as the Argathelian intervention in the church and the university became more aggressive and determined. At the same time, Ilay and his friends in Glasgow kept exerting political pressure on the Revolutioner magistrates to undermine their influence. By 1730, the Argathelian project to dominate Glasgow came near completion, having three friends in the town's churches[86] and Neil Campbell (1678–1761) as the university's principal since 1728. They also managed to make the Revolutioners succumb to their pressure and achieved control of the council. At a local level, this process was not without difficulties for the Argathelians, but it was achieved by the skilful, canny, and sometimes relentless use of their influence in the legal, financial, and legislative

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[84] *Ibid.*, 6.

[85] John Stuart Shaw, *The management of Scottish society 1707-1764: power, nobles, lawyers, Edinburgh agents and English influences* (Edinburgh, 1983), 41-4, 86-117.

[86] John Maclaurin of the Ramshorn and William Wishart of the Tron church, as well as John Anderson, Wishart's successor from 1730, were supporters of the Argyll interest. George Campbell of the Inner-High church owed his charge to Montrose, but he was also connected with Neil Campbell and supported the transportation of John Anderson to the Ramshorn church. Birkeland, 'Politics and society of Glasgow', 92.

institutions in Edinburgh and London.

At the university, opposition to Principal Stirling by students and professors continued after the disputed rectorial election of 1717. The students protested the rectorial elections every year between 1720 and 1725, while petitioning against professors loyal to Principal Stirling.[87] In particular, the protest against the rectorial election in 1725 became highly politically charged. On 1 March, which had traditionally been the day for the rectorial election,[88] a group of students attempted to protest with a petition signed by approximately sixty of them against Principal Stirling, but the petition was refused. They then rang the bell of the university to gather supporters and proceeded to the house of the new rector, Hugh Montgomerie of Hartfield, in order to express their opposition to his election and 'tumultuously entered' his house.[89] The students were led by William Campbell of Mamore or Marmore (?-1787), a nephew of the Duke of Argyll, and also by one William Robertson (1705–1783), an Irish Dissenter who had studied under Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746).[90] Although expelled from the university, Robertson sought a remedy and turned to Argyll, who referred the case to Ilay. Ilay is believed to have begun to think about a royal commission of visitation to sort out the affair, and so did Stirling.[91] Stirling, however, failed to persuade Montrose and Robert Dundas, Lord Arniston (1685–1753), from whom he sought legal advice, to take immediate actions against the students.[92] At the same time, Ilay organised a new royal commission of visitation by the end of 1725 and secured a royal warrant for a visitation in the following year.[93] Since the London government was deeply concerned about the situation of Glasgow, this was an unmistakable opportunity for Ilay to 'put the Government of Glasgow into good Hands'.[94] Clearly, therefore, the royal commission in 1726 was part of the ongoing Argathelian project to

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[87] Emerson, *Academic patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 68-69.

[88] The rectorial election had been held on 1 March after the Reformation, but the 1717 commission stipulated that 11 November as the day for the rectorial election. Coutts, *A history of the University of Glasgow*, 80, 200.

[89] Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis: records of the University of Glasgow from its foundation till 1727,* 4 vols (Maitland Club, 1854), ii, 427-428; GUL, Gen 205, no.126: copy letter of John Stirling to John Campbell of Marmore, 11 March 1725. Coutts mistook the date of this incident for November 1724. Coutts, *History of the University of Glasgow*, 203.

[90] M.A. Stewart, 'Robertson, William (1705–1783)', *Oxford DNB.*

[91] Emerson, *Academic patronage and the Scottish Enlightenment*, 70.

[92] NAS, GD220/5/849/19a: Montrose to Gorthie. London, 18 March 1725; GUL, MS Gen.205, no.127: Robert Dundas to John Stirling, 3 March 1725.

[93] Emerson, *Academic patronage and the Scottish Enlightenment*, 70.

[94] TNA, SP54/16/38 (2), f.184: Ilay to the Duke of Newcastle, 5 October 1725.

curtail Montrose's interest and assert their authority over Glasgow.

As early as February 1726, rumours spread through Glasgow of the new commission which was believed to consist of, according to Wodrow, 'all Campbells almost', including Campbell men powerful in the localities, such as Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, Colin Campbell of Blythswood, John Campbell of Mamore, and his son John Campbell of Roseneath, later fourth Duke of Argyll.[95] This commission does not appear to have been very active, however, as Wodrow noted that, during its short stay between 29 September and 3 October, it 'met but seldom' and that he did not 'hear of any thing of importance done'.[96] What the commission did was to restore the right of students to vote in the rectorial election and to appoint the election for that year for the middle of November. They also ordered the expulsions of students, including William Robertson, on account of their protests against the results of the rectorial elections.[97] Apparently, the 1726 commission lacked determination and did not achieve that much, and Wodrow saw it just as a factional ploy, commenting that 'as little is done at this Royall Visitation, yet all is done that was designed. A kind of Stigma is put on the Duke of Montrose ... by his rivals'.[98] Wodrow was right in that the 1726 commission aimed to assert the Argathelian superiority not only in the university, but also over the town council:

> [S]ome think that all this parade would not have been made by such wise, long-headed men as my Lord Isla, Lord Grange, &c., if they had not had somewhat more to do at Glasgow than this Visitation. They fixed their meeting just three dayes before the election of the Magistrats. The toun had last year made a turn not agreeable to the family of Argyll, and had been very much frettd and maltreated in the affair of their Magistrates seizour and Shaufeild's house; and the Toun of Glasgow is a place that is worth keeping to any party in the Government, and it may be methods wer taken to work their oun projects in the Councill and election.[99]

The Revolutioners' popularity did not seem to decline and, in fact, the council headed by

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[95] *Analecta*, iii, 273.

[96] Curiously enough, principal Stirling appeared to be supportive of the restoration of the students' right to vote in the rectorial elections. Wodrow therefore guessed this was 'resolved upon before Visitation'. *Ibid*., 329-330.

[97] *CM*, 18 October 1726; 'Original memoirs of Dr. Robertson of Wolverhapmton', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 54, September, 1783, 748.

[98] *Analecta*, iii, 333.

[99] *Ibid.*

Provost John Stark was doing so well that 'things have gone pretty smooth since the last choice' in 1725. Just a few days before the council elections in October 1726, however, 'the Provost [John Stark], who is generally acceptable to the toun, found, as he was informed, B[aillie] Bogle, younger, and B[aillie] Ramsay, forming a party against him, and setting up for themselves'.[100] Robert Bogle of Daldowie (?-1734) was connected through his daughter's marriage to the Squadrone interest.[101] In addition, another group called 'the young folk' emerged, who were 'once on Shaufeild's side, but came off, and had the greatest share in the Revolution last year'.[102] This means that the Revolutioners divided between Stark and the 'the young folk'. Stark then joined a group called the old folk, Shawfield's friends. Now the council was split up into three groups, namely, the old folk under Shawfield's influence, the young folk that were the remnants of the Revolutioners, and a group with Squadrone connections. The old folk seemed to be in the majority. 'The Opinion of the Cross' was that 'Tis managed at this time by the cunning of the old folks, & some time ago by the cunning of the Squad[rone], tho' now they repent of their former counsels, because now as affair stand its in the power of the old friends of S[hawfield] to carry all before them'.[103]

The Argathelians thus achieved their aim of wresting control over the council from the Revolutioners. At the same time, they also won the rectorial election at the university in November 1726, when the students and professors elected as the new rector George Ross, the Master of Ross, a firm Argathelian.[104] These results apparently demonstrated the Argathelian dominance over the Squadrone in the university and over the Revolutioners in the council. Surprisingly, however, those against this Argathelian dominance showed remarkable resilience in 1727, and the political tension in Glasgow grew increasingly strong in the course of successive important events such as the coronation of George II in June, the general elections in

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[100] *Ibid.*, 334.

[101] Alastair J. Durie, 'Bogle, George (1700–1784)', *Oxford DNB*. Robert Bogle's daughter Christian married Walter Pollock, second son of Sir Robert Pollock of that ilk. Robert Pollock was a member of the Squadrone royal commission of visitation in 1717. John Guthrie Smith and John Oswald Mitchell (ed.), *The old country houses of the old Glasgow gentry, illustrated by permanent photographs by Annan* (2nd edn, Glasgow, 1878), 73-77.

[102] *Analecta.*, iii, 334.

[103] NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. XVII, no.92, f.144: John Wodrow to Robert Wodrow, 8 October 1726.

[104] Ross was accepted by the college in December 1726. Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, iii, 345-346.

September, the elections of the provost and the principal in October, and the rectorial election in November.

At the university, even after the Argathelian victory at the rectorial election in November 1726, the infighting between the Argathelians and the Squadrone did not cease. Factional tension surfaced in March 1727, when a proposal to address the king was made at the faculty meeting. The Master of Ross proposed an address to thank the king for the royal commission, which was generally agreed. The opinions of the faculty were divided, however, on whether they should thank him only for 'for the last Royall Commission' in 1726 or for 'all the Royall Commissions' he had granted them, since, in the opinion of the Stirling party, 'the naming the last only was indeed to say materially that the former Commissions wer not an act of kindnes in the King'. The vote of the meeting was split six against six, but, with the casting vote of the Master of Ross, it was decided to thank the king only for the last royal commission.[105] Principal Stirling and his allies fought back in June, however, when the faculty had to elect their dean. They managed to convert Professor William Forbes (*c*. 1669-1745) to their side in order to carry the election in their favour, an achievement which Wodrow regarded as 'a considerable point gained to the Principall's side, who is very tender, ... and cannot last long'.[106] There was another struggle in July, when, at Montrose's suggestion, the meeting discussed an address to George II, who had just succeeded to the throne in June, in order to have some grants that ended with the death of George I renewed. The two sides argued over whether the address was 'to be The address of the Chancellor, Rector, Principall, Dean' or not. The Argathelian side opposed to putting the name of the chancellor, Montrose, in the address on the ground that 'no Persons name should be insert who was not there present'.[107]

Presumably, these endless struggles in the college obliged Ilay to plan another royal commission of visitation to the university in a more determined way than that of the previous year. He appointed a commission which again consisted of heavyweights in the Argathelian interest, such as the Lord Advocate Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the Solicitor General Charles Erskine, and the future Lord Justice Clerk Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, as well as Ilay

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[105] *Analecta*, iii, 405.

[106] *Ibid.*, 429.

[107] NAS, MS16536, ff.72-73: Alexander Dunlop to Lord Milton. Glasgow, 5 July 1727.

himself.[108] Since by their visit in September, Principal Stirling had become very unwell and would obviously pass away soon, it was a good opportunity to tackle the issues that they believed enabled Stirling to control the college. By a decree issued on 18 September, they restored the right of students to vote in rectorial elections, regulated the conduct and recordkeeping of the faculty meetings in order to avoid abuses, established rules for the administration of the accounting and the collection of revenues, and laid down regulations about teaching.[109] This extensive list of new regulations and orders signified Ilay's determination to put an absolute end to the regime of Stirling and change the administration and government of the university thoroughly in order that he and his friends should control it. The regulation about the rectorial election, nevertheless, left a loophole which was utilised for factional purposes and caused further confusion in November 1727. They enfranchised the 'ungowned' students, who took, and paid for, not the regular degree course but simply those parts of it which they wished to study, but they did not specify a date for their matriculation.[110] Technically, therefore, many strangers could be brought to in the rectorial election as ungowned students, as long as they 'faithfully promise' to attend their classes and study for at least three months, as the regulations required.

The rectorial election in November 1727, on which the historian of the university, Coutts, has commented that 'There was a double return … under circumstances which are not now well known', was perhaps the most confused, disorderly, and intensely politicised one in the history of the University of Glasgow.[111] Principal Stirling died on 28 September, and, despite Montrose's effort to oppose it, it became evident by the end of October that the appointment of the new principal was in the hands of Ilay or the Duke of Argyll.[112] For the Argathelians, winning the chair of rector was vital to consolidate their dominance over the college, while for the Squadrone, having seen their interest decline but despite still enjoying a majority in the faculty meeting, it was vital to get their friend elected in order to stop the growing Argathelian ascendancy. The Argathelians sought the re-election of George Ross, the

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[108] Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, ii, 569.

[109] *Ibid.*, 569-581.

[110] *Ibid.*, ii, 571.

[111] Coutts, *History of the University of Glasgow*, 203-204.

[112] NAS, GD220/5/861/9: Montrose to Graham of Gorthie, 28 October 1727.

Master of Ross, and the Squadrone's candidate was James Hamilton of Aikenhead. It appears that both sides started their campaigns well before the election. According to a lengthy memorial by Charles Morthland, a Squadrone professor, the Argathelian professors bribed students with offers of money or threatened those students against them with expulsion. Just a few days before the election, they, with some students, even 'did ... with clubs and staves violently force themselves without knocking into a Room in a publick house where some gentlemen and students of Divinity were ... and tore papers lying upon a table before them'.[113] Actually this public house was where the Squadrone lairds, professors, and students were discussing their plan 'to find out the Boys ... for Aikenhead' and how to use their 'Interest with any of the Boys from our Countrey'.[114]

On the morning of 14 November, the day before the election, the Argathelian professors 'did matriculat a great many gown Scholars and several not gown Scohlars who had never been at the College before'.[115] This matriculation procedure was normally finished in the morning, but, according to the Argathelian professor, Alexander Dunlop, the Squadrone professors pretended that they 'had some scholars to maticulate, and so met in the afternoon'. Dunlop and others 'suspected they were plotting, and so went up to them; when betwixt 7 & 8 at night Mr Anderson brought in a prodigious member of towns people, merchants, shopkeepers, aprentices, boys at the writing schools, and others, among whom were three preachers, all desiring to be maticulate'.[116] Although Morthland regarded these men as 'sundry young gentlemen of the first Rank in town craving to be Matriculated',[117] Dunlop opposed their matriculation because he thought that they were 'people either who could not attend, or who were not capable of understanding what was taught'.[118] The Argathelian professors were heard crying out 'a Mob, a mob', and one of them 'treated them as Common theeves and pick pockets by saying in an insolent manner that neither the masters nor the book of the Library were in safety while such a gang of people were gathered in it'. After a while, at the request of all the professors, those outsiders withdrew without being matriculated. The professors afterwards

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[113] NAS, GD220/5/1066/10, 2-3: Charles Morthland to Graham of Gorthie, 22 December 1727.

[114] NAS, GD220/5/1050/10: John Graham to Gorthie, 13 November 1727.

[115] NAS, GD220/5/1066/10, 3-4: Charles Morthland to Graham of Gorthie, 22 December 1727.

[116] NLS, MS16536, ff.82-83: Alexander Dunlop to Lord Milton, 15 November 1727.

[117] NAS, GD220/5/1066/10, 4: Charles Morthland to Graham of Gorthie, 22 December 1727.

[118] NLS, MS16536, ff.82-83: Alexander Dunlop to Lord Milton, 15 November 1727.

discussed the problem, but did not reach any conclusion.[119] On 15 November, the day of rectorial election, the professors and the students assembled at the common hall and commenced the election procedures at ten in the morning. According to Morthland, however, Dunlop 'made very mutinous speech and Immediately after finishing it cryd out to the boys come all with me that are for the Master of Ross and then went off and without our notice carried of[f] ye Mace & one of our books'.[120] These dissenting professors and students elected the Master of Ross, while those remaining in the common hall chose James Hamilton of Aikenhead.[121] This led to a double return being made. After the election, both sides asserted the legitimacy of their election. On 23 November, a notice was put up on the college gate and church door, 'calling the Commitia ... for admitting the master of Ross to the office of Rector', but it was torn down by the order of Professor Carmichael, who was the vice principal and acted on behalf of principal during vacancy. The Squadrone side held a meeting next day in which Aikenhead took an oath and was admitted and accepted as rector, while Ross was also admitted by his friends.[122] The case was finally referred to the courts, which decided on 16 December in favour of Aikenhead.[123]

The 1727 rectorial election demonstrated the striking resilience of the Squadrone, whose influence in Glasgow was apparently declining after 1725. Their co-ordination with those outside the university and their mobilisation of considerable support from the middling sorts whom Dunlop called 'merchants supracargo's, preachers of the gospel, barbers, weavers'[124] suggests that they still retained support from the townspeople strong enough to outnumber the Argathelians. Their triumph was quite remarkable given the fact that, in October, their chief, the Duke of Montrose, had just decided not to interfere any more with the affairs of the university after his defeat in the appointment of the new principal.[125] This might even imply that their plot was organised and carried out without instructions from Montrose, whose lack of interest in this election is evident in his correspondence. The Squadrone as a coherent force

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[119] NAS, GD220/5/1066/10, 4-5: Charles Morthland to Graham of Gorthie, 22 December 1727.

[120] NAS, GD220/5/1066/3: Charles Morthland to Graham of Gorthie, 16 November 1727.

[121] NAS, GD220/5/1066/10, 6-7: Charles Morthland to Graham of Gorthie, 22 December 1727.

[122] *Ibid.*, 8-9.

[123] Emerson, *Academic patronage and the Scottish Enlightenment*, 88.

[124] NAS, GD220/5/1066/10, 5: Charles Morthland to Graham of Gorthie, 22 December 1727.

[125] NAS, GD220/5/861/9: Montrose to Gorthie, 28 October 1727.

certainly lost its presence and influence and remained debilitated at a national level until their return to brief prominence in 1742, but this resilience seems to suggest that, at the local level, they were still able to utilise their network of kinship and interest in an effective way and so pose a considerable threat to the Argathelians. In fact, although the Argathelian control became tighter after the installation of the new principal Neil Campbell in January 1728 and the Squadrone was afterwards defeated in the elections of the dean and the rector, this does not necessarily mean that the struggles between the two sides in the college came to an end. The partisan tension surfaced at every election and each appointment, and kept disturbing the university well into the 1730s.[126]

VI

The 1727 general election and the consolidation of Argathelian dominance

The Argathelians also met with rather surprising challenges at the parliamentary and municipal elections in 1727. At the general election, called after the death of George I, Walpole's government, which enjoyed a majority in the House of Commons, sought an increased majority. The prime minister entrusted the sole management of Scottish elections to Ilay. Ilay's candidate for the Glasgow district of burghs was Daniel Campbell of Shawfield. Although another Argathelian, Colin Campbell of Blythswood, declared his intention to be a candidate by August, he appears to have withdrawn and to have agreed to support Shawfield.[127] Shawfield was obviously an undesirable choice for Glasgow on account of his unpopularity and the growing anti-Argyll sentiments in the town after the Shawfield riots. The town council, although it was under the influence of Shawfield and the Argyll interest from September 1726, decided to support John Blackwood (*c*. 1698-1777), a London merchant, as their candidate.[128] Blackwood and his friends, many of whom were probably Squadrone sympathisers, appear to have campaigned so successfully that he gained support from Glasgow, Rutherglen, and Renfrew.[129]

Despite this strong support for Blackwood, however, the choice of the delegate for

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[126] Emerson, *Academic patronage and the Scottish Enlightenment*, 94-106.

[127] NLS, MS16535, f.114: Earl of Ilay to Lord Milton. London, 10 Aug 1727; NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. XVII, no.247, f.336: John Brown to Robert Wodrow, 9 September 1727.

[128] R.R. Sedgwick, 'Blackwood, John', in HoP, *Commons 1715-1754*, i, 465.

[129] NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. XVII, no.248, f.337: John Boyd to Robert Wodrow, 9 September 1727.

Dumbarton, the presiding burgh at this general election, led to a dispute. In early September, the town council of Dumbarton, in the absence of the provost, George Smollett of Bonhill (d. 1738), third son of Sir James Smollett (*c.* 1648–1731), received an order from William Colquhoun of Garscadden (d. 1759), deputy-sheriff of Dumbarton, to choose its delegate. The council members were summoned for that purpose, and some of them accordingly met, while others, including one James Duncanson, who had acted for some time as town clerk 'without any legal Commission, but by Connivance', absented themselves, 'knowing the Majority to be against' them. The assembled council members ordered Duncanson to attend, 'or that otherwise they would remove him from acting, and chuse another'. When he refused, the council members, by an act of the council, replaced Duncanson with David Hutchison. They then proceeded to the election of their delegate and 'unanimously made choice of *David Colquhon*'. At the same time, Provost Smollett, coming back to the town shortly afterwards, met with the dissenting councillors, including Duncanson, who chose Smollett as their delegate.[130] The Dumbarton council thus chose two different delegates for the coming general election, one supported by Provost George Smollett and his friends, the other by his opponents. This dispute was apparently part of the wider factional conflict between the Squadrone and Argathelians. The Colquhouns of Garscadden were closely associated with the family of Montrose since they had obtained land in Bonhill in the west of Dumbartonshire from the Earl of Montrose in the sixteenth century. Following his family tradition, William Colquhoun of Garscadden was a friend of Montrose and, two years later, married a daughter of James Peadie, a Squadrone provost of Glasgow.[131] On the other hand, the family of Smollett was known for its allegiance to the Argyll interest.[132] Clearly the Argathelians were on the weaker side. They secured only one vote for Shawfield from Renfrew, through Blythswood's interest, while the Squadrone had support for Blackwood from three towns. Apparently knowing that they were going to be outnumbered, Shawfield, with the help of Captain John Campbell of Carrick (d. 1745), son-in-law of John Campbell of Mamore, plotted to bring to Dumbarton 'all his friends &

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[130] *The case of John Blackwood, sitting Member for the boroughs of Dumbarton, Glasgow, Rutherglen, and Renfrew* ([London], 1728).

[131] Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Great Britain & Ireland* (1879), i, 348.

[132] HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, v, 515-517.

Customs house officers & [Carrick's] highlanders' to secure the tolbooth, where the election was to be held. Aware of Shawfield's plot, Blackwood and his friends in Glasgow asked Colquhoun of Garscadden to be present at the election 'to oversee the peace' as sheriff-depute.[133]

The election duly took place at Dumbarton on 9 September, and it was, as was expected, a troubled one. The town was, from the night before, 'filled with Numbers of Highlanders, arm'd with Broad Swords and Cudgels' who, headed by Provost George Smollett, assembled in front of the tolbooth in the morning. Smollett and his men refused to give the delegates access to the tolbooth, claiming that their conduct was 'for Freedom of Election'. While keeping the electors outside, they, together with Campbell of Blythswood, the delegate for Renfrew, entered the tolbooth, locked the doors from within, and proceeded to the election. The three other delegates from Glasgow, Rutherglen, and Dumbarton, left outside the tolbooth, protested against Smollett and voted for Blackwood.[134] Upon hearing this, Blythswood came alone out of the tolbooth and voted for nobody, saying that 'Smallet had broke his word to him, in assuring him that he would Vote for Shawfield' and that, despite his assurance to vote for Shawfield, he 'would vote for None but Col Jake Campbell, MaMores Son'.[135] Although it is hard to tell what had happened between Smollett and Blythswood and Smollett actually appears to have voted for Shawfield,[136] this gave Shawfield only one vote and Blackwood a decisive three, and his return was confirmed by the sheriff-depute Colquhoun of Garscadden.[137] Argathelians clearly understood 'the Game to be intirely lost',[138] but Shawfield employed a common tactic of petitioning to the House of Commons against the election result. Thanks to the influence of Argyll and Ilay upon the ministry, the seat was given to Shawfield.[139] Blackwood counter-petitioned against this decision, but no action was taken to support him.[140]

The 1727 election thus demonstrated that the Squadrone in the Glasgow region still

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133 NAS, GD220/5/1055/2: William Coquhoun of Garscadden to Mungo Graeme, 11 September 1727.

134 *CM*, 11 September 1727.

135 NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. XVII, no.247, f.336: John Brown to Robert Wodrow, 9 September 1727. What made Blythswood change his mind is not clear, and Shawfield did not appear to have known his intention. NLS, MS16535, f.170: John Campbell to Lord Milton, 13 September 1727.

136 *Case of John Blackwood, sitting Member for the boroughs of Dumbarton, Glasgow, Rutherglen, and Renfrew*.

137 HoP, *Commons 1715-1754*, ii, 399-400.

138 NLS, MS16535, f.170: John Campbell to Lord Milton, 13 September 1727.

139 NLS, MS16538, ff.30-31: Earl of Ilay to Lord Milton. London, 20 January 1728.

140 HoP, *Commons 1715-1754*, ii, 399-400.

tenaciously maintained sufficient strength to pose a serious challenge to the Argathelians. The Squadrone also managed to regain control over the council. At the election of council members in October, there was a considerable struggle over the choice of magistrates. A group called 'the young folk', who were remnants of the Revolutioners and who, this time, 'pretended to be neither for Shaufeild, though they are said to be for him, nor for the Squadrone' were 'very near to cary their point', but the Squadrone supporters such as James Peadie, Walter Stirling, and John Stark managed to purge the young folk from the council. The Squadrone supporters chose Peadie as the new provost, who had recently been very active to promote Squadrone interest in the town. As a result, the council 'is pretty much nou reformed, and these who are reconed Squad[rone], and against Shaufeild, cary all before them'.[141] The Dumbarton council was also sharply divided, producing two sets of opposing magistrates and councils at the 1727 elections. The one side was headed by Smollett, obviously under the influence of the Argathelians, while the other side including David Colquhoun, who had been chosen by the Squadrone supporters as town clerk during the dispute over the delegate's election in the previous month.[142] The anti-Shawfield, or anti-Argyll feelings were persistent in the next year as well. At the Glasgow council elections in early October, it appears that little change was made and that the Squadrone also maintained their control over the magistrates or, at least, kept Argathelian interest in check. Although the political affiliation of the new provost, John Stirling (1677-1736), was thought to be unclear, his provostship owed a lot to his brother Walter, who 'seems pretty firme against Shaufeild and that side'.[143] Upon the celebration of George II's birthday in October, when the case of Shawfield's controversial election was still being appealed by John Blackwood, the Glasgow provost, Stirling, drank the health of Blackwood, signifying the magistrates' support for Blackwood.[144]

Despite all these Squadrone successes in the localities, however, the Argathelian influence, entrenched in institutions at a national level, was strong and effective enough to change the political tide and make the urban leaders yield to their control. The Argathelians in

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[141] *Analecta*, iii, 448-449.

[142] *Ibid.*, 448; George Smollet, *George Smollet Provost of the Burgh of Dumbarton, James Duncanson and Humphry Collquhonn Baillies of the said Burgh; Giles Mitchel Dean of Guild, ...* ([London], [1730]).

[143] *Analecta.*, iv, 15.

[144] NAS, GD220/5/1081/30: Charles Morthland to Mungo Graeme of Gorthie, 6 November 1728.

Edinburgh started to put financial pressure on Glasgow as a sort of retribution for the 1727 general election. Through their management of the convention of royal burghs, an increase was made in 1728 on Glasgow's proportion of the cess, with those of Rutherglen and Renfrew, who all voted against Shawfield at the 1727 general election. This augmentation increased the financial burden of the city, as the cess by the former rate already amounted to over 20 per cent of the town's annual revenues.[145] The increase in cess would put the town in a more difficult financial position, given that the loss of tobacco trade since 1725 had not yet been restored. Probably feeling unable to cope with this burden, the council apparently decided to show deference to the Argyll family in order to reduce the financial pressure. Fortunately, there was a rumour that Argyll and Shawfield had quarrelled.[146] The magistrates set up a meeting with Argyll in 1729 on his visit to the town in order to solicit his support. They had 'a long conversation' with Argyll, in which the magistrates managed to convince Argyll of their innocence by stressing that their antagonism was not directed to the family of Argyll, but just to Campbell of Shawfield.[147] Argyll listened to the magistrates' grievances and received a memorial relating to them. He promised to take care of the memorial and handed it to Ilay, who later assured Provost Stirling of his assistance in securing redress.[148] Reaching an accommodation with Argyll, the magistrates and council returned the favour. At the municipal election in 1729, although the Dumbarton council remained split into two groups, there was little struggle for control at Glasgow, as, according to Wodrow, 'Ther was no talk about them [the magistrates] nor Clubs that we heard of'.[149] Provost Stirling appears to have had much control of it, and those brought into the council, including the old Argathelian John Aird, 'are weel wishers to that Noble family'.[150] The Glasgow council again chose to accept the Argyll family as its patron.

These challenges against the Argyll interest thus resulted in the further strengthening of the Argathelian control over Glasgow. Opponents of the Argyll family certainly maintained influence in the locality and managed, sometimes even without instructions from their leaders,

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[145] *GBR*, 637-648.

[146] *Analecta*, iv, 68.

[147] *Ibid.*, 74.

[148] *Ibid.*, 75.

[149] *Ibid.*, 81.

[150] NLS, MS16541, ff.194-195: Magistrates of Glasgow to Milton, 6 October 1729.

to cause serious trouble to Shawfield and Argathelian agents, but they yielded to pressures created by the Argathelian managers' skilful employment of ministerial connections as well as influence on key institutions of national importance. Lacking any effective means of getting rid of financial and administrative burdens imposed upon them, the only thing the urban leaders could do was to come to terms with the Argathelian control and to seek remedies through that interest. At the same time, Shawfield's break with Argyll and his gradual withdrawal from Glasgow's affairs after 1725 helped the two sides to reach more amicable relations. Despite this demonstration of deference by the urban leaders, however, the anti-Shawfield/Argyll feelings were not entirely suppressed, especially among the middling and lower ranks. The *Caledonian Mercury* reported that, when the news of Blackwood's success at the 1727 general election at Dumbarton arrived at Glasgow, 'there were publick Rejoicings, by ringing of Bells, and other Demonstrations of Joy', indicating widespread support for Blackwood.[151] In April 1728, the townspeople reacted to the House of Commons' decision to give the seat to Shawfield with indignation. There was 'a great Stir and Confusion in that City',[152] and the furious crowd nearly attacked 'Some of ye officers of ye Reg[imen]t with a piper [who] went through some parts of ye streets crying huzza Sh[awfiel]d'.[153] When the officers stopped in front of Provost Peadie's house and uttered 'very rude & abusive expressions against ye town & people in it' such as 'Up with the Campbells, and doun with the Grahames' and 'Damnation to Glasgou', the crowd attacked one of the officers and broke the bagpipe. The disturbance was about to grow, but the magistrates, with the help of a captain of the guard, managed to pacify the crowd and disperse it.[154] Support for opponents of the Argyll interest was evident and strong within institutional politics too. At the council elections at Glasgow and Dumbarton in 1727 and 1728, the groups against Shawfield or the Argathelians gained much stronger support than the others. At Dumbarton, for instance, in a meeting of the deacons and burgesses held just after the 1727 election to discuss which group to support, while only eight or nine supported the set of Argathelian council headed by Smollett, 'upwards of one hundred' supported the other.[155] At

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[151] *CM*, 11 September 1727.

[152] *CM*, 9 April 1728.

[153] NAS, GD220/5/1081/13: Charles Morthland to Mungo Graeme of Gorthie, 5 April 1728.

[154] *Ibid.*; *Analecta*, iii, 495.

[155] *Ibid.*, 448.

Glasgow's council elections in 1728, Peadie was chosen provost 'by a great majority, but mostly of the trades, rather than merchants'.[156]

Conclusion

Glasgow in this period thus experienced intense party struggles between the interests of the Duke of Montrose and the Argathelians, with the eventual fall of Montrose and the triumph of the friends and supporters of the Argyll family. The conflict was directly linked and influenced by the course of the national politics, especially the power struggles in Westminster. The division it created, however, ran so deep in local society that issues relating to the appointment of offices and the distribution of patronage caused disputes in less obviously political, secular and religious institutions in the town. These political disputes in the council, church, and university had strong politicising effects upon the townspeople, who occasionally, though sporadically, became involved in the conflict between the two factions. The implications of these political conflicts were thus greater than has sometimes been maintained. The social implication of the factional conflict was important as well. Although the friends of Argyll managed to curtail Montrose's interest and to pave the way for their later control and dominance of the politics of the burgh, Daniel Campbell's mismanagement over customs reform grew increasingly unpopular among the townspeople. This illustrates how much impact politics had upon the economic condition of the town and also how much the town's economic condition influenced the townspeople's political attitudes and actions. Although politics became remote from the viewpoint of ordinary people, they had already formulated their own sense and understanding of how politics worked, where decisions were made, and who to blame when things did not go well. In the late 1720s, it was the Argyll family that was believed to be responsible for the downturn in Glasgow's economy.

These anti-Argyll tendencies among the tradesmen or the middling and lower sorts were rapidly developing in the post-1725 politics in and around Glasgow. It was among these groups of people that the independent-minded urban leaders found stronger support in the 1730s, when the Argathelian control through management and patronage became more pervasive and deeply entrenched in Scottish society.

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[156] *Ibid.*

Chapter Three

'Dignity of the first town in Scotland for trade and industry': the politics of urban pride and patriotism, *c.* 1730- *c.* 1760

Introduction

If Scottish politics between the Union and 1725 is characterised by party struggles between the Squadrone and the Argathelians, the period from 1725 until the end of the 1750s was an era of political dominance and monopolisation by the latter. In this period, with the fall of the rival Squadrone, the friends of the Argyll family virtually monopolised patronage and also controlled important legal and administrative institutions in Edinburgh. Argyll and Ilay could make use of their family connections as the chief of the clan Campbell and also had family ties with numerous other peers in Scotland. All of these clans and families connected to them had control over politics in the localities, enabling the Campbell brothers to exercise extensive influence over Scottish politics. As John Stuart Shaw has pointed out, this was indeed 'the era of the monopolists, Argyll and his brother Ilay'.[1]

In fact, however, it can be slightly misleading to think of the Argyll interest as united in the late 1730s and early 1740s on account of the difference between Argyll and Ilay. Argyll had an enmity towards Walpole and went into opposition on account of the ministry's harsh treatment of the Edinburgh authorities in the aftermath of the Porteous riots in 1736. He then led the opposition in Scotland and defeated Walpole there in the general election of 1741, the first and only electoral loss by the London government in Scotland in the eighteenth century. Ilay, on the other hand, remained loyal to Walpole and kept harmonious relations with him throughout this period. When Walpole fell from power in 1742, Ilay followed him and went into brief political eclipse. The new ministry appointed John Hay, fourth Marquess of Tweeddale (1695–1762), as the third Secretary of State, and, with him, the Squadrone came back to power. The Squadrone's prominence did not last long, however. Tweeddale was unable to manage Scottish affairs during the Jacobite risings in 1745 and he eventually resigned the secretaryship in January 1746. Afterwards, Ilay, who by then became the third Duke of Argyll on account of

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[1] John Stewart Shaw, *The management of Scottish society 1707-1764: power, nobles, lawyers, Edinburgh agents and English influences* (Edinburgh, 1983), Chapter 3; *idem., The political history of eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999), 63.

his brother's death in 1743, quickly resumed his role as the political manager of Scotland.[2] Ilay's position as Scotland's manager was affected neither by this brief hiatus nor by the Jacobite rebellion. His political enemies, the Squadrone and the Jacobites, were so diminished that they failed to pose any serious challenge against his dominance in Scottish politics. His management system was buttressed by his wealth and influence, deriving from his newly acquired vast dukedom, while his connection with the ministry enabled him to act as the sole distributor of patronage. In fact, his influence became so strong by 1750 that some English ministers attempted to limit Ilay's influence and even to manage Scotland without him, but to no effect. So powerful and dominant was he that he was called with some bitterness the 'vice roy in Scotland'.[3]

Ilay generally controlled the urban politics of Glasgow in this period as well. Despite their attempts to get rid of the Argyll interest and maintain independence from the party conflict in the 1720s, the urban elite decided to come to terms with, and solicit favours from, the Argathelians from around 1730. Although 'their sincerity' was much doubted by the Argathelian managers at first,[4] they eventually established amicable relations with Argyll and Ilay. The two brothers exercised their influence to help the town council secure parliamentary legislation, and their assistance was rewarded by the urban elite's efforts to maintain the Argyll interest in the Glasgow region. Between 1730 and 1760, the Glasgow council elected magistrates and formed councils basically in favour of the Argathelian interest, and the three MPs for the Glasgow district of burghs chosen in five general and by elections were all closely related to the Campbells.[5] The Glasgow elite were also keen to express their deference towards the Campbell brothers. In 1736, for instance, the Duke of Argyll was acknowledged in John M'Ure's first published history of Glasgow as 'the undoubted Patron of our City'.[6] In 1749, the Glasgow magistrates commissioned Allan Ramsay (1684–1758) to paint a portrait of Ilay, which turned

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[2] Shaw, *The management of Scottish society*, Chapters 3 and 5.

[3] J.M. Simpson, 'Who steered the gravy train, 1707-1766?', in N.T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison (eds), *Scotland in the age of improvement* (Edinburgh, 1970), 47-72; Alexander Murdoch, *'The people above': politics and administration in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980), Chapter 2; Shaw, *The management of Scottish society*, Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

[4] NLS, MS16533, f.107v: Copy of Milton to Ilay, [n.d., but between 28 July 1726 and 2 August 1726].

[5] HoP, *Commons 1715-1754*, i, 399-400.

[6] John M'Ure, *A view of the city of Glasgow: or, an account of its origin, rise and progress, with a more particular description thereof than has hitherto been known. ... By John McUre alias Campbel, ... Glasgow, 1736.* (Glasgow, 1736), 'Dedication'.

out to be one of the most striking and dramatic portraits of him.

Below the surface of this deference, however, the politics in the burgh was not as stable as it appeared. There were more political struggles over municipal and parliamentary elections than have hitherto been recognised, and these struggles were caused by some of the urban elite who sought independence from Ilay's management. This inclination towards independence was, as shall be examined, closely related to the considerable social and economic changes that Glasgow witnessed in this period. According to Dr Alexander Webster's enumeration in 1755, the population of the city, including the Barony, Govan, and Gorbals parishes in the suburbs, was about 32,000, having almost doubled since the 1720s. It was also a period of rapid expansion of the tobacco trade, as well as the emergence of a closely-knit, wealthy, and powerful group of merchants. This merchant community led the economic activities of the town and also controlled urban politics. This period also saw a remarkable growth of the textile industry in Glasgow and its surrounding areas, the linen industry in particular, which led to the growth of weaving communities. Moreover, this was a period of unprecedented divisions in the Church of Scotland. The ministers were sharply divided over the right of lay patronage established by the 1712 Act that restored patronage in Scotland, and this division gave rise to the Secession in 1733 by Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine and other concurring ministers, who were against lay patronage and who formed the Associate Presbytery.[7] This religious division over lay patronage was evident in Glasgow as well. Around 1730, Glasgow was at the dawn of the age of Enlightenment, with its iconic leader Francis Hutchison gaining an international reputation through his works on moral philosophy. Hutchison believed in the right of lay patronage, and his belief was influential among the urban elite and academic circles in Glasgow. Since Glasgow and the west of Scotland formed the hotbed of Calvinist orthodoxy and Covenanting traditions, however, Hutchison's moderate and liberal views on religion inevitably faced hostile reactions and caused a number of disputes over the settlement of ministers.

While an image of political stability in Scottish politics has been generally accepted, Glasgow and the west experienced significant social, economic, and religious changes in this period. Although much has been written about these changes, however, historians tend to look

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7 William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the present* (Edinburgh, 1968), 121.

at each aspect from the national Scottish viewpoint, failing to analyse the particular local context and backgrounds of these changes and to consider their political implications. The local socio-economic context was especially important in Glasgow and the west, where in the mid-eighteenth century a most dramatic social transformation in Scotland took place. This chapter aims to consider how and to what extent these changes had an impact upon the urban and popular politics by examining political struggles in municipal and parliamentary elections, the detail of which has not hitherto been fully revealed. As shall be shown below, one of the striking features of Glaswegian politics in this period was its assertion of independence based on and backed up by urban pride in this thriving centre of trade and manufacture. This inclination towards independence was significantly inspired by the political ideas of the opposition Whigs and the Country 'patriots'. One of the most important patriot-oriented urban leaders was Andrew Cochrane (1692/3–1777), a powerful and wealthy merchant engaged deeply in manufacturing, banking, and the Atlantic trade. While his role as a promoter and patron of the Glasgow Enlightenment and his conduct during the Jacobite rebellion and its aftermath are well known,[8] this chapter examines his activities as a leading politician on the council and also reveals his strikingly patriotic political principles.

I

Politics and the socio-economic changes

The period under consideration was known as the beginning and heyday of the golden age of the tobacco trade in Glasgow, and the elite merchants engaged in the trade were commonly called 'Virginia merchants' or 'the tobacco lords'. It was also a period in which, despite the accepted understanding of stability in politics, a series of struggles over the control of the town occurred, and these struggles were caused by attempts by some of the leading merchant-politicians to seek independence from the Argyll interest. Although much has been researched on the nature, size, and extent of their community and their economic activities,[9] their politics has attracted hardly any attention from historians. As long as almost all of these leading figures on the town council were from the merchant class, it is reasonable to suppose

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8 Alastair J. Durie, 'Cochrane, Andrew (1692/3–1777)', *Oxford DNB*.

9 T.M. Devine, *The tobacco lords: A study of the tobacco merchants of Glasgow and their trading activities, 1740-1790* (Edinburgh, 1975).

that there were overlapping elements in the former and the latter.

Glaswegians' tendency for independence was not an entirely new phenomenon. While there were, among the elite merchant-politicians, friends of the Dukes of Montrose and Argyll who happily cooperated with these noblemen and maintained their interests in the town, many of them held the belief that it was they, not the powerful landowners, who should choose their parliamentary representatives, and some of them, most notably the Revolutioners, had on occasion attempted to dissociate themselves from the party struggles between the Squadrone and the Argathelians in the late 1720s, as has been shown in the previous chapter. What was novel about the independent tendency in this period is the rhetoric with which the merchant-politicians expressed their independence and their urban pride upon which they believed their independence was based. While their rhetoric of independence in the preceding decades was primarily related to their attachment and contribution to the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian Succession, in this period it apparently came more from their growing sense of pride as the centre of commerce and manufacture in Scotland.

The development of Glasgow's economic activities, the tobacco trade in particular, considerably changed the size and nature of the merchant community. The tobacco trade had steadily grown after the Union, but it suddenly stagnated in the late 1720s due to bad crops in Chesapeake and structural changes of the transatlantic trade. This stagnation affected the Glasgow merchants so severely that only wealthier merchants survived it. As a result, the merchant community in the 1730s became smaller, stronger, and more viable than in the 1720s.[10] Interestingly, this coincided with the process by which political groupings in the town council started to be referred to not by the names of political parties, but by familial terms such as the Stirlings and the Buchanans.[11] The provosts and magistrates in this period came from families such as Bogle, Buchanan, Murdoch, and Stirling, all of whom were merchant-capitalists organising a wide range of industrial, commercial, and financial activities and all were also inseparably connected to each other through business partnerships and marital ties.[12] It is possible that this concentration of power, wealth, and influence in the hands

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[10] Jacob M. Price, 'Glasgow, the tobacco trade and the Scottish customs, 1707-1730: some commercial, administrative and political implications of the Union', *SHR*, 63-175 (1984), 35-36.

[11] *Analecta*, iv, 177; NLS, MS16549, f.198r: Alexander Finlayson to Milton, 29 September 1732.

[12] J.R. Anderson and James Gourlay, *The provosts of Glasgow from 1609 to 1832* (Glasgow, 1942), 55-77.

of a few elite merchant-politicians gave them a stronger identity and self-recognition as the leaders of the urban community, and this development appears to have been expressed with a new rhetoric and sense of pride in and independence of Glasgow as a centre of trade and manufacture.

The merchant-politicians' inclination towards independence was also related to their intention to promote, through their representative, parliamentary legislation in order to obtain financial and legal support for their economic activities. The scale of Glasgow's tobacco trade was rapidly expanding throughout this period. While in 1722 tobacco imported into Scotland was valued at around six million pounds, this figure more than quintupled by 1760, reaching thirty-two million. In 1758, Scottish tobacco imports were greater for the first time than those of London and all the English ports combined, and Glasgow merchants dealt with more than 90 per cent of all Scottish tobacco trade during this period. The rapid expansion of Glasgow's tobacco trade was inextricably linked with the development of commercial activities. Glasgow's merchants dealt in European goods such as textiles and luxuries and exported them to American markets in exchange for tobacco. They established trade contacts with Germany and Russia and through the Caribbean islands to South America. With the development of trade and commerce, facilities and organisations to support economic activity needed to be improved or newly established. The ports at Greenock and Port Glasgow had to be expanded, and the river Clyde to be widened and deepened. Wider roads and bridges were needed for easier and faster transportation, so were banks for more secure finance and credit management. In order to make these improvements and establishments occur, what was necessary for the elite merchants was the parliamentary legislation. It is therefore not surprising that they attempted to have their own representative in Parliament to promote, without interference from Argathelian political managers, the interest of Glasgow's merchant community.

Glasgow's economic progress also had a considerable impact upon the tradesmen and the artisans engaged in manufactures. The predominant section of the economy in areas surrounding Glasgow had previously been agriculture, but, early in the eighteenth century, Glasgow merchants started introducing manufacturing industries. Wodrow noted that in 1725 there emerged 'a very great inclination throu the country to improve our oun manufactory, and

especially linning and hemp'.[13] This atmosphere for encouraging manufactures was bolstered by the establishment in 1727 of the Board of Trustees for Improving Fisheries and Manufacture, which encouraged varieties of Scottish industries, particularly linen. The Glasgow Linen Society, or the Society of Linen Dealers, was also formed around this time, and in the 1730s it worked as an organ of the Board of Trustees. Thread making was brought to Glasgow in 1731 and, by the mid-1730s, Glasgow's check handkerchief was known to be superior to that of Manchester, from which Glasgow's handkerchief making was originally introduced.[14] Glasgow authorities were keen to improve the quality of products and to support the development of the linen industry. The council set up a public spinning school with the help of the Board of Trustees and also introduced penalties for those who undermined the high standard of Glasgow handkerchief and other superior linens. In the following two decades, while economic growth in Scotland was relatively slow, the western counties' share of national production rose from a fifth to a quarter of the total volume, and a fifth to a third of the total value. Production of chequered handkerchiefs rose threefold between 1730 and 1745 and, in Glasgow, it was 'a considerable branch of the trade … and a great many of the poor are employed thereby'.[15]

The growth of the textile industry inevitably increased the number of spinners and weavers, and numerous weaving communities emerged in and around Glasgow. Weaving was brought into Cambuslang in Lanarkshire in about 1730 and, a decade later, employed several dozen households. Kilbarchan in Renfrew had its first weaving industry in 1739, and the Spiers family in Glasgow introduced the manufacture of lawns and cambric in 1742. The village of Anderston near Glasgow, having been no more than a rural settlement in the mid-1720s, developed into a lively weaving community by 1738, when its weavers' society was founded, and it became one of the most bustling centres for weaving on Glasgow's outskirts by the end of this period.[16] These weavers were much in demand and in general better paid than men engaged in agriculture.[17] In towns, the incorporations of weavers retained some importance, and

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[13] *Analecta*, iii, 319.

[14] Andrew Brown, *History of Glasgow; and of Paisley, Greenock, and Port-Glasgow; comprehending the ecclesiastical and civil history of these places …* (Glasgow, 1792), 142.

[15] A.J. Durie, *The Scottish linen industry in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh, 1979), 22-23; Gordon Jackson, 'Glasgow in transition, *c.* 1660 to *c.* 1740', in T.M Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds), *Glasgow: volume I: beginnings to 1830* (Manchester, 1995), 82.

[16] *OSA*, v, 258; xv, 503; Elspeth King, *The strike of the Glasgow weavers 1787* (Glasgow, 1987), 11.

[17] *OSA*., xv, 503

membership was necessary to practise the trade. In larger towns such as Glasgow, however, the weavers' incorporations started to have trouble in regulating the trade on account of a sudden influx of new labourers in weaving. Glasgow weavers' incorporation complained in 1734 to the convention of royal burghs that the rights and privileges of their freemen weavers were under threat by competition from those tradesmen who started the trade without a legitimate licence until 1751, when membership of an incorporation became unnecessary for weavers. [18] Presumably, these kinds of issues relating to the need for a licence, as well as harsh competition, made new weavers in the Glasgow outskirts keen to unite and found their own charitable and fraternal societies. Weavers' societies were formed in such places around Glasgow as Calton in 1725, Anderston in 1738, Pollockshaws in 1749, and Govan in 1756.[19]

At the same time, it has been argued that the weavers in this region were highly literate and keen to jointly subscribe popular religious tracts, with a great interest in orthodox Calvinist publications.[20] Ned Landsman has argued that the weavers in Cambuslang were not only highly literate, but also active and confident, taking a leading role in the religious revival in 1742. He has demonstrated that the driving force of the revival was not so much the minister of the parish, William McCulloch, as lay leaders of the congregation and their family members, many of whom were from the weaving community. It was these active weavers that initiated the revival, counselled the converts, organised prayer meetings, and encouraged members of the congregation to read the Bible, not simply to follow the minister.[21] The Cambuslang revival also affected many places in the Glasgow outskirts such as Bothwell, East Kilbryde, Kirkintilloch, and Kilsyth, all of them burgeoning weaving towns and villages. This is interesting when compared with other places in Scotland in which the revival took place, such as Muthil in Perthshire, Nigg in Aberdeenshire, and Golspy in Sutherland. None of these towns had any weaving communities, and their local economy depended heavily upon agriculture and fishing, with many of the inhabitants being day labourers.[22] This indicates that the revival in

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[18] Durie, *The Scottish linen industry*, 44.

[19] King, *The strike of the Glasgow weavers*, 11.

[20] Peter Laslett, 'Scottish weavers, cobblers and miners who bought books in the 1750's', *Local Population Studies* 3 (1969), 7-15.

[21] Ned C. Landsman, 'Evangelists and their hearers: popular interpretation of revivalist preaching in eighteenth-century Scotland', *Journal of British Studies*, 28 (1989), 120-149.

[22] Arther Fawcett, *The Cambuslang revival: the Scottish evangelical revival of the eighteenth century* (London, 1971), Chapter 8.

the west of Scotland had its own distinctiveness that the weaving communities were actively involved, and this involvement of weaving communities was one of the results of the structural changes in the society and economy of Glasgow from the 1730s.

The emergence and growing number of the tradesmen and artisans had a significant impact upon the development of the urban politics in Glasgow in this period. Although most of these tradesmen were still excluded from formal political processes, it was in this period that the trades house of Glasgow, as well as the incorporations of the trades, began to express their own sentiments and opinions and acted on their own behalf in the urban politics as representative bodies of the tradesmen. As shall be demonstrated later in this chapter, their sense of independence as well as their choice and use of political language were very similar to those in the national discourse used by the opposition and patriot politicians. A similar growth of tradesmen's presence in urban politics was observed in Edinburgh in the same period as well.[23] There appears to have been some differences in the language used by tradesmen in Glasgow and Edinburgh, however. While the political words and expressions of Edinburgh tradesmen were mostly devoted to attacks on bribery, the abuse of rights and privileges, and corruption, those of their Glasgow counterparts placed greater emphasis on the pride and dignity of a town renowned for trade and manufacture. The politics of Glasgow in this period was thus inextricably linked to its economic development and cannot be properly explained or understood without taking the economic development into account.

II

Politics and church patronage in the early 1730s

Despite the fall of the Squadrone and their coming to terms with the urban elite, the Argathelians in Glasgow were not always successful in maintaining control over the council at municipal elections in the early 1730s because of challenges from other groups and factions led by leading merchants who sought independence. Their failure can partly be explained by the fact that they no longer had useful agents. For instance, John Aird, who had been an influential

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[23] R.A. Houston, 'Popular politics in the reign of George II: the Edinburgh cordiners', *SHR*, 72 (1993), 167-189.

Argathelian politician in Glasgow, died in April 1730.[24] Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, the most powerful Argathelian in Glasgow, after purchasing an extensive estate on the Isle of Ilay from the financial compensation granted by Parliament for his losses during the Shawfield riots, showed much less interest in urban affairs than before.[25] Lacking leading figures, the Argathelian friends in Glasgow failed to unite to form a distinct political interest. Although a few merchants and especially those from the Bogles and Buchanans were loyal to the Argyll family, they proved not to be so powerful nor so influential as Shawfield and Aird had been. Although the Montrose interest became increasingly weak, the Argathelians could not take advantage of the situation, and Glasgow urban politics in this period were still divided between the interests of several influential external figures and some of the local families.

At the beginning of this period, John Stark, a former Revolutioner, and his party was able to secure a majority on the council at municipal elections. They controlled the election in 1731 so effectively that the other two parties, one of which was led by John Stirling, who 'has not been popu[lar]' and 'has been reconed to bring in the toun to the family of Argyle', and the other which was made up of the pro-Argathelian Buchanans could not even oppose the Stark dominance.[26] Stark formed a temporary coalition with Stirling's party, which wanted to weaken the Buchanans, and made it secure to have the choice of the magistrates and council for the next year.[27] At the next year's election, it was expected that Stark's and Stirling's parties would 'have it in their power to Make the Election at this time As they please',[28] but a new, third party emerged and carried the election to its advantage. This party ousted Stark's and Stirling's friends from the council and elected Hugh Rodger the provost and George Bogle and George Buchanan, both of whom were against Stark and Stirling, the baillies. Lord Milton was told that this result was 'Agreeable to Your Lordship', and the *Caledonian Mercury* reported that it was 'to the universal Satisfaction of all the Inhabitants', which was probably because of the unpopularity of John Stirling.[29]

Stirling's unpopularity was probably the result of his exercise of power as provost

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24 Anderson and Gourlay (eds), *The provosts of Glasgow*, 46.

25 T.F. Henderson, 'Campbell, Daniel (1671/2–1753)', rev. D.W. Hayton, *Oxford DNB*.

26 *Analecta*, iv, 177.

27 *Ibid.*, 287.

28 NLS, MS16549, f.198r: Alexander Finlayson to Milton, 29 September 1732.

29 *Ibid.*, f.200r: the same to the same., 4 October 1732; *CM*, 5 October 1732.

over a church settlement in Glasgow. The Tron church became vacant in 1729 by the removal of William Wishart to the Scots' church in London. Its patron was the magistrates and council, who 'assume the real Patronage in Touns'.[30] The magistrates, as patron, seem to have been against the popular call of ministers, and 'the people have but very little share nou in setlments'.[31] In fact, Wishart's settlement in 1724 itself was made without the consent of the congregation. Upon this vacancy, however, the congregation wished to call one Andrew Gray, son of John Gray, pro-Squadrone minister of Wynd church.[32] Although Gray was supported by ministers in Glasgow and many heads of families in the parish, the magistrates, John Stirling in particular, were against Gray and in favour of John Anderson, Argathelian minister of Port Glasgow.[33] They 'ordered matters so as ther was no difficulty in the particular Session, or in the Quearter, and all went pretty smooth' against the will of the congregations.[34] Anderson was accordingly translated from Port Glasgow and admitted to the Tron church in October 1730.[35] Anderson's settlement to the Tron was obviously politically motivated because Stirling's connection with the Argyll interest was well known in the town, and the ministers he brought in were 'suspected to be on that side, and not very pleasing to the toun'.[36]

Moreover, Anderson's translation made vacant the parish of Port Glasgow, of which the town council of Glasgow were also the patron, and this caused a serious dispute over its settlement between the patron and the parish. In February 1731, four months after the translation of Anderson, the magistrates of Renfrew recommended to Milton one William Pollock to the vacancy and asked him to use his influence with the magistrates of Glasgow.[37] In March, however, it turned out that Pollock's 'Interest in New Port Glasgow will not run so high as that of some other Candidates', one of whom was William Moody, governor to the children of John Boyle, the second child of the Earl of Glasgow, and the other David Brown, who 'hath an inviolable connexion w[i]t[h] a party here, that sett themselves in a Constant opposition' to the

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[30] *Analecta*, iii, 163-164.

[31] *Ibid*.

[32] *Ibid*., iv, 166; *Fasti*, 432.

[33] *Ibid*., 218.

[34] *Analecta*, iv, 166.

[35] *Fasti*, 356, 475.

[36] *Analecta*, iv, 177.

[37] NLS, MS16547, f.60r: Magistrates of Renfrew to Milton, [n.d.] February 1731.

Argyll family.[38] Robert Paton, minister of Renfrew, asked Milton to tell Stirling and the magistrates of Glasgow to support Moody because the council were 'divided between Mr Moody & Mr Broun'.[39] Paton viewed this dispute in terms of a party conflict, believing that Brown's settlement was 'projected, Carried on, & push'd w[i]t[h] all Art, by those who upon all Occasions would oppose' the Argathelians and also that Brown was strongly connected with the Earl of Dundonald.[40]

What Paton believed might be true, given the fact that Thomas Cochrane, sixth Earl of Dundonald (1702-1737), had been very active in promoting and expanding his interest against the Argyll family after being granted a charter under the Great Seal of his lands in the west of Scotland in 1727.[41] An account by Robert Wodrow, however, indicates that there was a rather different background to this dispute. When John Anderson, former minister of Port Glasgow, was translated to the Tron church, the people of Port Glasgow were unwilling to part with him. Anderson himself was indecisive. Although the magistrates of Glasgow wanted Anderson to be settled in the Tron, they were told by the congregation of Port Glasgow that 'if they did transport their Minister they would appeal, and carry the matter to all the higher Judicatorys'. Realising how strong the opposition was, John Stirling and Alexander Finlayson, the town clerk, sought a compromise by giving the heritors and elders of Port Glasgow 'the strongest assurances in name of the toun of Glasgow' that, if the congregation let Anderson go, they would give them 'free choice of another Minister'.[42] This proposal was accepted by the congregation, and Anderson was duly translated to the Tron church. The assurances made by the magistrates, however, were not kept. When the congregation chose Brown as next minister of Port Glasgow and, 'upon the faith of that promise', asked for the consent of the magistrates of Glasgow, Stirling refused to accept it as 'as a hainous insult upon the toun, who wer Patrons, and had the sole pouer … of calling and presenting'.[43] The case was referred to the synod, where the Glasgow magistrates affirmed to the presbytery that Brown would be settled if 'a little

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[38] *Ibid.*, f.18r-v: Robert Paton to Milton. Renfrew, 8 March 1731; *Scots Peerage*, iv, 206. 158,

[39] NLS, MS16547, f.18r-v: Robert Paton to Milton, 8 March 1731.

[40] *Ibid.*, ff.20r-21r: Robert Paton to Milton, 7 April 1731.

[41] *Scots Peerage*, iii, 356-357. He was believed to be a Jacobite. He had already been in conflict with the Argathelians over settlement of the parish of Renfrew in 1728. See NAS, GD220/5/1081/28: Charles Morthland to Gorthie, 21 September 1728.

[42] *Analecta*, iv, 229.

[43] *Ibid.*, 229-230.

forbearance wer used', because the majority of the town council supported him. Despite this affirmation, however, they asked Milton to recommend Moody to the council by a letter which would signify that he and his friends above were in favour of Moody, which Milton did.[44] Stirling and his partisans told the council that they 'behoved not to disoblidge their [Argyll's] freinds, considering they had the *subpoenas*, and the neu grant of the two pennies of the pint to carry throu in the year 1733; and, by all means, they must be for Mr Moody, Argyle's and Milton's man'.[45] This was opposed by some of the councillors, Hugh Rodger in particular, who insisted on the validity of the promise made to Port Glasgow. The council, however, on a division in which Moody had twenty-four votes and Brown nine, decided to give in a presentation for Moody to the presbytery, which they accordingly did.[46] At the presbytery meeting in May, while Stirling and Finlayson claimed that they were the sole callers, the people of Port Glasgow insisted for Brown and desired one might be sent to try the inclinations of the people, which was duly done. At the meeting in June it was reported that:

> All the feuers, all the Elders, and heads of familys, to the number of two hundred and seventy, or thereby, declared for Mr David Broun. There wer many of them weemen, which was neu, about forty or fifty; but then it was said they had commission from their husbands at sea to appear for their interest; ... For Mr Moodie, the Custom-house officers and their dependants, ... to the number of thirty-seven; but we scarce reconed them parishioners.[47]

It became clear that most of the resident parishioners were in favour of Brown, except those under the influence of the Argathelians. Milton had to admit in late June that 'the body of the Inhabitants, both Heretors Elders & others were so cordial for Mr Brown' that it would be difficult to carry on their plan and that the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr 'will not settle Mr Moody in opposition to the Parish & the Pres[byter]y', signifying the strength of support among the ministers.[48] In the event, on 28 October 1731, the presbytery settled Brown in the parish of

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44 NLS, MS16546, f.5r: Alexander Finlayson to Milton, 7 April 1731.

45 *Analecta*, iv, 230-231.

46 NLS, MS16546, f.34r: Richard Graham to Milton, 21 April 1731; Wodrow writes that Moody had twenty four votes, and Brown eight. *Analecta*, iv, 230-231.

47 *Ibid.*, 263.

48 NLS, MS16546, ff.170r-173v: Milton to Neil McVicar, 28 June 1731.

Port Glasgow.[49]

The dispute over this Port Glasgow settlement demonstrates that religious issues over patronage could be closely related to politics. Since the conduct of Stirling and his friends, in concert with the unpopular Campbells, was disrespectful to the parish of Port Glasgow and made many of the ministers in the presbytery turn against them, it is not surprising that the defeat of Stirling and his party at the town council election in 1732 was to 'the universal Satisfaction of all the Inhabitants' of Glasgow. This dispute also signifies that the attitude of the political managers, most notably Ilay, towards patronage were changing in the late 1720s and early 1730s, when the Argathelians started to control political and religious affairs in Scotland more tightly and firmly than before. Ilay had no regard for the rights of the presbytery and considered that the Church of Scotland owed its existence to legalisation by the civil power and that the right of the patron should be exercised without any consultation with the wishes of the parishioners.[50] Alexander Finlayson, one of the Argathelian spokesmen in this case, shared this notion of ecclesiastical government. When he argued for the right of the magistrates and council of Glasgow as patron at the presbytery, he told the ministers that now they 'sau hou tender the Toun had been of the rights of Christian people' for having not asserted their right to control the appointment.[51] It is hard to know whether these hostile attitudes against the rights of the congregation were shared by all the Argathelians or not. Presumably, however, at least some of Ilay's friends, as Ilay himself did, held few sympathies for the congregation's rights, and this, combined with Glaswegian's long-held antipathy towards the Argathelians, made them highly unpopular among the populace and caused difficulties for them in seeking to consolidate their dominance in the urban politics.

III

General and municipal elections in the 1730s

The Argathelians faced difficulties in the general and municipal elections in the 1730s as well. The first general elections in this period took place in 1734. The national political tide was

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[49] *Analecta*, iv, 293-294.

[50] Henry R. Sefton, 'Lord Ilay and Patrick Cuming: a study in eighteenth-century ecclesiastical management', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 19-3 (1977), 205.

[51] *Analecta*, iv, 290-291.

against the London government as opposition to Walpole in Parliament was growing because of his unpopular excise scheme. In addition, opinions expressed by the press and in extra-parliamentary agitation against Walpole, both inflamed by the patriotic arguments of Lord Bolingbroke in *The Craftsman*, were very loud and active in England. It was expected that the London government would face serious challenges from the opposition in many English constituencies. In Scotland, where the public was not influenced by the anti-Walpole movement, the ministry and the Argathelian managers sought to secure as many seats as possible.[52] While the Duke of Argyll had some sympathy for the opposition, his brother the Earl of Ilay was determined to support the ministry, and he secured the election of the sixteen representative peers successfully through his skilful management. In the county and burgh elections, however, younger members of the Squadrone and their friends attacked the Argathelians and endeavoured to stir up public opinion by reprinting the arguments of the patriotic press and pamphlets published in England.[53]

The situation was similar in the Glasgow district of burghs, where Renfrew was to be the presiding burgh. As the burgh of Renfrew had a casting vote in the event of a tie, the person to be reckoned with was Colin Campbell of Blythswood, who was said to have 'the absolute power over Renfrew'.[54] The Argathelian managers appeared to take Blythswood's support for granted, as he was one of the Campbell clan and had long helped maintain the Argyll interest in this area. At the same time, James Hamilton, fifth Duke of Hamilton (1702/3-1743), who had extensive estates in Clydesdale and Lanarkshire, was attempting to steal the seat with the help of the Earl of Dundonald.[55] Moreover, as early as April 1732, Milton found that Daniel Campbell of Shawfield intended to be a candidate. With a view to gaining support from Blythswood, Shawfield exercised his influence in the customs appointment for John Fullarton, Blythswood's nephew, and his friends 'prevailed on Blitheswood to write to the peer in his favour'.[56] Partly because many of the Glasgow elite disliked Shawfield and partly because his

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[52] Edinburgh newspapers carried accounts of those movements in England (*CM*, 11 December 1733), and there were a couple of anti-excise celebrations in Fife and in Edinburgh when the bill was postponed and eventually dropped. *CM*, 17 May 1733 and 15 April 1734.

[53] NLS, MS7044, ff.43r-46v: James Erskine Lord Grange to Tweeddale, 21 October 1733. One of the most notable examples was *The Thistle* (1734-6) organised by James Erskine of Grange.

[54] NLS, MS16555, f.62r: Ilay to Milton, 8 January 1734.

[55] NLS, MS7044, f.64r: Duke of Hamilton to Tweeddale, 5 March 1734.

[56] NLS, MS16551, f.154v: Gwynn Vaughan to Milton, 23 April 1732. John Fullarton of Greenhill was a son

relations with the Duke of Argyll had not been amicable after he declared his independence of the duke,[57] he was not regarded as a suitable candidate by the Argathelians. The Argathelians therefore needed to secure Blythswood's support.

Blythswood himself, however, appeared reluctant to make clear his attitude towards this election. In January 1734 it was reported that he wrote to the Duke of Argyll that he 'is engaged to somebody but does not tell who', and this raised not a little concern among the Argathelians. Milton was advised by an Argathelian friend in Glasgow that Blythswood 'must be sweetened a little' because 'he belives himself neglected' and this jealousy was caused by 'his receiving no answer to three letters he wrote to your great friend to London'.[58] Milton appears to have followed this advice, and it was soon reported that 'Things go very well'.[59] A division emerged among the leading figures of Glasgow, however. Some of the magistrates corresponded with the Duke of Hamilton about a plan against the Argathelians. Provost Hugh Rodger (?-1743?), who had once expressed the sincerity and loyalty of the magistrates and council towards the family of Argyll,[60] 'approves much of ye thing and seems hearty in it'.[61] Hamilton was confident in late March that 'Glasgow has this moment with me'.[62] Despite this anti-Argathelian intrigue, however, the magistrates of Glasgow 'propose for member for this district of Burroughs Collin Campbell of Blythswood'[63] in April, and Argyll was content with this proposal 'since it defeats Daniel [Campbell of Shawfield]'.[64]

To the astonishment of the Argathelians, however, it turned out in May that Blythswood was still averse to accept the proposal to stand as a candidate for the Glasgow district, despite pressing requests from not only the magistrates, but also his kinsmen, such as John Campbell of Mamore (*c.* 1693-1770), cousin of Argyll and Ilay and later fourth Duke of Argyll.[65] Moreover, it was now revealed that Hugh Rodger 'is Contriving for himself'.[66]

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of John Fullarton (*c.*1645-1727), nonjurant Episcopal Bishop of Edinburgh.

[57] *Analecta*, iv, 69.

[58] NLS, MS16556, f.205v-206r: Richard Graham to Milton, 24 January 1734; *ibid.*, f.209r: the same to the same, 1 February 1734.

[59] *Ibid.*, f.213r: the same to the same, 12 February 1734.

[60] NLS, MS16551, f.51r: Hugh Rodger to Milton, 9 November 1732.

[61] NLS, MS7044, f.74v: duke of Hamilton to Tweeddale, 11 March 1734.

[62] *Ibid.*, f.90r: the same to the same, 29 March 1734.

[63] NLS, MS16556, f.217v: Richard Graham to Milton, 15 April 1734.

[64] *Ibid.*, f.76r: Ilay to Milton, 23 April 1734.

[65] *Ibid.*, f.106r-107r: Archibald Campbell to Milton, 10 May 1734.

Blythswood was regarded even by contemporaries as such a 'mysterious and distrustfull'[67] person that it is not easy to understand why he was so unwilling to express his own views. Presumably, however, as Milton was advised, Blythswood's wavering was a matter of regard and respect because it was still believed that 'one word from the duke or Lord Ilay would make him Dropp it'.[68] That he might refuse the candidacy for the Glasgow district caused such a confusion that it was rumoured that 'Shawfields friends say it will be him and he has gott an Elector for Ru[ther]glen others say the solicitor, or Ch: Campbell or Will: Campbell Mamore's brother', and even Horatio Walpole's candidacy was rumoured.[69] This confusion probably affected the council to such an extent that Milton was told that 'Its very doubtfull as yet how our Election will go for there is 8 or 9 of us not yet determined'.[70] In the event, at the election at Renfrew on 18 May 1734, William Campbell was returned for the Glasgow district on the recommendation of the Duke of Argyll. Since William Campbell was the fourth son of John Campbell of Mamore, he was a suitable MP for the Argathelian interest, and the Glasgow magistrates would be satisfied at least with getting rid of Shawfield.[71] Although no evidence of Blythswood's decision at the last moment has been found in the correspondence of Milton, it was reported from Glasgow one day before the election that 'Ch[arles] Campbell will be our man. Town of Glasgow, Renfrew & Dunbar[ton] are clear for him, ... Only this difficulty remains that as he is returned for another Burrowgh, ... if Charles will make his Election for Stirling district, ... its proposed to choice Wm Campbell, Col John['s] Brother who is a free man'.[72] Although Charles Campbell did not stand for Stirlingshire contrary to the expectation, some arrangement must have been made by the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Ilay about this, because Charles Campbell was later returned for Argyllshire in 1736, when the incumbent MP, Sir James Campbell, was chosen to sit for Stirlingshire.[73]

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[66] *Ibid.*, f.120r: Charles Campbell to Milton, 10 May 1734.

[67] *Ibid.*, f.224r: John Campbell to Milton, 15 May 1734.

[68] *Ibid.*, f.124r: Charles Campbell to Milton. Stirling, 11 May 1734.

[69] NAS, GD220/5/1295/3: Charles Morthland to Gorthie, 15 May 1734; NAS, GD220/5/1284/7: John Graham of Dougalston to Gorthie, 17 May 1734.

[70] NLS, MS16557, f.150r: John Maxwell of Pollock to Milton, 15 May 1734.

[71] HoP, *Commons 1715-1754*, i, 522, 527.

[72] NLS, MS16558, f.173: Anon. (Richard Graham?) to Milton, 17 May 1734. Colonel John was John Campbell of Mamore, first son of Hon. John Campbell of Mamore.

[73] HoP, *Commons 1715-1754*, i, 381-382, 520.

The 1734 election revealed that the Argathelian interest was still not completely consolidated in the Glasgow region and it could be unstable if they failed to gain support from the influential local gentry. It also showed that they had to face new challenges from the Duke of Hamilton, who, by co-operating with the Earl of Dundonald and other Squadrone politicians, could exercise considerable influence upon Glasgow and towns in the west. Probably realising this, Milton and the Argathelians in Glasgow took an immediate step to take a tight grip on the magistrates and council. Their plan was to remove Hugh Rodger, who acted against them and in favour of Hamilton at the 1734 election. At the council elections in 1735, the Argathelians on the council believed that 'there is no danger of Mr Rodgers having any share in the Management this year & if he desired that he shall be dropt against next Election'.[74] There appeared, however, to be a slight difference between the Argathelians on the council from Andrew Aiton (1696?-1772), who was a son-in-law of John Stirling and was strongly connected to the society of linen dealers.[75] By the time of the next municipal elections, Aiton had formed a party of his own. Moreover, contrary to their expectation, the Argathelians still failed to curtail the influence of Hugh Rodger. The prospect for the council election in 1736 therefore was not so bright for them. Before the election they wrote to Milton that 'we have three parties, one of which is headed by Mr Rodger & another by Mr Aiton'. Their plan was to join Aiton's party 'on condition they would give us their assistance' to remove Rodger, 'which they have consented to, & have promised to leave his whole party at our Mercy. … We have good reason to hope that Mr Aiton & his friends will be firmly attached to the Interest of the Family of Argyle & your Lo[rdshi]p'.[76] They carried out this plan so successfully that 'the new elected magistrates turned out provist [*sic*] Ramsay and Rodger, B[aillie] Craig and 8 or 9 more of the old Council'.[77] The new provost, John Coulter, who was a staunch supporter of the Argyll interest, wrote to Milton, thanking 'to your Lop for my promotion, which is principally owing to your Influence'.[78]

After two years' struggle, the Argathelians thus carried out their plan to remove

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[74] NLS, MS16560, ff.120v-122r: John Coulter to Milton, 3 October 1735.

[75] Anderson and Gourlay, *Provosts of Glasgow*, 61; NLS, MS16566, f.89r: Andrew Aiton to Milton, 2 January 1736.

[76] NLS, MS16566, f.86r-v: Magistrates of Glasgow to Milton, 6 October 1736.

[77] NAS, GD220/5/1388/3: Charles Morthland to Gorthie, 9 November 1736.

[78] NLS, MS16565, ff.138r-139r: John Coulter to Milton, 13 October 1736.

Rodger, who was against them in political and religious affairs and was apparently under the influence of the Duke of Hamilton. Nevertheless, the 1736 municipal election created 'a great schism in this town', and those who were not satisfied with the Argathelian dominance formed an opposition group, and on the king's birthday 'all the mer[chan]t of note except those in the Council' showed their resolution against the Argathelian council publicly by going 'to a tavern by themselves and kept the solemnity and did not join the Magistrates in the town house'.[79] These opposition merchants found their power base in the merchants house, which 'of late years have Sett themselves in opposition to the Council'.[80] Samuel MaCall was one of these merchants. He was elected to be dean of guild in this year's election, but refused to take the office and to join the council.[81] The new provost, Coulter, reported on this 'unprecedented' case to Milton that MaCall 'ostinatly refuses to accept of that office' and that the council eventually 'found themselves under a necessity of Imprisoning him'.[82] MaCall did not change his attitude even after the imprisonment, so the council elected John Gartshore as the new dean of guild in November.[83]

Little is known about town council politics after 1736, but, judging from the fact that successors of Coulter as provost were Andrew Aiton (elected in 1738) and Andrew Buchanan (elected in 1740), both of whom were loyal to the Argyll family, the rivalry between the Argathelians and the opposition group in the merchants house remained unchanged. In other words, the Argathelians managed to maintain their interest in the town's affairs and the opposition group failed to pose serious challenges to them. Although the political managers in Edinburgh and London could not find a useful and influential agent in Glasgow, the leading merchant families such as Bogle, Buchanan, Murdoch, and Luke appeared to act in that capacity and help the Argathelians control the town. Probably these merchants had good reasons to do this in order to gain government protection and parliamentary legislation for their economic activities. They were closely linked by business partnerships and through

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[79] NAS, GD220/5/1388/3: Charles Morthland to Gorthie, 9 November 1736.

[80] NLS, MS16565, ff.138r-139r: John Coulter to Milton, 13 October 1736.

[81] *GBR,* v, 469.

[82] NLS, MS16565, ff.138r-139r: John Coulter to Milton, 13 October 1736.

[83] *GBR*, v, 470.

marriage, which made it easier for them to concentrate their wealth and power.[84] Interestingly, those provosts who were against the Argathelian dominance in Glasgow such as Charles Miller, John Stark, and Hugh Rodger, all sunk into difficult economic circumstances and, after their deaths, their families had to have allowances for living from the council because they were 'in great need and want'.[85] In contrast to the supporters of the Argyll interest, their political influence was not backed up by their economic strength. The concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a small elite group of merchants was accelerating, and political and economic standings were becoming more closely connected.

Whatever their political persuasions were, therefore, it was crucial for the leading merchant-politicians of Glasgow to have a useful and reliable representative in Parliament who could act for their economic benefit and for the public interest of the town. In that sense, William Campbell was the worst MP imaginable for the Glasgow elite. Although educated at the University of Glasgow, he had an estate in Suffolk and did not live in Scotland. He was a military person and had no experience and knowledge of commercial activities.[86] He had no regard for his constituency, writing only three letters to the council in seven years.[87] It would be, therefore, natural for Glasgow merchants to feel that they were neglected and to seek to have a representative more acquainted with and sympathetic to the interest of the town at the coming general election.

IV

Patriot politics and the parliamentary election of 1741

At the time of the general election in 1741, the opposition campaign against Walpole was reaching its climax. The opposition camp, united under the banner of patriotism, attacked the government for its mismanagement of foreign policy and the war with Spain and, in the House of Commons, growing in number. The opposition in Scotland, headed by Argyll, gained wide support in the burghs and counties, and, in some of these constituencies, the language, rhetoric,

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[84] Anderson and Gourlay (eds), *The provosts of Glasgow*, 59-64.

[85] *GBR*, v, 67, 480-481;vi, 62, 83.

[86] *Scots Peerage*, i, 382; HoP, *Commons 1715-1745*, i, 527.

[87] Mure (ed.), *Selection from the family papers preserved at Caldwell*, ii-1, 60-63: John Graham, esq. to Mr. Mure, 22 February 1744.

and technique employed by the patriots in England to attack the government were imitated. In Edinburgh, over a dozen patriotic pamphlets on municipal and parliamentary elections were published in 1740 and 1741.[88] In November 1739, the freeholders of Ayrshire sent instructions to their MP which attacked 'any Ministerial Influence' and instructed the MP to oppose 'all Bill, or Votes of Credit, as of dangerous Consequence to the Liberties of this Nation' and to 'promote a Law for making Parliament annual, or at most triannual … and … for limiting the Number of Placemen and pensioners … in the House of Commons'. These instructions repeated the patriotic rhetoric of independence of the House of Commons and 'the Honour, Interest, or Liberty of his Country'.[89] Ayrshire freeholders issued similar instructions the next year, and Renfrew freeholders followed the example in 1741.[90]

This opposition campaign reached the Glasgow district of burghs. It was reported in the *Caledonian Mercury* in October 1740 from Rutherglen, the presiding burgh, that 'the Inhabitants made last Week a signal Appearance in the Cause of Liberty, and concurred in all Measures with the City of Glasgow'.[91] It is unfortunately hard to know the details of this election in the Glasgow district as no evidence relating to it has been found in the correspondence of Milton or that of Mungo Graeme. Nevertheless, it appears that the leading elite of Glasgow were fed up with the attitude of William Campbell and decided to return Neil Buchanan, 'a native of this city burges and guild brother … and who was … a considerable trader as a merchant' and was also attached to Argyll.[92] The records of the trades house also indicate 'that there were endeavours made by some to prevent the election of such and to name another for representing the s[ai]d four burrows', and, according to a memorial written probably in 1747 by the magistrates of Rutherglen, it was the Duke of Hamilton who opposed Glasgow's candidate.[93] The magistrates of Rutherglen had met challenges from the duke and from Hamilton of Aikenhead, 'who have spared no Labour or expence in order to get the toun

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[88] For instance, *Extract from a letter wrote by a Scots gentleman at London* (Edinburgh, [1741]); *Protests taken in the Council of Edinburgh, at the election of a member to serve in Parliament for this city* ([Edinburgh, 1741]).

[89] *CM*, 5 November 1739.

[90] *CM*, 13 October 1740; 1 June 1741.

[91] *CM*, 7 October 1740.

[92] *GTH*, ii, 278: 23 July 1743; HoP, *Commons 1715-1754*, i, 400.

[93] *GTH*, ii, 278; NLS, MS16646, ff.190r-191v: Memorial ffor Provost William Muir Baillie James Scott and other Magistrats and Councillers of Rutherglen [n.d., but later than 1747].

into their hands' and feared that their interest was threatened because Hamilton and his party had 'no such interest in toun' and 'relyed intirely upon the force of money'.[94] In facing this challenge, the Glasgow magistrates, with the help of the Rutherglen magistrates, 'did … recommend to the deacons and visitors of the severall trades to give pains, go to and use their interest and influence with the people of Rutherglen'.[95] In April 1741, the magistrates and council admitted more than forty people of Rutherglen to be burgesses and guild brethren of Glasgow by gratis and 'remitted their fines and hold them as paid'.[96] The council also paid the magistrates of Rutherglen more than 30 pounds sterling to be used for their expense at the election.[97] These costly efforts by the magistrates of Glasgow and Rutherglen bore fruit. At the election on 28 May 1741, Neil Buchanan was returned without any recorded contest.[98]

Neil Buchanan was, as had been expected, a very useful representative for Glasgow. The magistrates and town council were content with his parliamentary business, sending a letter of acknowledgement of his conduct upon 'some bills for more effectuall secureing the independency of parliament and the rights and libertys of the subjects'.[99] It is evident from this that the Glasgow magistrates shared with Buchanan what was called patriotic political ideology of the opposition Whig, which attacked the corrupting influence of the ministry and emphasised the importance of maintaining the independence of the House of Commons and the liberty of the subjects.[100] This ideology was epitomised in the instructions sent to Buchanan in November 1742:

> The securing and restoring our liberty and constitution and preserving the independency of parliament having been our chief care in promoting your election as member of the House of Commons for this city and district … We earnestly request of you, in name of the corporation, to promote every maxim for preventing and restraining all manner of pecuniary influence over the members of your house … for restoring frequency of new parliaments and for giving such vigour to our once happy but now exhausted constitution … Your attention to these points and any others that

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94 *Ibid.*

95 *GTH*, ii, 278

96 *GBR*, vi, 86.

97 *Ibid.*, 88-89.

98 HoP, *Commons 1715-1745*, i, 400.

99 *GBR*, vi, 111.

100 H.T. Dickinson, *Liberty and property: political ideology in eighteenth-century Britain* (London, 1977), Chapter 5.

may come before your house for the good or your country will endear you to all lovers of liberty, and be particularly acceptable to all the members of this community.[101]

Relations between the elite of Glasgow and Buchanan were based on mutual respect and understanding and appeared almost perfect. Buchanan never fell short of the expectations of his community, and the magistrates and town council were happy with his performance at Westminster. The town was relatively free from external influence and intervention, and its historical tendency towards independence was maintained. This harmonious relationship, however, came to an abrupt end with the death of Buchanan.

V

The patriotic moment in Glaswegian politics – the parliamentary by-election of 1744

When Neil Buchanan suddenly died in London in February 1744, the state of Scottish politics had been changed by the deaths of the opposing aristocratic leaders. The Duke of Montrose died in January 1742, the Duke of Hamilton in March 1743, and the Duke of Argyll in October 1743. Particularly important was the death of Argyll, whose influence and reputation had given the opposition camp in Scotland the vigour and strength with which they were able to defeat Walpole in the 1741 general elections in Scotland. While his death made the opposition party in Scotland less united, it made more powerful and wealthy the new leader of the Argathelians, the Earl of Ilay, who became the chief of the Argyll family and acquired the largest dukedom in Scotland. Although the Marquess of Tweeddale held the office of the secretary of state for Scotland and the residue or younger generation Squadrone had some hopes of overturning the Argathelian dominance in Scotland, the new Duke of Argyll's management of Scottish affairs would now leave less room for the opposition than before his brother's death. As the second Duke of Montrose did not appear interested in political affairs in Glasgow and the sixth Duke of Hamilton was a minor, there were few difficulties for the Argathelians to secure the by-election. According to the *History of Parliament*, Argyll recommended one of his kinsmen, John Campbell of Roseneath (1723-1806), later fifth Duke of Argyll, to succeed Buchanan as MP, and the Glasgow magistrates simply accepted Argyll's wish. John Campbell was duly elected at the

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[101] *GBR*, vi, 123-124.

ensuing by-election in March 1744.[102] Evidence in the correspondence of Lord Milton, however, tells a rather different story.

Immediately after Buchanan's death, John Campbell of Mamore wrote to the Glasgow magistrates that he and Argyll desired them to choose his twenty-year-old son, John Campbell of Roseneath, as candidate for the by-election.[103] At the same time, leading merchants in Glasgow had agreed that they would find a gentleman of 'easy circumstances & fair character' in the neighbourhood as Buchanan's successor. Some of them had 'their eye upon Sir John Maxwell [of Pollock] or his son, … but to no purpose'. While still looking for a suitable candidate, they received an express letter from Argyll, which recommended 'Major Campbell [of Roseneath] … to their favour … [but] this sett them upon new measures, they had meetings again & again to gett one of their oun to represent them, & pitched one bailie [Andrew] Cochrane'.[104] In their reply to Argyll, while making a humble acknowledgement of his recommendation, the magistrates told him that John Campbell of Roseneath 'was not a fitt person to represent a trading burgh', because of his youth and lack of experience in business.[105]

Although the magistrates expressed their intention to refuse Argyll's candidate, their own candidate, Andrew Cochrane, appeared very reluctant, however, to accept the offer because he 'is neither equall to it in Body or Mind &c. &c'.[106] This gave the Argathelians in Glasgow some room for manoeuvre. They attempted to persuade the town of Rutherglen, the presiding burgh for the by-election, to vote for Campbell of Roseneath and, by the end of February, they believed that Rutherglen's support was secured.[107] They were also optimistic about Dumbarton, which was under the influence of Campbell of Mamore.[108] At the same time, a committee of the Glasgow town council held a meeting with the present and late magistrates of Rutherglen and recommended Cochrane 'very warmly', but the meeting 'broke up without coming to any resolution'.[109] Despite the cooperation which the magistrates of Glasgow and

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[102] HoP, *Commons 1715-1754*, i, 499-500.

[103] NLS MS 16597, f.171r: John Campbell to Glasgow Magistrates, 16 February 1744.

[104] NLS MS 16603, f.112r: William Wood to Lord Milton, 22 February 1744.

[105] NLS MS 16600, f.185r: Samuel McCall to Lord Milton, 22 February 1744; MS 16603, f.112r: William Wood to Lord Milton, 22 February 1744.

[106] NLS MS 16600, f.185r: Samuel McCall to Lord Milton, 22 February 1744.

[107] NLS MS 16600, f.199r: Alexander McMillan to Lord Milton, 27 February 1744.

[108] NLS MS 16603, f.112r: William Wood to Lord Milton, 22 February 1744.

[109] NLS MS 16600, f.199r: Alexander McMillan to Lord Milton, 27 February 1744.

Rutherglen had achieved in the 1741 election, the magistrates of Rutherglen now thought 'it quite necessary … to show that their toun was not under the influence of Glasgow But in their own hands', and they 'had all along principally in their view' John Campbell.[110] Some of the Glasgow elite also hoped to secure the burgh of Renfrew, but it was believed that they could not expect that much support because the baillie of Renfrew, William Somerville, who held dominant power in Renfrew, was under the influence of the crown and the ministry as his brother-in-law 'has a Question of great Value to be determined by the King & Councell'.[111] In addition, Cochrane himself was still so unwilling to stand that in 'a committee of the leaders … [Cochrane] told ym in plain English he would not serve ym'.[112] This was confirmed by a correspondent of Milton who reported that John Campbell 'wou'd meet with no opposition from any competition hitherto named, & that it was highly improbable that any neu one wou'd come upon the field, and tho' Glasgow should finde one of their oun community to stand, my friend was of opinion they would not be able to make Ru[ther]glen without going a greater lengths then they will venture upon'.[113] Since the other three burghs of the district appeared to favour John Campbell and there would not be 'any great probability that a Patriot will be able to make any thing of it',[114] the Argathelians' success appeared quite likely.

On 4 March, however, to the Argathelians' great surprise, Andrew Cochrane suddenly changed his mind and agreed to stand.[115] He was strongly backed by the merchants house and the trades house, which, on the following day, had their respective meetings and both resolved to support Cochrane. According to McMillan:

> our affairs were in a good way here, but they have alter'd much to the worse. This forenoon [dean of guild] call'd a meeting of [the merchants house] and asket ym if [Andrew Cochrane] was not a fitt enough person to be [parliament man]. Many said he was & none contradicted it. [The trades house] did the same. This was a plot by [John Orr of Barrowfield], [John Graham of Dougalston], [Laurence Colquhoun], & [Richard Oswald] and these last were appointed to signify the mind of the meetings to

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[110] NLS, MS16646, ff.190r-191v: Memorial ffor Provost William Muir Baillie James Scott and other Magistrats and Councillers of Rutherglen [n.d., but later than 1747].

[111] NLS MS 16600, f.185r: Samuel McCall to Lord Milton, 22 February 1744.

[112] NLS MS 16600, f.205r: copy letter of Alexander McMillan to ?, 2 March 1744. Although this letter is written in cipher, it is clear from its context that the person mentioned here as '10' is Andrew Cochrane.

[113] NLS, MS 16600, f.125r: William Fleming to Milton, 2 March 1744.

[114] NLS, MS16603, f.112r—111v: William Wood to Milton, 22 February 1744.

[115] NLS, MS 16596, f.7r: Andrew Aiton to Lord Milton, 4 March 1744.

[provost Dinwiddie] & they are to do it in form to morrows forenoon. Nobody knew of this grand plot till the bell was ring for the meetings. … What stumbles me most is that tho [Cochrane] gave up the question in the committee mention'd in my last, yet [dean of guild] affirm'd this day that he had his leave to mention him to the [merchants house]. This makes [Cochrane] quite inconsistent w[i]t[h] himself & I will most certainly blow the trumpet ag[ains]t him. I'm just now to meet w[i]t[h] a great club of freinds in order to concert measures for defeating this new scheme. … I believe [Rutherglen] must be our last resort … I wish from my heart I had some person of weight to assist me. I find the load turning heavy.[116]

It now became evident that, at the meeting of the town council on the next day, Cochrane was to be nominated as Glasgow's candidate at the by-election.

On 6 March, the meeting of the town council took place. Before the council meeting, McMillan had gathered Argathelian friends together to discuss how to deal with the situation. They 'after short reasoning found out … that the merchants house and the trades house had been catcht by surprized [*sic*] & that the question was not fairly stated before ym as there was not one word spoke of [the Duke of Argyll]; but the simple question was put whither [Cochrane] was a fitt person'. Their idea was that the resolutions of the merchants and trades houses to support Cochrane were invalid and disrespectful because neither gave any mention to the Duke of Argyll. Hence they 'form'd a short & simple paper qch run thus. "We subscribers merchants & traders of this city offer it as our humble opinion to [the town council] that any person that shall be agreeable to [the Duke of Argyll] will be the fittest to represent us as [parliament man] & we doubt not [the Duke of Argyll] will recommend a person that will answer all purposes of this community" '. Their paper, called 'manifesto' by the Argathelians, was signed 'by about sixty of the most considerable in toun' and would be read at the town council meeting.[117] At the town council meeting on 7 March:

the freinds of [Cochrane] particularly [Provost Dinwiddie] urg'd that the voice of the

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[116] NLS, MS 16600, f.207r-v: copy letter Alexander McMillan to ?, 5 March 1744 (in cipher with key notes). Richard Oswald mentioned in this letter was Richard Oswald of Scotstoun (1687-1766), merchant in Glasgow. He was a cousin of Richard Oswald of Auchincruive (1705?–1784), who was the sole British representative at the negotiation in Paris with the Americans over peace in 1782-3. For biographical information on the Oswalds of Scotstoun and the Oswalds of Auchincruive, see George Crawfurd, *A general description of the shire of Renfrew: including an account of the noble and ancient families* (Paisley, 1818), 347-348 and J.O. Mitchell (ed.), *The old country houses of the old Glasgow gentry, illustrated by permanent photographs by Annan* (2nd edn, Glasgow, 1878), 227-232.

[117] NLS, MS 16600, f.210r-v: copy letter of the same to ?, 7 March 1744. Letter in cipher with key notes.

whole people was for [Cochrane] and as a proof of it mention'd the proceedings of [the merchants house] & [the trades house]. Upon which our friend [unknown identity] explain'd to this meeting the clandestine manner in qch [the merchants house] & [the trades house] had been brought together & how insidiously the question was stated before ym and as a proof that the voice of the best of the people were ag[ains]t [Cochrane]. He produced our manifesto & observ'd that it was signed by many that had been present in [the merchants house] and that conduct of [dean of guild] and the quadrumvirat was an indignity to [the town council]. This wrought like a charme & sett ym all by the ears. at length it was agreed that all the operations w[i]t[h]out doors should be laid aside & that [the town council] w[i]t[h]out regard to [the merchants house] & [the trades house] on to our manifesto should proceed to do their oun business, thus far yow see the grand plot was defeat.[118]

As a result, at the by-election at Rutherglen, although Rutherglen voted for James Carmichael, brother to John Carmichael, third Earl of Hyndford, the other three delegates were in favour of John Campbell, and accordingly he was returned.[119]

This 1744 election dispute provides several important insights into Glasgow urban politics in this period. First of all, although the election was eventually carried in favour of the Argathelians, there was a significant political conflict over the choice of a candidate. It is clear that, despite the wishes of Argyll, the magistrates and council of Glasgow endeavoured to advance their electoral independence. The issue was over the problem of political representation, in other words the problem of whether the representative should serve the interests of the great political manager in London or his constituency. Second, this dispute demonstrates that there was a serious difference within the urban elite over the nature of representative politics. While the Argathelian followers argued that the town's interest was represented by 'the voice of the best of the people', namely around sixty elite merchants who signed their manifesto, supporters of Cochrane believed that he should be their representative because 'the voice of the whole people' was for him. It remains unclear, however, whether these differences were related to party intrigue or not. Alexander McMillan wrote to Milton that Cochrane and his supporters were in co-operation with the Squadrone:

We saw plainly that [Cochrane] had throun himself into the arms of [John Orr of Barrowfield], [John Graham of Dougalston], [Laurence Colquhoun], & [Richard

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[118] *Ibid.*, ff.210v-211r: copy letter of the same to ?, 7 May 1744. Letter in cipher with key notes.

[119] NLS, MS16598, f.229r: Lawrence Dinwiddie to Milton, 28 March 1744.

Oswald] as they had been the contriver of the plot ... finally we saw that this was [the old Squadron] breaking out again & that the question plainly resolved in this is whither [the Duke of Argyll] or [the Duke of Montrose] was to make [parliament man] and I do assure yow this was the case for the quadrumvirat are the profest partisans of [the Duke of Montrose] and been an inveterat grudge at [the Duke of Argyll].[120]

It is true that Graham of Dougalston, and probably Laurence Colquhoun, brother of William Colquhoun of Garscadden, and Richard Oswald, were friends of the Duke of Montrose, but it would be difficult to tell whether McMillan was right or not, as no evidence on this by-election is found in the correspondence of Dougalston and Mungo Graeme. It is possible that these Squadrone friends attempted to defeat the Argathelians without the help and support of Montrose, who, unlike his father, was apparently indifferent to affairs in Glasgow.[121]

The reasons and arguments advanced by Cochrane's supporters imply the changing ideas and values of Glaswegian politics. While they did not accept Argyll's candidate because of his 'youth & want of experience in business', they persisted in the idea that Glasgow, 'being a burgh subsisting wholly by trade & manufactories', should 'be represented by a gentleman of experience bred to business'.[122] The argument made by William Crawfurd, one of the leading local politicians, epitomises the unification of Glaswegian's sense of urban pride and political independence: 'I thought the character of this city, ... if I say the dignity of the first town in Scotland for trade and industry, requir'd that their member should be a townsman'.[123] Their sense of political independence also led to their dislike of political management and corruption. When Andrew Cochrane made it clear that he would stand as a candidate, he agreed 'on the terms of never being a place man in any shape either by himself or freinds, and of following instructions'.[124] Cochrane's political stance was shared by the merchants house and the trades house, the latter of which declared in his support that, 'this district be represented by one of our own number a person of some abilities & untainted honesty who will make the true interest of his country the great law of his conduct and who will rank himself no party but that of her

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[120] NLS, MS16600, ff.210r-211r: copy letter of Alexander McMillan, 7 March 1744.

[121] Local lairds connected to the family of Montrose began to act independently in political disputes since the late 1720s. See Chapter Two.

[122] NLS, MS16589, f.221r: Lawrence Dinwiddie to Lord Milton, 27 February 1744.

[123] NLS, MS16598, f.175v: William Crawfurd to Lord Milton, 29 February 1744.

[124] NLS, MS16595, f.7r: Andrew Aiton to Lord Milton, 4 March 1744.

determined friends and who will honestly & faithfully serve us without cringeing for favours to himself or his relations'.[125] It is possible to trace a line of patriotic thoughts and ideas among the Glasgow leaders, particularly Cochrane and his supporters.

Lastly, although this electoral dispute involved the elite merchant-politicians of the council, it became a matter of serious concern among the townspeople and had a popular dimension. According to Alexander McMillan, 'these two days the conversation amongst those people at the cross was running doun the whole clan & vilifying their services to this place'.[126] It is very likely that not only the elite merchants and the burgesses, but also the lower sort of people joined the conversation at the cross. Given the Argathelians' long-standing unpopularity, the council's decision to choose a man of the Campbell clan as the representative would have disappointed, and possibly enraged, the townspeople to such an extent that, by the time of the council elections in October, this anti-Campbell sentiment made the Argathelians in Glasgow fearful of possible popular violence:

> the D[uke] of A[rgyll's] friends in our councell I mean the Buchannans party are soon to be discarded by Cochrans crew. … And I believe a design that will not prosper - And which I believe the party disigning will not dare to put in excecution. Lest a more cruell mob than Shawfields should befall them.[127]

This implies that the lower sort of people were well informed of the political situation of the town and very concerned with the outcome of its elections. This situation in the autumn of 1744 bore a striking resemblance to that in the mid 1720s, when the anti-Campbell sentiments were widespread on account of the slump in tobacco trade and manufacture as well as the Shawfield riots, and the Revolutioners, who emerged as an anti-Campbell party, gained strong popular support. Backed up by the anti-Campbell sentiments, Cochrane and his friends defeated the Argathelians at the council elections. As Andrew Buchanan, who was provost in 1740 and 1741, reported to Milton, 'those in the opposition … have turned us all out; except three', and

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[125] *GTH*, 308: 5 March 1744.

[126] NLS, MS 16600, f.210r-v: Copy letter of Alexander McMillan to ?, 7 March 1744. Written in cipher with key notes.

[127] NLS, MS 16596, f.112r: Andrew Campbell to Alexander McMillan, 26 September 1744.

Cochrane himself was elected provost.[128] Although they were not successful in the general election, Cochrane and his friends, united under patriotic ideas and principles, thus gained control of the council. It was a patriotic moment in Glasgow urban politics. It was against this political background that the Jacobite rebellion broke out in the summer of 1745.

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VI

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The impact of the Jacobite rebellion upon the Glasgow politics

Events in Glasgow during the rebellion and the response of the townspeople to it are documented in detail in the correspondence of Provost Andrew Cochrane, who kept in close touch with Milton and other Argathelian politicians in Edinburgh during the rebellion. Facing threats of attack and plunder from the Jacobites, the magistrates and townspeople of Glasgow demonstrated their impressive loyalism to the Hanoverian regime, even under the occupation by the Jacobite army in late December 1745.

In August 1745, when the magistrates received a letter from Tweeddale telling them that Charles Edward Stuart had landed in the Hebrides, they assured him that 'Our inhabitants are all firmly attached to his Majesty's government, but, believe, poorly armed'.[129] This lack of arms was a recurring problem for Glasgow during the rebellion. The magistrates wasted no time in trying to find the solution to this problem and they sought Milton's assistance to supply them with some of the government's arms in Edinburgh castle. Despite repeated requests, however, Milton told them that he could not answer the request, having no power to distribute arms and ammunition.[130] It was believed that Glasgow could well be the target of the rebel army because of the riches of the city and the 'fruits of their industry'.[131] On 14 September, the magistrates received a letter from the rebels, in which 'enclosed is a copy, signed CHARLES P. R. requiring 15,000 pounds sterling, and all our arms to be delivered up, and threatening the greatest severitys in case of disobedience'. Cochrane assembled the town council and principal inhabitants of the town to consider the 'naked defenceless state without arms', and they decided to send four council members to the rebel's camp to negotiate with the Charles Edward Stuart

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[128] *Ibid.*, f.106r: Andrew Buchanan to Milton, 5 October 1744.

[129] *Cochrane Correspondence*, 4: Cochrane to Tweeddale, 19 August 1745.

[130] *Ibid.*, 8: Milton to Cochrane, 10 September 1745.

[131] *Ibid.*, 10: William Craigie, Lord Advocate to Cochrane, 10 September 1745.

and 'in order to gain time'. Although those sent to the rebels, finding that the rebel army had gone to Falkirk, came back to Glasgow without meeting the Charles Edward Stuart, this incident shows how desperate they were at this moment.[132] The Glasgow magistrates received another letter from Charles Edward Stuart, demanding again 15,000 pounds sterling from them. Cochrane convened the principal inhabitants again and sent some of them to treat with Hay, and 'After a long communing, he restricted the demand to 5,500 pounds, mostly money and bills, and part goods'. Considering the lack of royal troops in Scotland, Glasgow's defenceless state, and the possible violence of the Jacobite army consisting of at least 4,000 rebels, they 'unanimously agreed to comply with the demand as restricted'.[133] In October the situation was becoming worse, and loss and damage to the merchants' business were enormous. There was 'an absolute interruption of business; our manufactures at a stand, for want of sales and cash to pay there [sic] servants, and an intire stop to payments'. Without directions from the political managers and any military support from the government, all they could do was to wait for 'his Majesty's force, said to be marching north'.[134] In December, the Jacobites finally took possession of Glasgow, and the magistrates were required to provide '6000 cloth short coats, 12000 linen shirts, 6000 pair of shoes, 6000 bonnetts, and as many tartan hose, beside a sum of money', which they complied with.[135]

At the same time, the townspeople in Glasgow were determined to defend themselves and remained staunchly loyal to the crown. When the magistrates obtained a warrant from Tweeddale to arm and defend themselves in September, 'there was Some hundred Subscriptions' and a regiment of six hundred was raised in November.[136] The town was guarded by 'our trades people, mustering and comeing to the Cross and Colledge fireing in platoons'.[137] The king's birthday was celebrated in the same way as before. 'In the forenoon the music bells played a considerable space: in the evening they played again, and the whole bells of the city were rung'. Bonfires were lit, and it was said that there were 'more bonfires than

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[132] *Ibid.*, 14: Cochrane to Milton and Craigie, 14 September 1745; *ibid.*, 15: Cochrane to Craigie, 15 September 1745; *ibid.*, Cochrane to Argyll and Tweeddale, 16 September 1745.

[133] *Ibid.*, 21: Cochrane to Argyll, 28 September 1745.

[134] *Ibid.*, 23: Cochrane to Argyll, 4 October 1745.

[135] *Ibid.,* 62-63: Cochrane to Patrick Crawford, January 1746.

[136] NAS, GD220/5/1605/3: Andrew Gardner to Gorthie, 17 September 1745; *Cochrane Correspondence*, 32: magistrates of Glasgow to Milton, 13 November 1745.

[137] NAS, GD220/5/1605/12: Andrew Gardner to Gorthie, 6 November 1745.

ever'.[138] Cochrane was proud in November that, although the Jacobite presence was dominant in Scotland and their army was increasing, 'not one man from this place joined them, nor I believe ten from the western countys in the neighbourhood'.[139] During the Jacobite occupation of Glasgow, the townspeople showed steadfast loyalty to the Hanoverian regime and hostile reactions towards the rebels. When the Jacobites came into the town with Charles Edward Stuart:

> [T]hey attempted an huzza two or three times as he went to his Lodgings but … our Mob with great Steddiness declining to join in it, our People of fashion kept out of the Way few or none of the Windows, no ringing of Bells or Acclamation of any kind. … He appeard four Times publickly in our Streets, twice in all his Mock Majesty going & Coming from a review at our Green without the smallest Acclamation or least respect or acknowledgement paid by the meanest Inhabitant. … our Ladies had not the Curiosity to go near him and declined going to a Ball held by his Chiefs.[140]

Ministers of the Church of Scotland in Glasgow and the west also demonstrated their loyalty to the Hanoverian regime. The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr drew up its own 'Memorial and Admonition' for reading out in pulpits and asked Cochrane to transmit their address to the king at the beginning of October.[141] Some ministers also took an active part in raising volunteer regiments and in preparing for the defence of the locality. John Witherspoon, minister at Beith, headed a party of local volunteers from Beith to Glasgow to join the King's army.[142]

Thus, the magistrates and townspeople of Glasgow committed themselves to the cause of maintaining the Revolution Settlement and the Protestant religion and demonstrated that they were staunch loyalists and adherents to the Hanoverian regime. These attitudes matched the patriotic ideas and principles that some of the Glasgow elite had acquired during the changing political situation in the early 1740s. The Jacobite rebellion, however, made it difficult for them to assert their independence and to be against the ministers in the London government and hence the interest of the Argyll family in Scotland, because by doing so they

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[138] *Cochrane Correspondence*, 25: Cochrane to Argyll, 31 October 1745; NAS, GD220/5/1605/12: Andrew Gardner to Gorthie, 6 November 1745.

[139] *Cochrane Correspondence*, 31: Cochrane to Patrick Crawford, November 1745.

[140] NLS, MS16639, ff.5r-6r: Anon. to Milton, 12 January 1746.

[141] NAS, CH2/464/3, ff. 355-359; *Cochrane Correspondence*, 24: Cochrane to Argyll, 4 October 1745.

[142] *Ibid.,* 119.

would run the risk of being labelled as Jacobites. As a consequence, the period after the rebellion until the death of the Duke of Argyll in 1761 was characterised by relative quietness in politics. There were fewer political conflicts over the municipal and parliamentary elections and fewer cases of dispute over church appointments than before. In other words, the Jacobite rebellion created a political situation in which the Argathelians could finally consolidate their interest in Glasgow and the west as deeply and firmly as they wished.

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VII

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After the '45

After the '45, it appears that the Argathelians met no serious challenge in the Glasgow region from other political groups and that the urban leaders of Glasgow did not assert their political independence as they had done in the 1730s and 40s, at least in electoral terms. At the 1747 general election Milton and his friends sought to return John Campbell of Roseneath, the incumbent MP for the Glasgow district and appeared to carry out their plan without any serious problems. Campbell of Roseneath was told that, 'The great esteem the Community has for his Grace the Duke of Argyle & that noble Family & the Sincere regard they have for yourself, makes me believe you may depend upon their Friendship'.[143] In June, one month before the election, it was reported to Milton that, 'I took an opportunity to converse with some of the prin[cipa]ll Burghers … particularly The Provost & Baillies and Cannot discover any intention to change'.[144] As was expected, John Campbell of Roseneath was returned without contest in Glasgow on 22 July 1747.[145] The next general election of 1754 went quite smoothly as well. The magistrates and principal persons were 'all staunch for the Collonell … the Provost [John Brown] in Name of this Burgh assured his Grace they Would be for the Collonett, & for no other, & of this, their is no Doubt'.[146] There was certainly some difficulty in soliciting support from Renfrew, the presiding burgh, but, by the time of election, 'every alarming circumstance is

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[143] NLS, MS16651, f.160r: Copy letter of J[ohn] Murdoch to Coll. Campbell, [n.d.].

[144] NLS, MS16641, ff.173r-174r: Archibald Campbell to Milton, 19 June 1747.

[145] HoP, *Commons 1754-1790*, i, 505-506.

[146] NLS, MS16686, ff.13r-14v: David Campbell of Dunloskin to Archibald Campbell of Succoth, 26 April 1754.

vanished'.[147] On 9 May 1754 John Campbell of Roseneath was duly re-elected.[148]

Conclusion

The political developments in Glasgow between 1730 and 1760 were stimulated by issues and problems raised by patronage and patriotism. Argathelian rule was eventually consolidated over these three decades mainly because of the political impact of the Jacobite rebellion, but it was not firmly established before 1745. Their control of Glasgow and the west was shaken in the 1730s by the inability of and divisions among Argathelian friends in Glasgow and by the lay patronage problems in the localities. In the early 1740s, the Argathelian managers found it more difficult to maintain a tight grip on some of the independent-minded merchant-politicians. It seems that the sense of pride and independence of these merchant-politicians was underpinned by their commercial success and wealth. Bob Harris has argued that the relationship between commerce and patriotism, already a strong one in post-Union Scotland, was further strengthened after the '45,[149] but the situation in Glasgow could be explained in a slightly different light. Patriotism in Glasgow, like that in some English towns, was closely associated with criticism of ministerial influence, but, after the Jacobite rebellion, it became very dangerous for the Glasgow elite to keep on supporting a patriotic stance when this would run the risk of being criticised and labelled as Jacobite. This atmosphere was probably well captured in a short piece of work entitled '*The true GENEALOGY of a JACOBITE*' published in the *Glasgow Courant* in May 1748. It reads:

> The Devil begot Sin, Sin begot Error, Error begot Pride, Pride begot Ignorance, … implicit Faith begot Carnal Policy, Carnal Policy begot Unlimited Passive Obedience, Unlimited Passive Obedience begot Nonresistance, Nonresistance begot Oppression, Oppression begot Faction, Faction begot Patriotism, Patriotism begot Opposition to all the Measures of the Ministry, Opposition begot Disaffection, Disaffection begot Discontent, Discontent begot a Tory, and a Tory begot a Jacobite.[150]

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[147] *Ibid.*; NLS, MS16685, ff.225r-256r: Archibald Campbell of Succoth to Milton, 3 May 1754.

[148] HoP, *Commons 1754-1790*, i, 505-506.

[149] Bob Harris, *Politics and the nation: Britain in the mid-eighteenth-century* (Oxford, 2002), 186.

[150] *GC*, 2-9 May 1748.

Although the same piece had already been published in London in 1734,[151] the fact that this seems to have been sent locally (with the date *Glasgow*, May 9) meant that the post-'45 political situation in Glasgow associated opposition to the ministry with disaffection and Jacobitism. In a situation like this, Glasgow urban elite must have needed to make a clever political decision, and their decision was to come to terms with the Argathelian rule. This could well be one of the major reasons for the relative quietness in politics and religion in the 1750s. They instead attempted to use the power and influence of the family of Argyll more effectively by using their Argathelian MP to their advantage as much as possible. Thus, Glasgow became less patriotic, at least on the surface, and more loyal and commercial after the Jacobite rebellion. This development would be punctuated by the accession of George III in 1760 and the death of the third duke Argyll in 1761.

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[151] *Corn Cutter's Journal*, 16 July 1734.

Chapter Four

'The political awakening' and the rise of tradesmen in the age of the American Revolution, *c.* 1760-*c.* 1785

Introduction

With the accession of George III in 1760 and the death of the third Duke of Argyll in the following year, the age of political management and Argathelian dominance in Scotland came to an end. John Stuart, third Earl of Bute (1713–1792), a nephew of the deceased duke and the new king's political mentor, assumed the role of political manager of Scotland, only to prove his inability in and unfitness for that role. Although appointed as the head of government in May 1762, Bute resigned from office in April 1763 because of criticism and unpopularity caused by his decision to make a peace with France and his role in removing the Duke of Newcastle and William Pitt from power, as well as by polemical attacks upon his alleged influence upon George III. He entrusted Scottish business with James Stuart Mackenzie (1719–1800), his nephew, but Mackenzie failed to steer the machine of political management through the difficult times. With the death of Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, in 1764, Scottish and English politics entered into a long period of confusion and instability. While the Argyll interest lost its strength and coherence as a political force, new interests strong and powerful enough to rival the Argyll interest started to emerge. By the mid-1760s, Sir Lawrence Dundas of Kerse (1712–1781), who had made a considerable fortune in the aftermath of the Forty-Five as army contractor for the government and who had bought extensive estates in Yorkshire and across Scotland, built up a strong influence in Scotland, particularly in Edinburgh's financial circle. In the mid-1770s, however, the interest of Sir Lawrence Dundas was challenged and eclipsed by the rising and ambitious Henry Dundas (1742-1811), later first Viscount Melville, who gained considerable control over Scottish politics and, by the mid-1780s, effectively put an end to the long period of confusion and instability.[1]

The breakdown of the management system and loosening of political control in Scotland coincided with a series of upheavals from 1763 in Britain's relations with the American

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[1] William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the present* (Edinburgh, 1968), 234-242; Alexander Murdoch, *'The people above': politics and administration in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980); John Stuart Shaw, *The political history of eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999), 74-83.

colonies, which led to the War of American Independence between 1775 and 1783. The American war and Britain's eventual defeat had a significant and lasting impact upon the politics and political culture in Scotland. The American question caused considerable public concerns over political and constitutional issues as well as rights and privileges of the subjects.[2] In addition, during the American war, there occurred important events which were thought to affect the status quo of the Revolution Settlement in Scotland, such as the militia issue and Catholic relief. These events generated heated public exchanges in the press, and the Scottish public reacted with a flood of addresses to the king and petitions to Westminster.[3] In the aftermath of the American war, important political issues and parliamentary affairs began to be frequently discussed in public meeting and reports, resolutions, petitions, and addresses of these meetings were published in newspapers and pamphlets. Politics was no longer the monopoly of the great landowners and the elite. It became a matter of concern to wider sections of the people and public discourse was constantly filled with their voices. Although the relationship between this change in the nature of politics and the breakdown of political management system has not been established in a convincing manner, this period was indeed a period of transformation for Scottish politics and political culture.

There has been an historiographical question as to the timing of this transformation of Scottish politics since the theme of 'the political awakening' of Scotland was first proposed by William Mathieson in 1910. In his *Awakening of Scotland*, Mathieson described the period between 1783 and 1797 as the political awakening and argued that, before this period, there was 'nothing to suggest an upward tendency during our period in the political development of Scotland'.[4] Henry Meikle also argued that, although the American war generated the first signs of the political awakening of Scotland, it was not until the French Revolution that popular political consciousness fully arose.[5] This interpretation which regards the 1780s, and the post-1789 period in particular, as the turning point in Scottish popular politics, in other words

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[2] D.I. Fagerstrom, 'The American Revolutionary movement in Scottish opinion, 1763 to 1783' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1951); *idem*., 'Scottish opinion and the American Revolution', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 11-2 (1954), 252-275.

[3] John Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the militia issue* (Edinburgh, 1985); R.K. Donovan, *No Popery and radicalism: opposition to Roman Catholic relief in Scotland, 1778-1782* (London, 1987).

[4] W.L. Mathieson, *Awakening of Scotland: a history from 1747 to 1797* (Glasgow, 1902), 90.

[5] Henry Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution* (Glasgow, 1912), Chapters 1 and 2.

to emphasise the underdevelopment of pre-revolutionary popular political consciousness, has in general become an orthodoxy in the historiography of eighteenth-century Scotland.[6] At the same time, Dalphy Fagerstrom stretched the chronology of awakening back to the period of the American war and pointed out a growing interest in political affairs in early efforts to modify the burgh constitution in Edinburgh and in opposition to lay patronage in the Church.[7] There has also been a recent attempt by Bob Harris to question the orthodox historiography by establishing the extent and depth of pre-revolutionary popular political consciousness.[8]

This chapter, by following the recent trend of rethinking the historiographical orthodoxy as to the political awakening of the Scottish people, looks at the political development in Glasgow from the accession of George III to the burgh reform movement in the mid-1780s. As has been demonstrated in the previous two chapters, politics in Glasgow was not stable or devoid of conflict between different interests, and there were unsuccessful but serious challenges by independent-minded urban leaders to the dominance of the Argyll interest. These political disputes and struggles were mostly confined to different interest groups of urban leaders, and issues of political importance were related to deciding which interest should control the town. The opinion and sentiments of the people outside the council had little effect upon these struggles and were rarely taken into account. In this period, however, political disputes started to involve more varied issues of urban life and management which were seemingly unrelated to politics, but which became serious concerns to a wider range of people in the town, the middling sorts in particular. Although those who became more aware and wary of the abuses of and mismanagement by urban leaders did not have a say in the formal procedures of urban politics, they did find channels through which they could express their grievances and discontent in newspaper and pamphlets. The sheer amount of printed sources expressing and illustrating public opinion such as newspapers, pamphlets, as well as petitions, addresses, and resolutions of incorporations and societies, indicates that the degree of popular political awareness and the ways in which it was articulated were clearly changing.

This chapter attempts to point out the existence of continuing elements of popular

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[6] For instance, I.G.C. Hutchison, 'Glasgow working-class politics', in R.A. Cage (ed.), *The working class in Glasgow 1750-1914* (London, 1987), 98.

[7] Fagerstrom, 'The American Revolutionary movement in Scottish opinion'.

[8] Bob Harris, *The Scottish people and the French Revolution* (London, 2008), Chapter 1.

political awareness in Glasgow and also to demonstrate that the driving force behind this continuous development was the artisanal groups who became politically more aware and active in this period. Although the influence of the merchant elite in the politics of the burgh was still present, it was these tradesmen and artisans who stood to the fore in the opposition against lay patronage exercised by the magistrates, were most keen and vocal to express their sentiments about the American war, were most active in organising a campaign against Catholic relief, earnestly criticised the corrupt and closed nature of the magistrates and council, and passionately promoted a scheme for the reform of the burgh constitution. By investigating their words and actions in these events, this chapter seeks to show the changing and widening scope of politics in Glasgow and the lines of development in popular political awareness before the French Revolution. It first looks at the general socio-economic conditions and development of Glasgow which had a considerable impact upon the transformation of political culture in this period. It then investigates the arguments and actions of those opposed to lay patronage exercised by the magistrates and council during the Wynd church dispute. After looking at the exchange of opinions raised different interests about the bridge over the Clyde, it also considers Glasgow's response to the American crisis and the subsequent war as well as the campaign against Catholic relief. The final section looks at the politics of general elections and the burgh reform movement in Glasgow.

I

Socio-economic development and the popular political awareness

The period between 1760 and 1775 witnessed the latter half of the golden age of Glasgow's tobacco trade. Although its expansion was slower in this period than in the 1730s and the early 1740s, tobacco imports to Scotland continued to grow, amounting to about 32 million lbs in 1760 and reaching a staggering 47 millions in 1771, of which Glasgow merchants dealt with 98 per cent.[9] The merchant community, closely-knit through intricate business partnerships and marital relationships, remained remarkably stable and immune to competition from other interest groups. Although the outbreak of the War of American Independence in 1775 posed

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9 T.M. Devine, 'The golden age of tobacco', in T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds), *Glasgow,* volume I: *beginnings to 1830* (Manchester, 1995), 140-143; J.M. Price, 'The rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake tobacco trade, 1707-75', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 11 (1954), 179-181.

potentially mortal threat to the Glasgow tobacco merchants, their firms were resilient enough to survive the wartime crisis, and, after peace was signed in 1783, they quickly re-established themselves in America's tobacco trade.[10]

These successful tobacco merchants not only used their fortunes to invest in the development of manufacturing industries, but also purchased land in and around Glasgow with a view to obtaining social status and economic security. The ownership of land gave them opportunities to enter into the closed and exclusive circles of the ruling elite. Many merchants obtained important administrative and legal positions in the localities, such as justices of the peace and deputy lieutenants. While they thus approached the social and political status of the landed elite, many of them developed the new tastes of the period for consumer goods, leisure activities, and conspicuous display.[11] The wealthy merchant families such as Buchanan, Speirs, and Glassford also built their elegant mansion-houses around newly-opened streets in the west end of the town.[12] Robert Reid (1773–1865), a Glaswegian antiquarian who contributed numerous articles on the town's history to the *Glasgow Herald* in the early nineteenth century, remembered the imposing appearance of these mansion-houses in the late 1770s and the early 1780s:

> It was with a certain degree of reverence, and even of awe, that in my boyish days I contemplated the gorgeous mansions of those Lordly merchants, fenced in from the humble dwellings of the lower classes by their iron palisades and boundary walls, and built upon a scale almost equal to the strength of the castles of our ancient feudal barons.[13]

It is obvious that these changes in the elite-merchants' status and appearance gave them a more aristocratic air which helped increase their social status among the other townspeople. Their clothes and mannerism were distinctive as well. Reid remembered 'our tobacco Lords with their bushy wigs and scarlet cloaks, perambulating the "plane-stanes" at the Cross, and keeping the other classes at a respectable distance. No lady would venture to walk upon this aristocratic

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[10] T.M. Devine, *The tobacco lords: a study of the tobacco merchants of Glasgow and the trading activities c. 1740-90* (Edinburgh, 1975), Chapter 11.

[11] *Ibid.*, Chapters 2 and 3.

[12] T.A. Markus, Peter Robinson, and F.A. Walker, 'The shape of the city in space and stone', in Devine and Jackson, *Glasgow*, 116-117.

[13] Robert Reid, *Glasgow, past and present*, 3 vols (Glasgow, 1884-6), ii, 94-95.

promenade'.[14]

Interestingly, this widening social distance between the elite merchants and the other ranks of the town coincided with an obvious decline in their keenness to get involved in the public affairs of the town. For instance, there were frequent refusals to accept the high offices of urban government in this period. When a merchant councillor refused to serve as dean of guild in 1736, it was regarded as an 'unprecedented' case and he was imprisoned for his refusal,[15] but, later in this period, this attitude appears to have become less unusual and its punishment became less severe.[16] There were at least eight recorded refusals in this period to serve as baillie or dean of guild, and even the provostship was declined in 1780.[17] The attendance of councillors at council meeting also fell and delayed its business so much that, in 1782, the magistrates finally decided to impose a fine on tardy attendance or absence.[18] It is possible that many merchants found active involvement in urban government and administration time-consuming, unimportant, or tedious. The elite merchants' lack of concern about the general interest of the public was possibly part of what led Adam Smith, who lived in Glasgow between 1751 and 1764 and associated himself with a number of leading merchants there such as Provost Andrew Cochrane, to criticise the self-interest and 'exclusive corporation spirit' of urban merchants in his *Wealth of Nations*. Smith thought that urban merchants were men who 'naturally endeavour to obtain against all their countrymen, the same exclusive privilege which they generally possess against the inhabitants of their respective towns'. They were so private-minded that they 'have generally an interest to deceive and even to oppress the publick, and who accordingly have, upon many occasions, both deceived and oppressed it'.[19]

While the elite merchants became more aristocratic and appear to have distanced themselves from the public affairs of the town, the other ranks of townspeople, especially the tradesmen, began to express their keen interest and serious concern about the town's

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[14] *Ibid.* 'Plain-stanes' were flat stones, or flagstones, used for paving.

[15] See Chapter Three.

[16] Punishment for refusal became fines, the amount of which varied according to the rank of offices: £50 sterling (provost), £40 (bailie and dean of guild), and £20 (councillor). No fine was imposed on refusal of the office of deacon convener. Reid, *Glasgow, past and present*, iii, 276.

[17] *Glasgow Mercury,* 12 October 1780.

[18] *GBR*, viii, 43.

[19] Adam Smith, *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, eds. R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner, 2 vols (Oxford, 1976), i, 462, 267.

government and administration. From around 1760, an awareness that the town's authorities were failing to manage urban affairs properly and not dealing adequately with the rapidly changing socio-economic conditions of the town began to be articulated in public discourse in the town. The city of Glasgow had approximately 40,000 inhabitants in this period and its flourishing economy depended on the frequent and continuous supply of labour, goods, and materials. The town needed wider roads, better bridges, more fresh water, and greater food supplies. It was widely believed, however, that the urban authorities were not meeting these needs properly. As these social problems grew more serious and became matters of general concern, the townspeople feared that their rights and privileges were being threatened by the mismanagement of the magistrates and council and consequently came to contend that this mismanagement was one of the results of the closed and corrupt nature of the town's government.[20] It was the tradesmen who first expressed in an organised way their growing concern about the mismanagement as well as the worsening conditions of urban living and who also urged the magistrates to take effective steps to redress these problems. Although in the 1770s these concerns were overshadowed by more immediate and pressing issues raised by the War of American Independence and the Catholic Relief bill, they began to surface in public discourse in the early 1780s because of the emergence of a nationwide movement for reform of the burgh constitutions and parliamentary electoral practices. The origins of this burgh reform movement generally lay in criticism towards the closed and self-electing system of burgh government, as it did in the case of Glasgow.[21] What was unique about Glasgow's movement, however, was that, while reform in other towns was mostly led by lawyers and elite merchants, in Glasgow it was the tradesmen who initiated and promoted burgh reform. In this sense, the political awareness of the artisanal ranks was stimulated and developed in response to Glasgow's rapidly changing economic and social conditions in this period.

II

The dispute over the Wynd church settlement

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[20] For instance, the magistrates were criticised for their mismanagement of public market. William Thom, *The causes of the scarcity of oat-meal in the public market of Glasgow; with an easy method proposed for preventing that evil in time coming* (Glasgow, 1763).

[21] Archibald Fletcher, *Memoir concerning the origin and progress of the reform proposed in the internal government of the royal burghs of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1819), 12-15.

The 1762 dispute over the settlement of the Wynd church is, together with the one that happened in Edinburgh in the very same year, one of the best known cases of patronage disputes in Scotland in the 1760s.[22] Although Ned Landsman places this dispute in a wider context of patronage problem in the Church of Scotland and interprets the argument and concept of liberty developed by those who were against patronage in terms of the Evangelical or Popular tradition, he fails to consider the importance of the political context that had developed in Glasgow since the 1740s. This chapter focuses on the local political dimensions of this dispute and analyses the political implications of the attacks directed against the magistrates and council by those opposed to lay patronage.

As has been discussed in Chapter Two, a dispute had occurred in Glasgow in 1717 over a settlement between the council and the town's six kirk sessions and, in 1721, they agreed on a compromise called 'the Model', which decided that vacancies in these churches should be filled through a process requiring the joint consent of the council, the local congregation, and a 'general session' comprised of the ministers and elders of all the city's churches.[23] This Model had been respected and followed by both the town council and the general session for more than four decades, resulting in few disputes over church settlements in the town. In 1761, the construction of the town's new seventh church, St Andrews, was completed, and the minister of the Wynd parish, William Craig, moved there with his congregation. In March 1762, immediately after Craig's move was completed and the Wynd parish became vacant, the town council, under the leadership of Andrew Cochrane, announced the intention of abandoning the Model and declared that it had 'the sole right of patronage [of the Wynd church] and presenting a qualified person'.[24] Understood as a breach of agreement on the Model, this step provoked vigorous opposition and protests within the council and the general session as well as among the townspeople.

There had been a precedent for this dispute eight years before. In September 1754,

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[22] Ned C. Landsman, 'Liberty, piety and patronage: the social context of contested clerical calls in eighteenth-century Glasgow', Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher (eds), *The Glasgow enlightenment* (East Linton, 1995), 214-226. For the patronage dispute in Edinburgh, famously known as 'the Drysdale bustle', see Richard B. Sher, 'Moderates, managers and popular politics in mid-eighteenth century Edinburgh: Drysdale 'Bustle' of the 1760s', in John Dwyer, R.A. Mason and Alexander Murdoch (eds), *New perspectives of the politics and culture of early modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), 179-209.

[23] *GBR*, vii, 108.

[24] *Ibid.*, 90.

when the North-West, or Ramshorn church became vacant, the kirk session attempted to call Rev. John Erskine, a notable evangelical minister in Fife. The magistrates, having no sympathy for, or understanding of, Evangelical or Popular party ministers or supporters, did not want to accept Erskine and also believed that they possessed the right to present the new minister to the vacant church. They therefore passed an act of council for this purpose, which provoked protests from the general session and some of the council members. The incorporations of the trades soon joined the opposition and presented a petition to the council, which met 'with a harder fate, for it was not allowed to be read at all, it being well known that they were on the side of the model'. Eventually the council and the general session held a meeting and reached a compromise. They jointly nominated Robert Findlay, an evangelical minister at Paisley, who was respected by all those concerned, and his settlement restored 'peace and quiet' in Glasgow.[25]

It is thus apparent that the council had been attempting to wrest the power of clerical presentation from the ministers, elders, and congregations of the town. In the Wynd church dispute of 1762, those who opposed the council were called 'the Modellers' because they were eager to maintain the status quo about the method of calling ministers to the town's churches, the Model. Given the nature of the dispute, which was predominantly ecclesiastical, the Modellers' approach to defending the right to call ministers was surprisingly secular. For them, what was at stake were not only ecclesiastical, but also civil, privileges. One of the leading modellers, Archibald Ingram (*c.* 1699–1770), a prominent local merchant,[26] argued that the right to call ministers was 'All the privileges which the individualls can without inconvenience exercise in a body', and which 'every lover of liberty should wish them to continue in possession of'.[27] Another Modeller maintained that, 'what strikes me most, and truly fills me with indignation as a free Briton, and an inhabitant of a country of liberty, is the strange acts of council, and the management of the magistrates'.[28] They contended that the magistrates were

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[25] *An historical account of the debates which happened in the years 1755, 1761, and 1762, about the model, or form of calling ministers to the city of Glasgow* ([Glasgow], 1762), 4-8.

[26] Monica Clough, 'Ingram, Archibald (*c.*1699–1770)', *Oxford DNB*.

[27] *GBR*, vii, 122.

[28] *A letter from W. M. gentleman, to J. C. citizen of Glasgow, in answer to his of the 20th of March, 1762.* ([Glasgow?, 1762]), 2.

attempting to restore their right of patronage in 'a tyrannical, domineering, cavalier way'.[29] It is clear that the Modellers looked upon this dispute as both a religious and a political crisis.

The reasons why the Modellers depicted the magistrates as tyrannical rulers lay not only in the latter's disregard for the Model, but also in the way Provost Andrew Cochrane treated protests from outside the council and the general session. He would not allow the opinions of the merchants house and the trades houses to be taken into account in the decision of the council, 'as he apprehended it would occasion a great deal of pewthering and confusion'.[30] At a meeting with the council and the general session, where a petition of protesters from the incorporations of trades was to be presented and read, he 'started up from his seat … making a confused noise, or hubbub, [and] made towards the door of the council-room'. Cochrane's conduct was resented by not only the elders and tradesmen of Glasgow, but also by 'every inhabitants [*sic*]', because the tradesmen's opinion was thought to be important. The tradesmen were 'by far the most numerous rank in the city, and therefore, more considerable in the eye of the legislature, which entitled them to greater respect than was shown them in this case'.[31] This total disregard for townspeople's opinion was regarded as intolerable by the Modellers, because they believed that, 'every society in the town, and every inhabitant, should have their just share in calling ministers'.[32] For them, 'The cause is common, and the cause is the city'.[33]

To the Modellers' eyes, Provost Andrew Cochrane had lost that patriotic and public spirit which he had previously shown at the 1744 election dispute and during the Jacobite rebellion. Cochrane and his cohort, 'who, by being magistrates and councilors … think that they have acquired as great a right to the town's property, as they have to their own private property'.[34] They had been in power for so long and were 'so fixed in the chair of government, that … they soon grow fond of power, and despise to be directed by the good of the public'. As a

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[29] *Ibid.*, 2-3.

[30] *A continuation of the historical account of the debates which happened in the years 1755, 1761, and 1762, concerning the model, or form, for calling ministers to the city of Glasgow* ([Glasgow?], 1762), 9. 'Pewthering' was a variant spelling of pothering.

[31] *Ibid.*, 22, 24.

[32] *An historical account of the debates which happened in the years 1755, 1761, and 1762, about the model*, 22.

[33] *A letter from W. M. gentleman, to J. C. citizen of Glasgow*, 4.

[34] *An historical account of the debates which happened in the years 1755, 1761, and 1762. about the model*, 15.

result, 'the most important interests of the city have been over-looked ever since this administration took place'.[35] The Modellers attacked Cochrane for his mismanagement of the town during the past decade, in which the townspeople had been suffering from the ill provision of fresh water, the poor maintenance of the common Green, the forestalling at public markets, the frauds in selling bread and milk, and the unfair distribution of the poor's money.[36] According to the Modellers, the magistrates 'heap favours on their favourites, at the town's expence, while the general concerns of the city are miserably neglected'.[37] The Modellers were concerned about the corrupt abuse of power in the town, arguing that, 'if power is sweet and agreeable … if posts, and places, and benefices are worth screaming for, then put in for your share, a share which is so natural to you, a share which you have so long possessed'.[38] According to the Modellers, Cochrane and his friends were overcome by the charm of power, and these 'proficients in the school of Machiavel', 'this OTTOMAN administration', were now attempting to put the city 'under the yoke of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny'.[39] One anonymous pamphlet ridiculed the magistrates and council by defining key words of this controversy in a humorous way.[40]

> THE TOWN. … sometimes the whole inhabitants taken collectively; at other times only people of fashion; but in Politics it always means the majority of Council, or the *Junto*.
>
> *The Sett of the* BURROW. An admirable construction for keeping a few persons, with their own particular friends and dependents, continually in power.
>
> PEACEABLE MEN. People who have no opinion of their own, but willingly submit to any body who is diposed to *lead* them. Men fit to be Counsellors.
>
> MEN OF SENSE. People of the same opinion of the Council.

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35 *A letter from W. M. gentleman, to J. C. citizen of Glasgow*, 5.

36 *Ibid.*, 5-7; *A New Years's Gift to the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow, Queries Proposed concerning the Powers, and Management of the Town Council of the city of Glasgow, for some years past* (Glasgow, 1762), 3-7.

37 *Ibid.*, 8.

38 *A seasonable address to the citizens of Glasgow, upon the present important question, whether the churches of that city shall continue free, or be enslaved to patronage?* ([Glasgow?], 1762), 10.

39 *A letter from W. M. gentleman, to J. C. citizen of Glasgow*, 3-4; *A seasonable address to the citizens of Glasgow*, 12.

40 *Proposals, for publishing by subscription, an entire new work intitled a political dictionary* (Glasgow, 1764), 2-3.

FIREBRANDS.
IDEOTS.
ENTHUSIASTS.
THE MOB.

People of a different
opinion.

These definitions clearly show that the attack of the Modellers was sharply directed at the unjust urban management of the magistrates and council and that they regarded this dispute not just as an ecclesiastical dispute, but as a conflict over the distribution of power and evidence of deep differences of opinion over politics.

The Modellers also waged a campaign against the council in a practical way. A committee of the general session was appointed 'to go through the several parishes of the city, and get the inhabitants sentiments' in order gain wide public support. Moreover, in June 1762, a meeting was held by inhabitants, 'where a subscription for money was opened for defence of the ecclesiastical and civil privileges of the city … it is expected it will amount [to] a very considerable sum'.[41] At the town council election, in October 1762, they managed to elect Archibald Ingram as provost, as part of what one Modeller described as an attempted revolution in the town's constitution.[42] Facing rage and criticism from almost all the ranks of the town, Cochrane and his friends were forced to concede, allowing the council to take advice from their ministers of the town. They nominated George Bannatyne, an evangelical minister at Craigie in Ayr, with whom the parish were satisfied.[43] After this controversy Andrew Cochrane withdrew from council politics and public activity, never again being elected provost or magistrate.[44] With these results, it may well be said that the Modellers had achieved what they wanted.

The argument, language, and rhetoric that the Modellers employed to attack Cochrane's administration were not so far away from those expressed by Cochrane himself and his supporters at the time of 1744 by-election in terms of their aversion to corruption,

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[41] *A continuation of the historical account of the debates which happened in the years 1755, 1761, and 1762*, 17.

[42] *A treatise on some important advantages, which have arisen from the present dispute, between the town-council and kirk-sessions of this city. By a counsellor* (Glasgow, 1763), 4.

[43] *GBR*, vii, 164-165, 171.

[44] J.R. Anderson and James Gourlay, *The provosts of Glasgow from 1609 to 1832* (Glasgow, [1942]), 67-68.

placemen, and private interest as well as their assertion of liberty, public good, and the importance of the voice of the people. These patriots and Modellers were both widely supported by the merchants and trades, while their opponents were dismissive of those opinions outside the council. The difference between these two movements was that, while those who argued for the voice of the people at the 1744 by-election were the elite merchants on the council, it was not only the elite merchants, but also ordinary tradesmen and artisans who spoke and acted on behalf of the people in the Wynd church dispute. The supporters of the Model were found mostly in the incorporations of the trades. In particular, the incorporation of tailors appears to have taken an active part in it. John Lennox, a member of the tailor incorporation, with deacons of other incorporations and members of the deacon convener's house, several times requested Duncan Niven, deacon convener, 'to call a meeting of the trades house, in order that the mind of the house might be known'. Niven kept refusing to hold such a meeting because 'the trades house has no power, either by law or custom, to meddle in church affairs'.[45] Despite this refusal, Lennox and his friends managed to gain support from eleven out of fourteen incorporations and held the proposed meeting in June 1762.[46] Their dispute with Niven shows sophisticated understanding of the concept of political representation. Dismissing Niven's claim that the trades house had no power to interfere in church affairs, they argued that, 'it was undeniable the trades of this city made the far greatest part of burgesses thereof, and consequently have undoubted title to take notice, that none of their rights, sacred or civil, be any manner of way impaired or infringed'. Niven had a public duty to call a meeting because he, as a deacon convener, was 'the representative of the trades in council, to represent the trades grievances to the council, albeit his own private opinion should differ from the sentiments of the house'. If he still continued his refusal, he was 'guilty of a breach of that trust necessarily committed to him by the trades house, when chosen by them, to be on the leet for deacon convener'.[47] Lennox and his supporters were not the only tradesmen who expressed their discontent with the council's efforts. A petition to the council by John Jamieson, a skinner, also shows that he had a good understanding of these arguments and rhetoric of liberty: 'a

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[45] *Instrument and protest, John Lennox, deacon of the incorporation of Taylors in Glasgow, against Duncan Niven, deacon of the convener of the trades of the city of Glasgow* ([Glasgow], 1763), 2-3.
[46] GCA, T-TH3/1/2, 208, 24 June 1762.
[47] *Instrument and protest, John Lennox, deacon of the incorporation of Taylors in Glasgow*, 4-6.

claim of patronage ... must, from the genius for civil and ecclesiastical liberty, which has, for time past memory, been the distinguished characteristic of this city, be attended with very hazardous, and unforeseen consequences, equally destructive of its peace and industry'.[48] It is clear that the tradesmen were the most active and significant members of the opposition to lay patronage and the council.

Considering how far Cochrane differed from the patriots and the Modellers, it was remarkable that among the leaders of the Modellers was found the name of Lawrence Dinwiddie (1696-1764), one of Cochrane's active supporters in the 1744 electoral disputes. Dinwiddie was one of the elders in the general session and his name was at the head of a petition presented to the council.[49] He appears to have been the crucial link between the merchant Modellers and the clergy, as two of the six ministers, James Stirling and John Gillies, were appointed in 1742 when he was the provost, and they both were the most keen and active supporters of the Model among the city's ministers.[50] There were striking contrasts between the careers of Cochrane and Dinwiddie after 1744. Cochrane had established himself as one of the greatest civic leaders in eighteenth-century Glasgow in terms of its politics and business as well as its arts and sciences. He engaged in the lucrative tobacco trade and was very successful, forming close business relationships with other wealthy merchant families. He founded with his friends the Glasgow Arms Bank in 1750, initiated by the Royal Bank of Scotland, over which the Duke of Argyll had held control and Cochrane himself was an agent for it.[51] He also made acquaintance with professors of the University of Glasgow and thinkers of the Enlightenment, which gave him an access to the taste, manners, and politeness of enlightened culture and eventually made him famous for these qualities.[52] The world he came to live in was that of the wealthy elite merchants, that of the political managers, and that of the Enlightenment. Lawrence Dinwiddie was also a merchant and a partner in the Glasgow Arms Bank. He did not,

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[48] *A continuation of the historical account of the debates which happened in the years 1755, 1761, and 1762*, 25-26.

[49] Landsman, 'Liberty, piety and patronage,' 223; GCA, T-TH3/1/2, 208, 24 June 1762.

[50] *GBR*, vi, 109-110. An entry for Lawrence Dinwiddie in *ODNB* argues that he was an Episcopalian. Monica Clough, 'Dinwiddie, Lawrence (1696/7–1764)', *Oxford DNB*. Dinwiddie was, however, an active member of the High Kirk parish.

[51] Richard Saville, *Bank of Scotland: a history, 1695-1995* (Edinburgh, 1996), 103.

[52] J.H. Burton, (ed.), *The autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk 1722–1805* (reprint of 1910 ed., Bristol, 1990), 81-82.

however, take an active public role in urban politics, after the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion. He was not active in promoting the Enlightenment in Glasgow either. At the same time, he had established important American and evangelical connections through his family: his brother Robert was for a time governor of Virginia and the man who first allowed the evangelical minister, Samuel Davies, to preach in that colony. Three of his sisters married prominent evangelical clergymen. It is clear that these evangelical connections made him a keen supporter of the Model and against the town council's claim to control ecclesiastical patronage.[53]

As has been argued in the previous chapter, one of the most important points in Glasgow's patriot ideology was its emphasis on the importance of the voice of the people. It seems that this element in patriot ideology had been weakened or lost in the consolidation of the Duke of Argyll's political supremacy in the 1750s and Andrew Cochrane, the leader of the patriots, had departed from it so long ago that he himself became dismissive of it. Nevertheless, this element of patriot ideology became active again in the course of the patronage dispute in 1762. There was similar support for various bodies and individuals by both the patriots and the Modellers. In addition, what gave tenacity and strength to patriot ideology was presumably the evangelical or Popular notion of church government and its keen support for the rights of the people. There appears to have been some affinity between elements of the patriot ideology and the evangelical-popular concept of the rights of the people. It is this affinity that enabled the Modellers to point out and attack the close and corrupt nature of the sett of the town, a point which would again be repeated twenty years later in the course of the burgh reform movement.

III

Glasgow and the American Revolution

At the accession of George III, Glasgow had already established close economic and social relations with the American colonies. Scottish trade with North America continued to expand. Between 1755 and 1775, the estimated value of imports from America amounted to approximately 30 and 50 per cent of total Scottish imports, and a vast proportion of it

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53 Landsman, 'Liberty, piety and patronage', 223.

consisted of tobacco which the Glasgow merchants imported.[54] In order to keep their businesses running effectively, most Glasgow merchants employed agents, friends, siblings, and relatives in America, and frequent correspondence over the Atlantic was established. At the same time, ministers in the west of Scotland had also made contact with their co-religionists in North America from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and this religious tie became stronger and more important after the revivalist movements in New England in the later 1730s and in Cambuslang and Kilsyth in 1742.[55] Revivalist ministers interpreted these events in America and Scotland as part of broader transatlantic Protestant evangelical re-awakening,[56] and a wider and more frequent correspondence between the two sides developed thereafter.[57] Along with such personal friendship and correspondence, presbyteries and kirk sessions in the west also established contact with churches in the American colonies and occasionally sent probationers and ministers there to serve as pastors.[58] Although the most famous of such clergymen was John Witherspoon, he was just one of many who crossed the Atlantic.

These material and mental ties obliged many Glaswegians to pay close attention to the growing crisis between Britain and its American colonies. Most Glaswegians must have been well informed about changing political conditions by their private correspondence as well as by the newspapers which carried increasing news and comment concerning the colonies.[59] The merchants were the quickest to respond. They expressed their serious concerns about the worsening situations on account of the Stamp Act and subsequent legislation affecting the colonies by the Westminster Parliament. In January 1766, they joined the campaign to repeal the Stamp Act that was organised by the Rockingham administration and by London merchants and sent a petition to Parliament asking for repeal.[60] They expressed 'a more than common joy and satisfaction' when they received the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act in

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54 Devine, *The tobacco lords*, 103.

55 Andrew Hook, *Scotland and America: a study of cultural relations 1750-1835* (Glasgow, 1975), 27.

56 John Erskine, *The signs of the times consider'd: or, the high probability, that the present appearances in New-England, and the West of Scotland, are a prelude of the glorious things promised to the church in the latter ages* (Edinburgh, 1742).

57 Hook, *Scotland and America*, 27.

58 For example, CH2/294/9/172, 2 March 1743.

59 Devine, *The tobacco lords*, 103; Fagerstrom, 'Scottish opinion and the American Revolution', 37-40.

60 Fagerstrom, 'Scottish opinion and the American Revolution', 32; *Commons Journals*, xxx, 499; Devine, *The tobacco lords*, 103.

February, and soon after it was reported from Glasgow that, 'the spirit for trade is again revived'.[61]

During the early stages of the crisis, while the Glasgow merchants were thus opposed to any coercive measures by the British government against the colonists primarily because of their economic interests, ministers of the Popular persuasion in the west with strong American connections were sympathetic towards the colonists and were keen to make their views public. One of the most notable examples of these was John Erskine (1721–1803), who had served at Kirkintilloch in the west before moving to Culross in 1753 and then to Edinburgh in 1758. Erskine anonymously published his widely-read *Shall I go to war with my American Brethren?* in London as early as 1769, which was published under his name again in Edinburgh in 1776. Erskine's arguments against the war were based on such assertions as humanitarian objections to the calamities of war, the validity of the colonists' grievances, and an emphasis on the colonists' loyalty. He portrayed the Americans not as rebels, but as loyal British subjects who, 'Animated by a spirit of patriotism', had fought for their mother country against France at the siege of Louisburg in 1745.[62] The colonists were not only worthy patriots who had bravely fought for Britain, but also the people honoured by God. Erskine was convinced that New England was the land God chose 'with distinguishing instances of his favour and protection', instead of Scotland, which used to be the Lord's anointed nation of the Presbyterian Covenant.[63] That New England was God's new chosen land was proved by 'evident footsteps of a particular providence, in the destruction of the formidable squadron fitted out against them, 1746, under the Duke d'Anville'. Although Erskine was not very explicit, the supposed comparison between events in New England and in Britain in 1745-6 would be easily noticed and understood. The colonists showed 'their gratitude to God for the conquest of Canada, by forming plans, and subscribing large sums of money for Christianizing the Indians', whereas in Scotland such plans were criticised as expensive and 'a national loss'. It was clear that New England was the community 'most approved of God, that desired to make the proper improvement of mercies', while Scotland was 'the community that hindered them from making

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[61] *GJ*, 27 February-6 March 1766; *CM*, 15 March 1766.

[62] [John Erskine], *Shall I go to war with my American brethren? A discourse from Judges the xxth and 28th. Addressed to all concerned in determining that important ...* (London, 1769), 15-16.

[63] Alexander Murdoch, *Scotland and America, c. 1600-c. 1800* (London, 2010), 135.

that improvement'. Although it used to be a land of wastes and wilderness, New England was now 'a fruitful field, a seat of Liberty and of true Religion'.[64]

At the same time, the conflict with America stimulated other Popular ministers' thoughts about the nature of British political representation. William Thom (1710-1790), Popular minister at Govan near Glasgow, questioned the legitimacy and justice of the system of political representation in Scotland and America. He argued that, 'in Scotland, not only the peasantry, but many persons of landed property have no representative at all'. The people in Scotland, despite paying all the taxes imposed on the nation, 'are as really without representatives in Parliament as the British colonies in North America'. It is evident that Thom's sympathy for the American colonists originated from the unfair representation and subordinate situations which both Scotland and America unfortunately shared. For him, the Americans' slogan, 'no taxation without representation', was 'not without reason'.[65] During the American crisis, the Popular clergy continued to express, from pulpits as well as in newspapers and pamphlets, their sympathy for the Americans and opposition to the British government's harsh measures, so providing inspiration for the government's opponents.[66]

The Scottish public remained somewhat quiet after the Stamp Act crisis. As long as the dispute was confined to mercantile and commercial issues and military engagement remained unlikely, the discussions of taxation and representation were on legal aspects and their tone was not indignant.[67] In fact, many merchants in Glasgow did not expect the crisis to be serious at this stage, and this optimism appears to have been based on their underestimation of the colonists, which was probably represented in their contemptuous response to the resolutions of the Continental Association in December 1774 to ban the importation of British goods. According to a letter from Glasgow, printed in newspapers in Boston, the colonists would be enraged 'to hear how contemptible people talk here of American associations. They generally agree that such resolutions may last three Months nominally, though all hands agree that the majority of your merchants will violate the spirit of them in

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[64] [Erskine], *Shall I go to war with my American brethren?*, 15-18, 3.

[65] William Thom, *A candid enquiry into the causes of the late and the intended migrations from Scotland. In a letter to J----- R----- Esq; Lanark-shire* (Glasgow, [1770?]), 16-19.

[66] Fagerstrom, 'The American Revolutionary movement in Scottish opinion', Chapter 7.

[67] *Ibid.*, 241.

much less time'.[68] It seems probable that many ordinary Scots also viewed the American crisis somewhat optimistically, as hopes and plans for emigration to America were still discussed, despite the heightened tension between Britain and the colonies after the Gaspée affair in June 1772. The early 1770s saw an economic downturn which drove many tradesmen and artisans into great distress. While the prices and wages of the producers of linen had fallen since 1769, grain and meal prices were rising and remained high until after 1775.[69] A pamphlet on emigration published in Glasgow in 1773 argued that, 'some years ago the weavers wages were broke' and 'many hundreds entirely out of employment, and a great number taken to country labour, to work at coal pits, or any thing to support life: so that Glasgow, Paisley, and every town in Scotland, that owed their trade and commerce to manufactories, are in a fair way of falling into ruin and decay'.[70] Grain was in short supply in the west of Scotland and therefore about one fourth of the victual was imported from Ireland, but 'the landed gentlemen in the shires of R[enfre]w, L[anar]k, and A[y]r, have combined to stop the importation after New-years-day, that they may find vent for their own farm-meal at an advanced price, and thereby complete the ruin of the already half starved tradesmen'.[71] In America, however, life would be totally different:

> North-America opens a resource for such as would chuse to secure a quiet and peaceable liberty to their posterity, it contains large tracts of more fertile soil than Scotland can boast of; tracts of land capable of containing all the inhabitants of Britain, allowing each master of a family a sufficient quantity of ground to maintain him and his family in all the conveniences of life without being racked in his rent, or harassed in providing the necessaries of life to support a starving family. In short it is the land of Liberty and plenty.[72]

It is hard to know, however, whether this bright and prosperous image of America as a land of

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[68] 'Extract of a letter from Glasgow, dated August 16', *The Massachusetts Spy or, Thomas's Boston Journal*, 24 November 1774. Quoted in Brad A. Jones, 'The American Revolution and popular loyalism in the British Atlantic world' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2006), 139-140.

[69] Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish society 1707-1830: beyond Jacobitism, towards industrialisation* (Manchester, 2000), 209.

[70] *Information to emigrants, being the copy of a letter from a gentleman in North-America: containing A full and particular Account of the terms on which settlers may procure lands in North-America, particularly in the Provinces of New-York and Pensilvania* (Glasgow, 1773), 13-14.

[71] *Ibid.*, 15.

[72] *Ibid.*, 16.

liberty and plenty actually convinced ordinary Scots to emigrate. Nevertheless, there is evidence which suggests that the idea of emigration to America was widely held among the artisanal ranks in the west of Scotland and therefore had real potential. In October 1773, 'some thousands of usefull weavers' in Paisley could think of threatening 'to goe off in a body to America' during a dispute against their employers over wages.[73] This signifies that large-scale emigration to America was thought to be very likely not only by those weavers and masters directly involved in the dispute, but also by the legal authorities. Lord Justice Clerk Thomas Miller (1717-1789), Lord Glenlee, dealt with the case with great care, because he thought that these useful weavers' emigrating to America would cause serious damage to the economy of the west of Scotland. He not only appointed 'a Jury of the most intelligent & disinterested Gentlemen', but also spoke in person 'to the persons convicted with warmth and tenderness for their situation'.[74] Glenlee's great care and concern imply that ideas of emigration were already widespread among weavers. Presumably, these widespread ideas of emigration to America were based on equally widespread hopes for an amicable solution to the crisis.

After the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill in spring and summer 1775, however, optimism among Scots quickly disappeared. In response to the king's proclamation in August that the colonies were in open rebellion, public opinion took a significant loyalist turn against the colonists. In the following autumn and winter, 77 loyal addresses were voted by public bodies in Scotland.[75] The magistrates and council of Glasgow intended to follow this loyalist turn and to send a loyal address to the crown, but some of the merchants 'remonstrated in very strong terms against such a proceeding'. These merchants asserted that, if the council should send an address, it would state 'that an end may be put to the present unnecessary, unnatural, and ruinous war'.[76] They clearly worried about the damaging impact the war was having on their 'property in America at the mercy of these wild and deluded colonists'.[77] The merchants' opposition appeared to have made the magistrates drop their plan, and no address was sent to the crown from Glasgow on this occasion in 1775.

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73 TNA, SP54/46/88, ff.248r-v: Lord Justice Clerk Thomas Miller to Secretary Suffolk, 25 October 1775.

74 *Ibid.*

75 Fagerstrom, 'The American Revolutionary movement in Scottish opinion', 245.

76 *CM*, 11 October 1775; *SM*, December 1775.

77 William Mure (ed.), *Selection from the family papers preserved at Caldwell*, 3 vols. (Glasgow and Paisley, 1854), 2-ii, 257: Andrew Stuart to William Mure, 20 October 1775.

From early 1776, local opinion became more and more militant and loyalist as well as hostile towards the Americans. News and reports about the colonists' attacks and a growing dislike against Scots in America had been arriving since late 1774, and 'The Glasgow factors seem to be great objects of their resentment, the case is plain; to them they owe the money'.[78] The news about violence and ill treatment towards Scots and their property in America as well as about bloodshed in the battles obviously went a long way towards increasing support for the war. In Glasgow, the trades house sent an address to the king in January 1776 'to express our abhorrence and detestation at that unprovoked and unnatural rebellion'.[79] The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr also sent a loyal address in April, assuring the king of its 'Fidelity and Affection to your Majesty's Person and Government, their zealous Attachment to our happy Constitution, and Abhorrence of the present Rebellion'.[80] In addition, some of the merchants in Port Glasgow complained 'very much of the inactivity of our Admiral on the American station', signifying their acceptance of the active military measures taken by the government.[81]

Opinions articulated individually in newspapers and pamphlets demonstrated almost exactly the same loyalist tone as these addresses and resolutions. An anonymous pamphlet, *A vindication of the conduct of Great Britain, in her proceedings against the Americans*, printed and published in Glasgow in 1776, maintained that, although 'It seems a maxim with them, that Representation is inseparable from Taxation', this claim should be challenged because in Britain 'Out of about seven millions, scarce 300,000 have a right to chuse members of Parliament, and therefore more than three times the number of the Americans have an equal right with them to dispute the authority of the Legislature to tax them'. While emphasising how much money Britain spent on the defence of America and how much effort Britain had made to protect the colonies from their enemies, the author castigated the barbaric and primitive behaviour of the American colonists.[82] Similar loyalist arguments were also developed in a

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[78] *CM*, 22 November 1774.

[79] *GTH*, ii, 571-572; *LG*, 23 January 1776. Despite this evidence, historians have wrongly argued that Glasgow did not produce any address on this occasion. See, for instance, Jones, 'The American Revolution and popular loyalism in the British Atlantic world', 54.

[80] *LG*, 27 April 1776; *Glasgow Chronicle, or Weekly Intelligencer*, 2-9 May 1776.

[81] *CM*, 22 January 1776.

[82] *A vindication of the conduct of Great Britain, in her proceedings against the Americans. Containing, I. A demonstration of the authority which Great Britain has to tax the Americans. II. The barbarity of the Americans, in Scalping and Gouging the British soldiers. III. An account of the great expence which America has cost Great Britain, from the year 1714, to the beginning of this present rebellion* (Glasgow,

letter from a reader printed in the *Glasgow Chronicle, or Weekly Intelligencer*. It contended 'that the event would be highly injurious and humiliating to this kingdom, did we tamely submit to the presumptuous and unpardonable conduct of America'. The Americans, despite 'the unwearied lenity of government', had violated their faith and duty to mother country and, with ingratitude, were in an open rebellion. Since it became clear that the government's leniency did not satisfy American's ambition, 'the obstinate perseverance of America in the most violent and unjustifiable struggles for independence leaves no resource for accommodation but what may be acquired by downright force'.[83]

This kind of loyalist argument probably represented the prevailing mood of public sentiments in and around Glasgow in 1776 and 1777. In December 1777, the magistrates and council finally appear to have reconciled the division within themselves which had aborted the intended loyal address to the crown in December 1775 and made public their resolution to support the government in quelling the rebellion in America.[84] They agreed 'that a battalion of men should with all convenient speed be raised by the city of Glasgow, by voluntary subscription, for his Majestys service'.[85] In late January calls for volunteers began, and a grand procession was made by 'the Duke of Hamilton, accompanied by several gentlemen of eminence in the military line ... to beat up for volunteers to serve in the regiment', which encouraged more than forty men to enlist.[86] The magistrates decided to reward those who enlisted with the burgess-ship in order 'to promote the speedy levying of men'.[87] They also planned a great procession for another recruiting venture, and its description probably captures the spirited loyalist and militant mood of the town:

> This day, a public crier was sent through all the streets with the towns drum, and advertised to an immense crowd, consisting chiefly of fine young fellows, that on Monday the Honourable Magistrates were to make a procession, and to beat up for volunteers for the Glasgow regiment. The Magistrates are, on this day, to honour all the young volunteers who repair to the standard, by walking along with them in the *insignia* of their office. The colours of the city are to be displayed, in order to inspire

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1776).

[83] *Glasgow Chronicle, or Weekly Intelligencer*, 4-11 January 1776.

[84] *GBR*, vii, 513-514.

[85] *Ibid.,* 514.

[86] *Ibid.*.

[87] *Ibid.*, 517.

the minds of the people with a becoming zeal for maintaining the honour of that ensign, so highly distinguished in the last rebellion. Some gentlemen have engaged to beat the drums, and others to heighten the jubiliee by the power of various music. At night, the people, who to a man are indignant of the affronts and injuries done to the nation, are to be treated with every kind of good cheer, and the general festivity is to be heightened with a grand illumination of the windows.[88]

Here the rebellion in America was described as 'affronts and injuries done to the nation', signifying the magistrates' attitudes towards the crisis. Cultural symbols associated with the local authority were used effectively in order to stimulate patriotism of the townspeople and also to associate the American war with the Jacobite rebellion. Along with these demonstrations orchestrated by the urban authorities, loyal support for the war was also exhibited in a more voluntary way. A subscription for raising a battalion was opened in January 1778 'with great alacrity'.[89] Incorporations of the trades and their individual members subscribed 5,025 pounds sterling within ten days, while the faculty of physicians and surgeons gave 150 guineas and the faculty of procurators 250 guineas.[90] By the end of January the sum amounted to more than 10,000 pounds sterling and the subscription was still going forward.[91] Support for the war came not only from many of the trade incorporations, but from journeymen as well.[92] Apparently, these activities in support of the war were initiated, organised, and led by the magistrates and the trades in the town. Those who were sent to London in January 1778 to present the loyal address of the city to the king were the provost and the deacon convener.[93] When the council made a public demonstration in support of recruiting, the procession was led by the magistrates, the town's clerk, the council, and deacons of the trades.[94]

On the other hand, the merchants house and the dean of guild did not support any of the loyal addresses, subscriptions, or public demonstrations after the outbreak of the war.[95]

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[88] *CM*, 26 January 1778.

[89] *Ibid.*, 7 January 1778.

[90] *Ibid.,* 17 January 1778.

[91] *Ibid.*, 31 January 1778.

[92] *Ibid.*, 10 January 1778.

[93] *Ibid.*, 17 January 1778.

[94] *Ibid.*, 28 January 1778.

[95] It was not only the merchant house but also the college of Glasgow who did not join any of these events. *Ibid.*, 17 January 1778.

Probably the council members who had disagreed with the magistrates over the aborted loyal address in 1775 had a close relationship with the merchants house and the dean of guild, and this core of mercantile interests maintained their opposition stance against the war. The Popular clergy in the west also remained sympathetic towards the Americans and did not hesitate to criticise the ministry even after the war started. William Thom believed 'that if America is conquered at all, it must be done either by persuasion, by mild and equitable measures'.[96] John Gillies (1712–1796), minister of Blackfriars church in Glasgow, was active at the General Assembly in encouraging a conciliatory policy towards the American colonists in 1776–8, although his attempt was unsuccessful because of the Moderate dominance.[97] The mercantile interests of Glasgow and the Popular clergy in the west did not change their attitudes to the war for their own respective reasons throughout the crisis, and there would be many other silent sympathisers with America. They failed, however, to initiate and organise opposition campaign in any effective way, although it must be pointed out that, after George III's proclamation in August 1775 that the colonies were in open rebellion, it became difficult to express opposition against the government and sympathy for the Americans, because such expressions would entail a risk of being labelled as disloyal or disaffected. This was exactly what worried the Popular clergy in the west.[98] In late 1775, the general public in the west of Scotland clearly turned loyalist, militant, and supportive of the war against the Americans.

Why, then, did so many people in Glasgow support the war? As has been shown, the groups and sections that initiated and promoted support for the war in Glasgow were the magistrates and the tradesmen. The sets of magistrates who expressed their support for the war, or at least attempted to do so, were those elected in 1768, 1775, 1776, and 1777. Considering that the merchant interests of the town preferred leniency and peaceful solutions and were opposed to the war, the election of these pro-war magistrates must have resulted from internal struggles within the merchant interests and the council. Unfortunately, however, there is little evidence available on the council politics in this period and it is impossible to

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[96] William Thom, *Achan's trespass in the accursed thing considered. A sermon, preached in the church of Govan, on the public fast, February 26th, 1778. By the Reverend William Thom, A. M. Minister Of Govan* (Glasgow, [1778]), 44.

[97] W.G. Blaikie, 'Gillies, John (1712–1796)', rev. C.W. Mitchell, *Oxford DNB*.

[98] J.R. McIntoch, *Church and theology in Enlightenment Scotland: the Popular party, 1740-1800* (Edinburgh, 1998), 156.

know about the details of these struggles. What is known about council politics over the American crisis is that, as has been shown, there was a disagreement between the magistrates headed by Provost James Buchanan of Drumpellier (1724-1786) and the mercantile interests of the town in the autumn of 1775 over a loyal address. James Buchanan was born, as the eldest son of Provost Andrew Buchanan (1690-1759), in one of the greatest merchant families in eighteenth-century Glasgow which produced many prominent Virginia merchants. Like his father, he was a tobacco merchant, but suffered a considerable loss from the American war. He owned, with his cousin Andrew, a firm in Virginia called Buchanan, Hastie & Co., one of the largest tobacco firms there, but its plantations were seized and confiscated by the Americans, and the firm was sequestrated in December 1777 with debts of over 62,000 pounds sterling.[99] He attempted to organise a loyal address in support of the war in 1775, despite his vast property and business interest in Virginia. That the merchant interest, represented by the dean of guild in the council, sent a separate address was quite unusual, suggesting that there was possibly conflict between the magistrates and the merchant interest or at least disagreement over some expressions in the magistrates' address. These separate addresses both condemned the colonists and assured the king of their loyal support, and this would imply that the difference between the magistrates and the merchant interests was, at this stage, not about support for the crown. If any difference in their 1769 addresses is to be found, it is the merchants' mention of commerce: 'we acknowledge, that ... the Freedom of our most excellent Constitution hath been maintained, and Commerce protected and encouraged'.[100] If this emphasis on the protection and encouragement of commerce was what divided the magistrates and the merchant interest, the latter's protest against the magistrates' plan for an address in 1775 and its reluctance in joining any activities in support of the war were natural and understandable since, by then, commerce, as well as their properties in the colonies, were clearly out of protection and about to be destroyed by the Americans. If this is the case, it would be interesting to know why James Buchanan, despite his property and interest in Virginia, maintained his support for the war and attempted to send loyal addresses twice in 1769 and 1775.

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99 J.O. Mitchell (ed.), *The old country houses of the old Glasgow gentry, illustrated by permanent photographs by Annan* (2nd edn, Glasgow, 1878), 188-189; Devine, *The tobacco lords*, 116-118.
100 *LG*, 4 April 1769.

Given the opposition from the majority of merchant rank, Buchanan's support for the war might also derive from his personal political persuasions. James Buchanan was from a Covenanting family. George Buchanan, his grandfather, was a staunch Covenanter and fought at Bothwell Bridge, for which he was outlawed and had a reward set on his head.[101] Although whether James regarded himself as Covenanter or not is not known, he possessed at least some of the orthodox Calvinist traits. During the Wynd church dispute in 1762 and 1763, he was one of the leading Modellers who, together with Provost Archibald Ingram, defended the congregation's right to call their minister, suggesting that he was an upholder of Popular principles against church patronage.[102] At the same time, James Buchanan was of loyal stock as well. His father Andrew, George's second son, was one of the six commissioners appointed by Provost Cochrane in September 1745 to negotiate with John Hay, the representative of Charles Edward Stuart, who demanded 15,000 pounds sterling from the city.[103] When the Jacobites occupied the town in December, he was told by the Jacobite army that his house would be plundered if he did not pay a levy of 500 pounds, to which he was believed to declare that they could plunder away if they wanted, but he would not pay a farthing. In the event, the threat was not carried out.[104] James was about 20 years old at the time of the Forty-Five, and the event, as well as his father's heroic loyalism, might have convinced him of the importance of displaying loyalty towards the Hanoverian crown at a time of grave crisis. In the mind of James Buchanan, therefore, there must have existed two different strands of eighteenth-century Scottish political ideology: orthodox Calvinist presbyterianism and loyalism towards the crown. These two elements might be hard to co-exist if the former is to be represented by leading anti-government Popular clergymen, such as William Thom and John Erskine, but even Erskine made sure that he had due regard for the king in his pro-American *Shall I go to war with my American Brethren*, by emphasising that 'I love and respect my Sovereign' and he felt 'the warm attachment … to the succession in the illustrious house of

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[101] Mitchell (ed.), *Old country houses of the old Glasgow gentry*, 185-188.

[102] James Buchanan was one of those council members who supported Archibald Ingram against the magistrates. *GBR*, vii, 119.

[103] *Cochrane Correspondence*, 21: Cochrane to Argyll, 28 September 1745.

[104] *Ibid.*, 107. Iain F. Russell, 'Buchanan, Andrew (1690–1759)', *Oxford DNB*.

Hanover'.[105] It is important to bear in mind that, while those Covenanters such as the Cameronians who stood and remained outside the Revolution Settlement defied the legitimacy and authority of the Hanoverian crown and the Church of Scotland,[106] many who sided with the established Kirk believed themselves to have inherited the Covenanting tradition and willingly supported the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian Succession.[107] In addition, it would be too simplistic to assume that the pro-American arguments of Popular clergy were always understood and accepted by their hearers. Those who supported Popular ministers in church patronage issues could probably disagree with them without difficulty when it came to a question about whether to defend their king and country, if they believed loyalty towards the king was more important than Popular sympathy towards American brethren. This is probably what was going on in the mind of James Buchanan and the tradesmen in Glasgow, many of whom were active supporters of the Model in the Wynd church dispute as well.

The tradesmen were no doubt the largest body supportive of the war in Glasgow. As their ideas and plans for emigration to America showed, the tradesmen's attitudes towards the Americans were not hostile or were at least neutral until military engagements occurred in the spring and summer of 1775. These attitudes would possibly be shaped by the material and mental ties of many Glaswegians with the colonies, although it is hard to determine the extent of these influences on the tradesmen. Before the summer of 1775, there was no public expression of any kind from the artisanal elements in the Glasgow region with regard to the American crisis. It is highly likely that they had information about the changing relations between Britain and the American colonies, given their high level of literacy, awareness and understanding of the social and political issues.[108] The lack of any collective or concerted reactions from the tradesmen possibly reflects either their neutralism or indecisiveness. As has been shown above, however, their attitudes took a significant turn after the summer of 1775 when they became most active and vocal in support of the war. Their eagerness and sense of

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[105] [Gillies], *Shall I go to war with my American brethren?*, 3-4.

[106] Colin Kidd, 'Conditional Britons: the Scots Covenanting tradition and the eighteenth-century British state', *English Historical Review*, cxvii. 474 (2002), 1147-1176.

[107] See Chapter Six.

[108] Peter Laslett, 'Scottish weavers, cobblers and miners who bought books in the 1750s', *Local Population Studies*, iii (1969), 7-14; Ned C. Landsman, 'Evangelists and their hearers: popular interpretation of revivalist preaching in eighteenth-century Scotland', *Journal of British Studies*, 28 (1989), 120-149; J. Crawford, 'Reading and book-use in 18th-century Scotland', *Bibliotheck*, 19 (1994), 23-43.

emergency was probably indicated by their loyal address in January 1776. No address had been sent from Glasgow after the royal proclamation against the colonists in August 1775, because of the conflict in the council between the magistrates and the merchant interests. Since the situation at that time was critical, 'it will be presumed that those who do not address are rather adverse to the measures which have been adopted in the American contest'.[109] The trades house, probably aware that the town was in danger of being labelled as opposition or even disaffected, decided to compose its own address to represent Glasgow's loyal support for the war and the king. Since addressing on this occasion was highly politically charged, an address had to 'appear … to be a manly, elegant, and temperate address' and its words and expressions were extremely carefully chosen.[110] The wording of Glasgow tradesmen's address is therefore worth considering.

In the first place, their loyalty to the king and government was clearly articulated. While mentioning their 'most unalterable Sentiments of Loyalty and Affection to your Majesty's Person and Government', they praised the king as 'acknowledged to be the best of the Kings' and the government as 'who has always protected them [the colonists] when in Danger, and defended them from the Attacks of Foreign Enemies'.[111] Their argument on the government's protection of colonists was quite similar to that developed in a local pamphlet published later in the year.[112] Second, they condemned the colonists' act as 'the most frivolous Causes that ever excited Sedition', which 'indicates too strongly their Intention to shake off, and not be governed by, the Laws of Great Britain, which, we firmly believe, they are bound to obey'. Apparently they regarded obedience to the law as the unconditional duty of Britons. Third, and significantly, they mentioned the state of economy Glasgow: 'We … have the Pleasure of informing your Majesty, that, notwithstanding of this unnatural Rebellion, our Trades and Manufactures in general are in a prosperous State'. This possibly reflects Glasgow's sense of pride as the first town of trade and manufacture in Scotland. Finally, they declared their wholehearted support for the war: 'we from the Sincerity of our Hearts declare, that with

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[109] Mure (ed.), *Selection from the family papers preserved at Caldwell,* 2-ii, 257: Andrew Stuart to William Mure, 20 October 1775.

[110] *Ibid.*

[111] *LG*, 23 January 1776.

[112] *A vindication of the conduct of Great Britain, in her proceedings against the Americans.*

our Lives and Fortunes we will support and defend your majesty's Person and Government, to the utmost of our Power, in quelling the unnatural Rebellion now subsisting in America; and in restoring the Rebellious Colonies to a due Submission to the Laws and Government of Great Britain'.[113] This final sentence is important in considering reasons for the tradesmen's support for the war, in that it clearly stated that what they thought was at stake was 'your Majesty's Person and Government'. In its early stages, the conflict between Britain and the colonies was in general about taxation, virtual representation, and the liberties of the British subjects. The colonists' grievances over these issues were understood and gained much sympathy across Britain, as these were questions about constitutional principle and so potentially negotiable. This probably explains why public discourse before the outbreak of the war was largely preoccupied with issues of fundamental principle.[114] As the colonists' resistance against the authority of Parliament became increasingly evident and when military engagements occurred in the summer of 1775, however, the conflict was no longer a matter of constitutional principle. With George III's declaration in August, the colonists became rebels who, in defiance of British sovereignty over the colonies, took up arms against king and country. Now it became clear that loyal subjects had to do everything to defend 'your majesty's Person and Government' from the rebels.

Glasgow tradesmen thus expressed their support for the king and the war against the Americans. Their support was maintained in the course of war and even after critical defeats of the British army such as Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga in October 1777. As has been shown, when a public subscription was opened for raising a battalion in January 1778, it was the trades ranks who were most active in contributing to this subscription. Although marked out for their impressive loyalism throughout the crisis, however, the tradesmen had come to possess a somewhat contradictory attitude towards the war by this time. The *Glasgow Mercury* reported in January 1778 that, 'Notwithstanding the liberality with which this undertaking has been carried on by the Trades rank, we are well informed, that It is the wish of these Subscribers that the present dispute betwixt Britain and her Colonies may be amicably settled without

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[113] *LG*, 23 January 1776.

[114] H.T. Dickinson, 'Introduction (1763-1776)', *idem*. (ed.), *British pamphlets on the American Revolution*, 8 vols (London, 2007-8), I, xliii-xlviii; *idem*, 'Introduction (1776-1785)', *idem*., V, ix.

further bloodshed'.[115] Apparently, many tradesmen loyally supported the war against the Americans but, by this point, wanted it to reach to an amicable conclusion as soon as possible. In fact, their reluctance was probably part of a wider shift in the Scottish people's attitude towards the war. It was from 1778 on when critical opinion against the government began to gain strength in Scottish as well as English public discourse.[116]

Historians have argued that Glasgow's response to the American crisis consisted of opposition from the merchants and the clergy, as well as loyal support from the public.[117] This study reveals that, below this general picture, there were more complex responses among the merchants which, despite opposition from the majority of them, attempted to express, and did express, loyal support for the king. It also shows that the merchants' economic interests were not always the decisive factor in their opposition to the war, a point repeated by historians. In addition, although it is right to maintain that the social and political divisions that the American crisis created were not as deep or thorough in Scotland as they were in England or Ireland and also that Scottish and Glaswegian public opinion was in general supportive of government and the war,[118] it is wrong to assume that the Scottish people remained loyal throughout the crisis. As has been demonstrated, the general tone of public opinion including the trades appears to have been sympathetic towards the colonists in the early stages of the crisis. What changed the attitudes of the artisanal ranks towards the conflict was the outbreak of the war and therefore the armed rebellion in 1775, and this change was probably underpinned by their staunch loyalism towards the king. It was their spirited loyalism that led them to express their support for the war in January 1776, despite the elite merchants' silence. These keen and active articulations of their sentiments were not surprising, however, given their active involvement in the Wynd church dispute. When the minds of the Scottish people became preoccupied with the Catholic Relief bills in late 1778 and early 1779, it was again the tradesmen who in Glasgow played a vital role in initiating and promoting a campaign against

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[115] *Glasgow Mercury*, 15 January 1778.

[116] Fagerstrom, 'Scottish opinion and the American Revolution', 271.

[117] *Ibid.*; Jones, 'The American Revolution and popular loyalism in the British Atlantic world'.

[118] Harris, *Scottish people and the French Revolution*, 18-19; D.B. Swinfen, 'The American Revolution in the Scottish press', in Owen Dudley Edwards and George Shepperson (eds), *Scotland, Europe and the American Revolution* (New York, 1976), 66-74; Brad A. Jones, 'The American Revolution, Glasgow and the making of the second city of empire,' in Simon P. Newman (ed.), *Europe's American Revolution* (London, 2006), 1-25.

Catholic relief in effective and impressive ways.

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IV

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Opposition to the Catholic bill

While the American crisis provoked different responses in Glasgow, the Catholic Relief bill presented to the House of Commons in 1778 met almost unanimous opposition from all sections of townspeople.[119] Not only those traditional secular incorporations, such as the town council,[120] the merchants house, the trades house, and the trade incorporations, but also the synod, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions expressed their opposition to the Catholic Relief bill.[121] Moreover, the anti-Catholic movement was supported not only by these traditional incorporations, but also by non-institutional voluntary societies.[122] Voices of oppositions were raised not only in Glasgow and the west, but all over Scotland.[123] This was truly a national response, but, as Donovan has rightly pointed out, in Glasgow the protests were more vociferous and the anti-Catholic organisations were more durable than anywhere else.[124]

When a proposal for extending the repeal of the penal laws against Catholics to Scotland was introduced in the House of Commons in May 1778 and news of this proposal reached the General Assembly then held in Edinburgh, protests against this measure were made by delegates, especially by John Gillies. In October, the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr appointed a fast day on account of 'the rapid progress of infidelity and the encouragement given to Popery'. The synod also appointed a committee 'to wait upon the Lord Advocate, to inform him of the spirit of the people in that part of the country, respecting the relaxation of the Popish penal laws'.[125] This resolution, reported in the *Caledonian Mercury,* provoked widespread responses and the act of the synod was extensively published, signifying the serious attention of

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[119] Donovan*, No popery and radicalism,* 273-278.

[120]   Although Donovan argued that the town council of Glasgow took no action (*ibid.*, 215), they made a resolution against the bill. *GBR*, vii, 542.

[121] *Scotland's opposition to the popish bill. A collection of all the declarations and resolutions, published by the different counties, cities, towns, parishes, incorporations, and societies, throughout Scotland, …* (Edinburgh, 1780) contains numerous addresses, petitions and resolutions from secular and religious bodies from all over the country, of which thirty one were from in and around Glasgow.

[122] *Ibid.*, 56, 123, 124 and 193.

[123] *Ibid., passim*.

[124] Donovan, *No popery and radicalism,* 58.

[125]   *CM*, 17 October 1778; *Scotland's opposition*, 4.

the public.[126] In Glasgow, on 18 October, a few days after the synod met, a crowd gathered in Salt Market and smashed the window of a Catholic comb-maker, who held the Catholic Mass in his house. Excited bystanders stoned Catholics returning home after hearing Mass.[127] It is evident that the act of the synod, full of attacks on Catholic superstition, exacerbated the existing hatred and fear of Catholics.[128] In January 1779, incorporations and societies in and around Glasgow held meetings one after another, and their resolutions were published in newspapers. Some of these meetings gathered delegates and representatives from many bodies and formed themselves into associations. A meeting on 5 January by 'A Number of Gentlemen' turned into 'the Committee of Correspondence at Glasgow'.[129] At another large-scale meeting held on 8 January, an association of 'The Eighty Private Societies in and about Glasgow' was formed, and, as more clubs and societies joined them, its name changed to 'Near Eighty', 'Eighty Three' and finally to 'Eighty-Five'.[130] Similar meetings were held and societies formed in Edinburgh as well, and the anti-Catholic relief movement had spread rapidly across Scotland by the end of January.[131]

In the early stages, it was the trades house and incorporations of Glasgow that responded in a highly organised manner. In November 1778, the incorporations 'authorise & impower' their deacons to 'Join and concurr' with the trades house and other corporations and societies in Glasgow.[132] The deacons of the trades accordingly assembled in December at the trades house and agreed to address the king and petition Parliament respectively against repeal. They also 'subscribed a considerable sum of money to employ counsel in both Houses of Parliament, if the bill is brought in; and have appointed a committee to correspond with the different societies now formed in defence of the protestant religion'.[133] This probably formed the backbone of communication and collaboration between different incorporations and

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[126] *CM*, 19 October 1779; 26 October 1778.

[127] Donovan*, No popery and radicalism*, 14.

[128] The act attacked the Catholics 'whose perculiar worship is idolatry, whose distinguishing doctrines and usages are according to the flesh, after the working of Satan, in all hte deceivableness of unrighteousness: --- That cruel superstition, which has often been drunk with the blood of the saints'. *CM*, 26 October 1778.

[129] *CM*, 9 January 1778; *Scotland's opposition*, 21-22.

[130] Donovan, *No popery and radicalism,* 58.

[131] *Scotland's opposition*, 21-22.

[132] GCA, T-TH3/1/2, 27 November 1778.

[133] *CM*, 26 December 1778.

societies, upon which the founding of large-scale associations depended. While the Committee of Correspondence in Glasgow appears to have been based on the existing network of clergymen and functioned as a sort of centre of information and communication between kirk-sessions in and around Glasgow, the Eighty-Five Societies consisted mostly of secular corporations, societies, and clubs of tradesmen.[134] The membership amounted to about 12,000, and they elected John Paterson, a grocer in Glasgow, as their president, a schoolmaster as clerk, and a baker as treasurer.[135] It is evident that tradesmen took the leading role in the societies' activities. At least thirteen other incorporations and societies published their resolutions individually, and most of them held meetings, cooperated with other societies, sent addresses and petitions to the crown and Parliament respectively, and collected subscriptions on their own.[136]

While this rapid expansion of the movement was made possible by the efforts of existing networks of clergymen and tradesmen to establish correspondence between the incorporations and societies, it was also vital for them to exploit the press effectively in order to obtain detailed information of the bill and also to propagate their cause across the country. In early January 1779, the Committee of Correspondence in Glasgow published in the *Caledonian Mercury* an article urging all the societies to 'hold meetings, and publish their sentiments on this subject, for the information of all concerned'.[137] By early February, over three hundred and fifty resolutions had been published in newspapers and at least seventy petitions had been sent to Parliament.[138] Some of the resolutions shared general expressions and specific sentences with each other, signifying close communication between the various bodies and the possible existence of a shared text or template.[139]

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[134] *Scotland's opposition*, 93-96, 166-167 and 227-228.

[135] *Transactions of the eighty-five private societies, in and about Glasgow; united in a general correspondence, ... to oppose a repeal of the penal statutes against Papists in Scotland. Containing, I. Their minutes of procedure ... II. Their letter to the Right Hon. Lord Suffolk III. Their epistolary correspondence with the Right Hon. Lord George Gordon. ...* (Glasgow, 1779), 4, 11 and 13.

[136] Brewers, gardeners, stocking makers, journeymen shoemakers, journeymen bakers and journeymen hammermen in Glasgow; weavers in Gorbals; journeymen weavers in Paisley; weavers in Kilsyth; journeymen shoemakers in Kilmarnock; weavers and masons and wrights in Pollockshows; trades in Hamilton. See the index in *Scotland's opposition*, 304-306.

[137] *CM*, 9 January 1779.

[138] *Scotland's opposition*, 306-309.

[139] For example, resolutions of journeymen hammermen in Glasgow (12 January 1779) and weavers in Kilsyth (19 January 1779) have this sentence in common. 'They trust that our gracious Sovereign, who is justly stiled, The Father of his people, will lend a paternal ear to the cries of his subjects, and will remove

There were also similarities in arguments and rhetoric developed in these resolutions and petitions. Almost all of them emphasised the importance of preserving the penal laws against the Catholics on the ground that these laws were passed in the reigns of William III and Queen Mary and that these, together with civil and religious liberties, were secured by the Treaty of Union. They almost unanimously expressed their adherence to the Revolution Settlement and the Protestant succession as well as their attachment to the king, whom some of them called 'The Father of his people'.[140] It is clear that loyal support for the Revolution Settlement, the Hanoverian Succession, and the Union of 1707 was the most important and widely shared attitude in the anti-Catholic relief movement. Some of the resolutions put forward anti-Catholic arguments in a remarkable way. The journeymen bakers in Glasgow argued that 'Popery' was dangerous because of 'its system of morals, subversive of the foundation of all civil society', implying their possible familiarity with highly abstract works of the Enlightenment.[141] At the same time, prejudices against Catholics were widely shared. Paisley Ayrshire Society contended that, 'We need not here enter into argument, to point out what an unscriptural, diabolical, cruel, and wicked system of religion this is', because 'Facts, and many late publications, must prove these to every unprejudised person'.[142] These prejudices against Catholics have made historians conclude that the anti-Catholic movement displayed 'undisciplined and disorganized … hasty and sporadic' characteristics typical of religious prejudices,[143] but masons and wrights in Pollockshaws demonstrated an acute understanding of the situation when they argued that, 'It may be true, an unlimited toleration is not intended', but this did not abate their fears and anxieties because 'history assures us, that they have seldom or never obtained an unlimited toleration, but they have grasped the reins of government'.[144]

History clearly mattered to them. A resolution of 'the Society of Discharged Soldiers in Glasgow' showed a proper understanding of history in maintaining that, 'popery … was the

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their rears and apprehensions, by ordering such bill (if brought into Parliament,) to be withdrawn'. *Scotland's opposition*, 47 and 71.

[140] *Ibid.*

[141] *Ibid.*, 96.

[142] *Ibid.*, 123-124.

[143] Donovan, *No Popery and radicalism*, 50.

[144] *Scotland's opposition*, 215.

cause of King James VII, his *abdicating* the throne of these realms' and its 're-introduction …

would be a direct breach of an article of the Union; to violate which would be bad policy, even

in a British Parliament'.[145] It is not surprising that these fears and anxieties were related not

only to the reign of James VII but also to the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. The memory

of the Jacobite rebellions was clearly associated with the loyalism that had been displayed by

Glaswegians. The Grand Antiquary Society of Glasgow explained its members as:

> Burgess and their descendents of ancient and loyal city of Glasgow, who made a
> laudable, zealous, and seasonable appearance in bringing about our memorable
> reformation from Popery; and have always signalized themselves in behalf of these
> reformation principles, and were remarkably so, at our happy Revolution, which
> freed us from Popery, slavery, and arbitrary power; and made a distinguished
> appearance against the malevolent design of a popish Pretender, in the years 1715,
> and 1745.[146]

The history of Glasgow was thus interpreted as a struggle against popery and arbitrary power,

and, on each of these occasions, the loyalism of Glaswegians prevailed.

While most of the resolutioners were thus loyal to the crown and the Revolution

Settlement, some of them did not hesitate to attack the ministry for what they believed to be its

mismanagement of Catholic relief. 'We behold', the Paisley Ayrshire Society declared, 'the

conduct of those ministers, or men, who are so impudent as to propose such a bill'. They

maintained that, 'Not satisfied with doing every thing in their power for these four years past, to

pursue measures that have been detrimental to the British interest in America; we fear, they

have already lost America, by a course of blundering conduct'.[147] These resolutions made it

clear that, while the resolusioners were unanimously against the Catholic Relief bill, there were

differences in their opinions and sentiments towards the American war. Many of the

resolutioners nevertheless proudly regarded themselves as loyal subjects and believed in the

good government of the king. They trusted that the king 'will lend a paternal ear to the cries of

his subjects, and will remove their fears and apprehensions, by ordering such a bill, if brought

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[145] *Ibid.*, 38. Italic is mine.
[146] *Ibid.*, 56.
[147] *Ibid.*, 124.

into Parliament, to be withdrawn'.[148] This did not mean, however, that they were entirely supportive of the ministry and content with its policies when, in fact, discontent with the ministry and politicians in parliament grew stronger and stronger as the movement developed.

From the outset, politicians in power were dismissive of the public opposition against the Catholic Relief bill. In September 1778, Henry Dundas, who promoted Catholic relief in Scotland, told a committee from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr that he would not carry their resolutions to the king.[149] Despite the flood of petitions sent to London, the government was, in the eyes of the Scots, very indifferent to, or even negligent of, these pleas. In late January, the Committee of Correspondence of Glasgow reported that, 'a bill is to be brought into Parliament for repealing the penal statutes against Papists in Scotland, and though it is not to be brought in by the Ministry, yet the noble Lord who is supposed to be Prime Minister has *declined* giving any information concerning the conduct to be followed by the Ministry or by himself with respect to this bill'.[150] This information urged the council of Glasgow, which was relatively slow to react, to draw up a resolution against the bill.[151] Suspicion and distrust towards politicians and government were so heightened that, even when it was rumoured that the Relief bill might be given up, the committee of Eighty-Five Societies and the Committee of Correspondence of Glasgow denounced 'a sham evasion, designed to lull the vigilance of the Protestants asleep'.[152] Prejudices about the crafty and cunning nature of Catholics might have made them believe that politicians were already seduced and controlled. In fact, the vociferous public opposition to the Relief bill had a considerable impact upon the decision-makers at Westminster and the measure was finally given up. This distrust and discontent with the ministry were important reasons why Lord George Gordon became a parliamentary spokesman for and a leader of the movement. When, in March 1779, the House of Commons discussed financial restitution for the Catholics, who had suffered considerable damage and losses on account of the disturbances in Edinburgh and Glasgow in February, Gordon, having already caught the attention of the Scots through his vehement attacks upon the ministry, took the opportunity to voice his sympathy for

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[148] *Ibid.*, 47 and 71.

[149] Donovan, *No popery and radicalism*, 16-17.

[150] *CM*, 23 January 1779.

[151] *GBR*, vii, 542.

[152] *Transaction of the Eighty-five societies*, 4.

the Protestant Scots and criticised Dundas and the ministry for their unfair treatment of Scotsmen. Although his concern about the anti-Catholic relief movement was not great at this stage, his speech was published in Scotland, helping to establish his reputation as a spokesman for the Scots.[153]

Gordon's visit to Scotland in September caused a sensation across the country. He was invited to Glasgow, where he 'supped with a number of gentlemen, who had been very active in support of the Protestant interest, in the late intended repeal of the penal statutes against Papists'. He then went to Anderston near Glasgow 'on an invitation from a number of the principal inhabitants there, and dined'. He returned to Glasgow in the evening 'amidst the acclamations of a great crowd of spectators'.[154] He also visited Paisley, where he dined with the magistrates and was presented with a burgess-ticket, as a small expression of that universal approbation which his Lordship's noble, spirited, and *truly patriotic* conduct in Parliament, in the affair of the Cambric Bill, the Scots Militia, but more especially in support of the friends of the Protestant interest in Scotland'.[155] Other townsmen in Paisley welcomed him in an unusual manner:

> Great crowds of the inhabitants gathered themselves together, wherever his Lordship was known to pass, every-where expressing their hearty feelings of gratitude by repeated huzzas. During the entertainment within, the Trades paraded streets, with their colours flying, and drums beating, as on the King's birth-day, or other most solemn occasions of public joy. A deputation from the Trades and numerous societies were also preparing to wait upon his Lordship in form; but his short stay deprived them of that honour.[156]

Those resolutioners and petitioners of the anti-Catholic relief movement thus achieved their goal. The movement was truly national and had considerable support from Protestants of almost all ranks, but, as has been shown, the leading role taken by the tradesmen was significant. It is true that the existing institutions of the Church of Scotland and the networks of

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[153] Donovan, *No popery and radicalism*, 20-21 and 30-32.

[154] *CM*, 11 September 1779.

[155] *Ibid.*, 18 September 1779. Although Donovan emphasises the importance of Gordon's sympathy towards Americans in gaining popular support in Scotland (Donovan, *No popery and radicalism*, 245-256, 275-276), it might be significant that there was no mention to his American sympathy in this quote.

[156] *CM*, 18 September 1779.

clergymen were important, but the tradesmen's active engagement in correspondence with each other, forming societies and associations, collecting subscriptions, and exploiting the press were remarkable developments during the lifetime of the movement. It is possible to maintain that, although the tradesmen had been concerned with local and national political affairs from their own perspectives, the American Revolution and the anti-Catholic movement made them more active, articulate, and organised than ever before, and that this would lead to their subsequent demand in 1783 and 1784 for burgh reform and a wider franchise in parliamentary elections.

<div align="center">V</div>

Parliamentary elections and the burgh reform movement

This section deals with parliamentary elections of the Glasgow district in this period and the burgh reform movement in 1783 and 1784. Due to the lack of sources, it is impossible to examine the details of local and national politics relating to the general elections in any depth, but there is some evidence about the general elections of 1761, 1768 and 1780 which provides insights into the changes and development of the political culture of Glasgow in this period.

In early April 1761, just a few weeks before the general election that year, an anonymous pamphlet, *An address from an independent citizen of Glasgow, to his fellow-citizens*, was published in Glasgow. It attacked the dominant control of parliamentary elections of this district by 'a certain man'. It argued that there had long been a reproach of the Scottish people 'as under the dominion of a certain man, they dare to avow no will of their own, and are hardly acquainted with the persons whom … they are directed to elect'. That great man thought that, 'the electors and citizens of Glasgow, have been considered so fettered to his will, that no art, no device, has been … necessary'. They were thought to be his slaves and creatures, and 'as if it was the honour of Glasgow, tamely to submit to every measure … the absolute dominion in which they are held by a certain peer'. Clearly, the author intended to attack the third Duke of Argyll for his political management and dominance over the city of Glasgow. He urged Glasgow electors to choose 'the proper person to take care of their trade and manufactures' and to 'be one, whose private and public interest is so connected, and

interwoven with the prosperity and happiness of the city of Glasgow'.[157] It is clear that the author was repeating the claims made at previous elections in Glasgow that the representative should be chosen from townsmen, familiar with commerce and trade, and independent of the control of political managers. Considering that these claims had previously been made in private letters and at closed meetings in the council house, however, it is a significant development that these claims were made public in the form of a pamphlet. This means that there was a publisher who was ready to publish such critical opinions on Argyll, that there was an author who was so discontented and dissatisfied with Argyll's political control, and that the publisher and the author expected that there were sufficient potential readers, the public, who would buy, circulate, and read this pamphlet. Although this general election was carried in favour of the Argathelians, who united after the sudden death of Argyll, and Lord Frederick Campbell (1729–1816) was chosen as the representative for the Glasgow district,[158] it is probably significant that this kind of political and explicitly critical attack on the Argyll interest was published. It means that Glasgow's longstanding principles of independence were now expected to be shared by many of the reading public and the voice of the public began to be counted as crucial in electoral politics.

Although he was not a native of Glasgow or familiar with commerce and trade, Lord Frederick Campbell seems to have served the interests of Glasgow well. He was chosen MP for the district at the general elections of 1768 and 1774 and re-elected in 1765 and 1768 after appointment to office. There might have been some attempt to defeat him at these elections, but given the decline of the Argyll interest in this period, it can be said that Frederick Campbell retained his seat thanks to support from the Glasgow elite. Before the election of 1768 he sent a letter to the magistrates and council expressing 'my earnest wishes that I may again have the honour of representing in Parliament their verie great and considerable city'. He was unanimously recommended by the council and duly elected.[159] In fact, it was not only the magistrates and council that supported Frederick Campbell. When he was re-elected after appointment to office in December 1768, many hundreds of weavers turned up at Rutherglen,

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[157] *An address from an independent citizen of Glasgow, to his fellow-citizens. Containing a few hints relative to the ensuing election* ([Glasgow], [1761]).

[158] HoP, *Commons 1754-1790*, i, 505-506.

[159] *GBR*, vii, 261.

the presiding burgh, 'in testimony of their gratitude to his Lordship, for the great pain he took in procuring the prohibition of the French Cambricks',[160] the importation of which had been proposed in Parliament in the previous year. Weavers in and around Glasgow had published an advertisement against such importations because they would lower their wages and 'many thousands employed in that branch of business in Britain in general, and Glasgow and the west part of Scotland in particular, behoved soon to be reduced to the lowest ebb'.[161] When the result of the election was known, they 'expressed their joy by repeated huzza's, and on their coming back to town, assembled at the most noted Inn, and drunk his Lordships health'.[162] This incident is significant in that these weavers showed such a high degree of concern and interest in the parliamentary activities of their MP and expressed their support and gratitude for his conduct even on the occasion of a seemingly unimportant re-election. It is evident that the scope of politics had definitely become wider and more people had their own concerns and interests in parliamentary elections than before.

At the general election of 1780, however, Frederick Campbell decided not to stand for the Glasgow district because he had become tired of the burden of Glasgow's multifarious business interests, and he was anxious to represent 'one more easy'.[163] John Craufurd, MP for Ayrshire, sought to replace him and solicited support from Henry Dundas. Dundas' letter to Glasgow 'has operated like a charm' and Craufurd obtained strong support from the powerful and influential merchants such as John Glassford and Alexander Speirs.[164] To Craufurd's surprise, however, another candidacy was declared by William Fullarton, who was supported by Lord Frederick Campbell.[165] Despite Craufurd's anxieties, the council of Glasgow decided to vote for Craufurd by a majority of six, and he was duly elected at Dumbarton as a representative for the Glasgow district.[166] A newspaper article on this election caused a small debate in the *Caledonian Mercury*. The article on 4 October 1780 reported the result of the election and

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[160] *GJ*, 8-15 December 1768.

[161] *CM*, 20 July 1767.

[162] *GJ*, 8-15 December 1768.

[163] HoP, *Commons 1754-1790*, i, 506; NAS, GD51/1/198/15/14: Lord Frederick Campbell to John Craudurd, 3 September 1780.

[164] NAS, GD51/1/198/15/1: John Craufurd to Henry Dundas, 8 September 1780.

[165] NAS, GD51/1/198/15/6: the same to the same, 19 September 1780.

[166] *GBR*, vii, 610-611. Namier and Brooke mistakenly say that the majority was nine. HoP, *Commons 1754-1790*, i, 506; NAS, GD51/1/198/15/9: John Craufurd to Henry Dundas, 2 October 1780.

commented that Craufurd 'owed his election to the friendship of John Glassford and Alexander Speirs ... both gentlemen of independent principles and fortunes, and who spurn with indignation the fetters of an overbearing Aristocratic influence'.[167] This article provoked two responses, both of which were printed in the next issue of the *Caledonian Mercury*. A letter from '99 of 100 of the Citizens of Glasgow' maintained that it was not Craufurd, but Fullarton who had stronger support from the citizens, because Fullarton was a candidate of Frederick Campbell, to whom the city was attached. 'In the course of the canvass it may be said, that ninety-nine of every hundred of the citizens [were] for Mr Fullarton, as was also Lord Frederick Campbell'. Glassford and Speirs were also for Fullarton, but those 'happening to have at that time a majority of six in the Council, carried their delegate, who was in the interest of Mr Crawfurd'.[168] It appears that the author of '99 of 100 of the Citizens of Glasgow' was not satisfied with the results of the election on the grounds that it did not represent the opinion of the majority of inhabitants. It can also be argued that this kind of dissatisfaction and discontent with the existing system of closed representation in Parliament as well as in burghs was gradually spreading and was shared by those who did not have a say in the formal political processes, which must have formed one of the causes of the burgh reform movement.

The origins of the burgh reform movement in Scotland have long been attributed to the widespread political awareness raised by the American Revolution.[169] The movement emerged from a series of struggles in Edinburgh over representation on the council and the franchise for parliamentary elections, which had their roots in as early as the 1740s.[170] After the public discourse began to be animated by letters by 'Zeno', the pseudonym of Thomas Macgrugar, a wealthy Edinburgh burgess, who developed arguments for reform in later 1782 and early 1783, the merchant company of Edinburgh met to discuss reform of the parliamentary representation which was planned to be brought before the House of Commons in February.[171] In the meeting, complaints were made that the merchant company had no

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[167] *CM*, 4 October 1780.

[168] *Ibid.*, 11 October 1780.

[169] Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution*, 4; Fagerstrom, 'The American Revolutionary movement in Scottish opinion', 125-126.

[170] Fagerstrom, 'The American Revolutionary movement in Scottish opinion' 105-144; Alexander Murdoch, 'The importance of being Edinburgh: management and opposition in Edinburgh politics, 1746-1784', *SHR*, 68-1 (1983), 1-16.

[171] Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution*, 17-18.

voice in the appointment of the magistrates, and a committee was appointed to correspond with individuals and societies concurring with this concern and with the necessity for reform.[172] Societies in Aberdeen, Nairn, Stirling, and other towns quickly responded to the appeal by the Edinburgh merchant company, who entrusted a committee of Edinburgh burgesses with the task of leading the other towns in late April.[173] The committee duly corresponded with the other burghs and organised a general convention of delegates at Edinburgh in March 1784 'in order to combine their efforts for the purpose of obtaining redress of the grievances existing in the government of the Royal Burghs'. Support for the scheme of reform was widespread. Delegates from 33 burghs attended the convention, and later the number of supporting burghs amounted to 54.[174] These delegates 'consisted chiefly of wealthy and respectable burgesses' including 'several other very respectable lawyers and writers'. The convention appointed a standing committee to act as the central body for the burgh reform movement and to organise successive conventions. The members of the committee were mostly lawyers, together with a couple of merchants.[175] Clearly, the movement was initiated, organised, and led by upper-class Edinburgh merchants and lawyers.

The issues which eventually led Glasgow to join the reform movement were no different from those of other burghs. The direct cause of burgh reform was the gross abuses of burghal government which could be observed in most of the Scottish burghs.[176] In Glasgow, it was a problem over mismanagement and the 'public good'. In April 1783 the magistrates and council declared that they had the right to dispose of the lands of Ramshorn and some grounds in the New Green, lately purchased 'without laying restrictions of any sort upon the purchasers And in general to dispose of the whole of the City's property to the best advantage for the public good without following the directions of any Community whatever'. Against this declaration, Robert Auchincloss (*d*. 1789), deacon convener, protested and four members of the council joined him. The trades house approved the conduct of Auchincloss and his supporters, and 'Agree to concurr with Royal Burrows and the bodies and societies of men who have sett on foot

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[172] *CM*, 19 February 1783.

[173] Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution*, 18.

[174] Fletcher, *Memoir concerning the origin and progress of the reform*, 14.

[175] *Ibid.*, 22.

[176] *Ibid.,* 12-13.

a scheme for an application to Parliament for a Reform in the Sett of the Royal Burrows in Scotland and also for a Reform in the Election of the Representatives in Parliament for Scotland'.[177] This was how Glasgow joined the burgh reform movement.

The background to this conflict between the magistrates and the trades house lay in the magistrates' attempt to extend the town's sovereignty over these grounds in order to regulate the police and government. The disputed grounds, Ramshorn and Meadowflat, were in the north-west corner of the town and came to be possessed by Hutchison's Hospital, one of the town's charitable societies, in 1609.[178] Since then the lands had been leased to a number of small linen breachers and gardeners. As the town expanded and the demand for land for building increased, parts of these lands were purchased by the council in the course of the eighteenth century. As they were beyond the town's boundaries, the magistrates intended to extend the sovereignty of the town over these grounds, but it was not carried out.[179] In 1782 the council purchased some more of the Ramshorn and Meadowflat grounds, with a view to keeping the land 'reserved for a square', which would later become George Square.[180] In January 1783 the magistrates decided to present two petitions to the House of Commons, one of which was 'for liberty to bring in a bill for extending the royalty of the city of Glasgow over the lands of Ramshorn and Meadowflatt'.[181] The petitions were duly presented to the Commons and referred to the consideration of a committee, but they appeared to have been dropped.[182] The magistrates and council proposed in a council meeting in February to bring again two bills to Parliament for the same purpose, but the proposal was opposed by the deacon convener and several deacons of incorporations of the trade, who insisted that the bills should be delayed and requested that the magistrates and council should sell these lands only to resident burgesses of Glasgow.[183] Apparently, the tradesmen were concerned about the possibility that these lands were purchased by outsiders who had no rights or vested interests in the town. No evidence has been found to illustrate problems which this kind of outsiders'

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[177] GCA, T-TH1/1/6, 427-428, 1 May 1783.

[178] Thomas Somerville, *George Square, Glasgow; and the lives of those whom its statues commemorate* ... (Glasgow, 1891), 12.

[179] *GBR*, vii, 393.

[180] *Ibid.*, viii, 61-62.

[181] *Ibid.*, 89.

[182] *Commons Journals*, xxxix, 130.

[183] *GBR*, viii, 97.

land-purchase would cause, but their concerns would be appreciated because, if the magistrates could sell these lands freely to outsiders without any restrictions, it would probably be regarded as mismanagement of town's properties and also as potentially detrimental to the rights and privileges of the townspeople, and hence to 'the public good'. Despite this opposition from the trades rank, however, the magistrates declared their rights to dispose of these lands 'without laying restrictions of any sort upon the purchasers'.[184]

In June 1783, the deacon convener's protest was supported by thirteen of the town's trade incorporations, all of which agreed to make an application to Parliament for a reform. They nominated a committee 'with power to them to consider on a proper plan for a Reform'. The committee was supposed to report to the trades house by August, but no report is recorded in the trades house minutes.[185] In February 1784, since the burgh reform movement was 'in agitation in this country' and that 'such a Reform was absolutely necessary', the trades house appointed nine of their members as a committee to contact other burghs, to discuss with them measures necessary for reform, and to choose two or three as delegates from Glasgow to the convention to be held in Edinburgh in March.[186] On 26 February and 4 March, these committee members held meetings 'to take into consideration the present Sett of the Burgh of Glasgow & suggest a Reform thereof' and appointed James Mathie, writer in Glasgow, as their Clerk. Between 5 and 20 March, they 'maturely and deliberately weighed the same [the subject of reform] at several adjourned meetings' and passed resolutions consisting of twenty-two articles for reform.[187]

The first fourteen articles of the resolutions dealt with the conduct of municipal elections in general. The first article required an equal representation of the tradesmen in the council with the merchants, to which article six added a request for a larger council consisting of forty-two members. The second, third, fourth, and fifth articles proposed to abolish the current restrictions on tradesmen's rights to be elected as magistrates, baillies, and other higher

[184] GCA, T-TH1/1/6, 427-428, 1 May 1783. It appears that the bills were not sent to the House of Commons.
[185] *Ibid.*, 431-432, 7 June 1783.
[186] GCA, T-TH3/1/2, 23 February 1784; T-TH1/1/6, 458-459, 26 February 1784. The members of the committee were: 'David Stevenson their present Collector, Alexr Buchanan late Baillie, Deacon William Lang, James Buchanan visitor, Ninian Glen, Allan McAulay, Deacon William Urie, John Tennant and William Watson all members of the said Trades House'.
[187] GCA, T-TH1/1/6, 461-464, 22 March 1784.

offices. Articles eight to twelve limited the length of office for councillors and detailed new ways of electing trades councillors by the tradesmen themselves. Articles fifteen to twenty restricted the magistrates' power on matters such as finance, the presenting of bills to parliament, and the appointment of urban officers. Article twenty-one was on church patronage. While patronage was now held by the magistrates and council, it was proposed that the parish, the merchants house, and the trades house should choose their own candidate and the minister chosen by two of these bodies should be presented. The final twenty-second article was on parliamentary elections. It attacked the present method of parliamentary election as 'arbitrary & unconstitutional' and demanded that 'the Election ought to be on the broadest bases, and that every burgess possessed of real property in heritage within the Burgh' and who purchased and possessed properties in the town a year and a day before the election 'ought to be allowed the right or sufferage in the election of the Member'.[188]

The convention of delegates took place at St Mary's Chapel in Edinburgh on 25 March 1784. Delegates from 33 burghs chose William Charles Little of Liberton as president and Thomas M'Grugar as secretary. A committee was chosen, with Robert, Lord Cullen (1742–1810), one of the delegates from Glasgow, as its chairman. The committee, with the unanimous consent of the delegates, agreed a declaration for reform which had been prepared by the Edinburgh delegates. The Edinburgh delegates had also prepared two draft bills for the reform of burgh and parliamentary elections, and the bills were remitted for further consideration by the committee. The committee, judging that it was necessary to spend more time over their deliberation, proposed to adjourn the convention, choose a standing committee of the convention, and entrust it with these bills. This proposal was duly carried out and a standing committee was appointed to consider the bills and also to correspond with other delegates until the next convention which was planned for June 1784.[189]

The convention appears to have been led mostly by the Edinburgh delegates, who had prepared the declaration and the bills for reform. Unfortunately, little is known about the Glasgow delegates other than Lord Cullen. It is also hard to know why Lord Cullen was chosen as the Glasgow delegate. Although born in Hamilton in 1742, he was educated at the University

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[188] GCA, T-TH1/1/6, 461-464, 22 March 1784.
[189] *SM*, xxxxvi, April 1784; *CM*, 31 March 1784.

of Edinburgh and spent the rest of his life there.[190] He seems to have had no active relationship with Glasgow, and the minutes of the trades house contain no record of his being chosen as a Glasgow delegate. In fact, the delegates were not necessarily chosen from the localities, as Archibald Fletcher, commonly regarded as 'the father of burgh reform', was a delegate of Dumbarton, with which he had no real relationship except with 'many of the most respectable citizens of which I was then acquainted'.[191] Presumably, therefore, Lord Cullen was chosen as a Glasgow delegate simply because of his connection and presence in Edinburgh. It seems that he, as well as the other Glasgow delegates, failed at the convention in Edinburgh to bring any attention to the resolutions of Glasgow tradesmen. There is no record as to the fate of the resolutions in the trades house minutes either. At the same time, the Scottish burgh reform movement came to an abrupt but temporary hiatus after Pitt, who most of the reformers turned to support for reform in Parliament, showed his unwillingness to take up reform in April 1784. Although the standing committee managed to bring the two bills for reform in Parliament, the defeat of Pitt's proposal for parliamentary reform in May 1785 limited their aim to burgh reform. The standing committee, with the help of Richard Sheridan, still attempted to present bills for burgh reform in Scotland in later years, but the outbreak of the French Revolution, as well as the tightening control of the political management of Scotland by Henry Dundas, put the reformers in an uneasy and difficult position.[192]

Thus, the resolutions of Glasgow tradesmen were never approved. The resolutions clearly showed, however, what the tradesmen regarded as the problems of town which had allowed the magistrates and merchants to control the council and abuse the rights and privileges of the people. They were convinced that a reform should give the tradesmen more power and greater representation on the council and the magistrates and merchants less, together with measures to prevent corruption and especially the abuse of the town's money and property. Their demand for more power and representation on the council appears to have reflected their growing belief, pride, and confidence as the body representing the voice of the townspeople, a sense which they had articulated in a remarkable way during the Wynd church

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[190] T.F. Henderson, 'Cullen, Robert, Lord Cullen (1742–1810)', rev. Matthew Kilburn, *Oxford DNB*.

[191] Fletcher, *Memoir concerning the origin and progress of the reform*, 16.

[192] Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution*, 18-34; R.C. Primrose, 'The Scottish burgh reform movement, 1783-93', *Aberdeen University Review*, 37:116 (1957), 27-41.

dispute. Article twenty-one on lay patronage evidently represented their long-standing concern about the magistrates' control over the patronage of the town's churches. What was declared in article twenty-two is interesting in that it mentioned 'every burgess possessed of real property in heritage within the Burgh'. This restriction appears to be closely related to their opposition to the magistrates' declaration in April 1783 on land-purchase by outsiders. In a sense, these declarations in a number of ways reveal the issues of the town's government that were disputed in this period. The declarations were also a clear demonstration of Glasgow tradesmen's political awareness which had grown remarkably since the accession of George III.

Conclusion

Politics in Glasgow saw an unprecedented transformation during this period. This period began with the death of the great political manager Argyll, which put an end to an important era of political management. Before 1760, although politics in Glasgow was not as stable as it seems, political conflicts were fought within the small number of merchant elite, and even though some elements of popular involvement were observed in urban politics, these were piecemeal and fragmentary, and lacked sufficient strength and continuity to become a coherent political force. By the end of this period, the appearance of urban politics had totally changed. Much wider sections of people became involved in politics and expressed their opinion through newspapers and pamphlets. These newcomers to urban politics criticised the merchant elite for their mismanagement, corruption, and abuse of the rights and privileges of the townspeople. They, for their part, came to demand a fairer, wider, and more open system of political representation in the town. Although there were still many in the town, predominantly the labouring poor, who were not involved in urban politics to any degree, this transformation of Glasgow's politics and political culture took place because of a remarkable growth in political awareness of the townspeople, and the driving force behind this transformation were the tradesmen.[193]

What constituted the most important part of the political ideology of the tradesmen was their inclination towards orthodox Protestantism and their staunch loyalism towards the

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[193] Edinburgh also witnessed the rise of tradesmen in urban politics in this period. Alexander Murdoch, 'The importance of being Edinburgh: management and opposition in Edinburgh politics, 1746-1784', *SHR*, 68-1 (1983), 1-16.

Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian Succession. The former enabled them to oppose church patronage and gave them a fairly liberal understanding of political representation, while the latter inspired them to support king and country when in danger. Their orthodox Protestantism was, needless to say, a modified version of the Covenanting tradition, which accepted the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian kings as a regime tolerant enough to allow the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Their loyalism was solely towards the king, which probably gave them a safe position to occasionally criticise the ministry by using classic civic-humanist rhetoric about a badly-counselled king. These two ideologies co-existed in the mind of many tradesmen in Glasgow, with more importance being placed on loyalism. For some, however, the weight of orthodox Presbyterianism might have been heavier than loyalty towards the king, although their voice was not clearly expressed in this period. This possible division in the trades ranks did not became evident until the outbreak of the French Revolution, during the course of which the tradesmen were to be sharply divided into loyalists and radicals.[194]

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[194] John Brims, 'The Covenanting tradition and Scottish radicalism in the 1790s', in Terry Brotherstone (ed.), *Covenant, charter, and party: traditions of revolt and protest in modern Scottish history* (Aberdeen, 1989), 50-62; *idem.*, 'From reformers to "Jacobins": the Scottish Association of the Friends of the People', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Conflict and stability in Scottish society 1700-1850: proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1988-89* (Edinburgh, 1990), 31-50; Harris, *The Scottish people and the French Revolution.*

Part II

Popular politics in deeds and ideas

Chapter Five

Popular disturbances in Glasgow and the west of Scotland

Introduction

While the previous chapters have looked at the development of urban political culture and popular political awareness, this chapter deals with a different type of politics which was acted out in a louder, more aggressive, and more collective form – popular disturbances. After pioneering works by George Rudé, Eric Hobsbawm, and Edward Thompson, popular disturbances have been one of the most fruitful fields of study in English history and historians' understanding of rioters has become much more sophisticated. Historians have re-constructed the crowd's own ideas and principles about morality and justice, as well as their own sense of legitimacy, and understanding of their rights and liberties. It has also been interpreted that their actions were embedded in and derived from local customs and rituals, not only widely supported by the local community but also sometimes accepted and understood by the local authorities.[1]

In the historiography of eighteenth-century Scotland, the study of popular disturbances has since the 1970s been one of the major subject areas in which historians have debated the topic of social stability. While the orthodox views have argued that Scotland witnessed fewer popular disturbances than England and other European countries and concluded from this that the extent of violence, instability, contention, and conflict in eighteenth-century Scotland was lower, the revisionists have presented new evidence about disorders which challenges the orthodox emphasis on the existence of social stability. The current state of this debate on popular disturbances is that, while the revisionists have advanced their case for a disorderly and dynamic picture of social and political relations, the orthodoxy of stability has been on the defensive, not presenting effective explanations of social stability to counter the revisionists' evidence.[2]

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[1] G.F.E. Rudé, *The crowd in history: a study of popular disturbances in France and England, 1730–1848* (London, 1964); E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive rebels: studies in archaic forms of social movements in 19th and 20th centuries* (Manchester, 1959); E.P. Thompson, *The making of English working class* (London, 1963); *idem.*, 'The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century', *Past & Present*, 50 (1971), 76-136.

[2] I.D. Whyte, 'A relatively orderly, authoritarian, society?', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 12

In this debate, however, although historians have two entirely different views of eighteenth-century Scotland, they, though probably unintentionally, share an understanding of the nature of popular disturbances which has underpinned their examination of social stability, through the notion that popular disturbances were directly reflective of socio-economic conditions and hence of social stability or instability. According to this view, if a society witnesses many popular protests, that society is unstable whereas a stable society produces only a small number of such protests. Central to this notion is an assumption that popular disturbances were caused by severe economic conditions. T.M. Devine has argued that 'The material factor ... while probably not the sole influence on tranquility, is, nevertheless, likely to be an important variable in any final analysis' and that stability in the Scottish Lowlands is explained by the fact that the conditions of Scottish agricultural workers were comparatively less severe than those of England and the Highlands.[3] This approach can not be entirely rejected because certain types of disorder, food riots and industrial disturbances in particular, were indeed prone to occur in periods of economic downturn which caused considerable changes in market operations and labour relations that impacted adversely on ordinary people. This kind of economic approach is inadequate, however, once it becomes clear that, although these socio-economic changes certainly created contexts in which certain types of popular disturbances were more likely to occur, these were not always the actual and direct causes which led the people at large to riot.[4] In a sense, this approach makes too much of a direct causal link between popular disturbance and social and economic conditions by ignoring the complex dynamics of popular disturbances and also the people's perception of social and economic reality. This focus on generalised economic explanations for popular disturbances has also been shared by some revisionist historians. Despite his insights into values and morals of the crowd, Christopher Whatley, for instance, has sometimes taken economic approach to popular disturbances, arguing that the demise of anti-tax protests in Scotland in the later 1740s was because of the economic growth from *c.* 1740 which made a 'significant contribution to

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(1992), 86-89; R.A. Houston, 'Eighteenth-century Scottish studies: out of the laager?', *SHR*, 73-1:195 (1994) 64-81.

3 T.M. Devine, 'Social stability and agrarian change in the eastern Lowlands of Scotland, 1810-1840', *Social History*, 3-3 (1978), 333.

4 Thompson, 'The moral economy of the English crowd'; John Walter and Keith Wrightson, 'Dearth and the social order in early modern England', *Past & Present*, 71 (1976), 22-42.

social calm'.[5]

This economic interpretation of popular disturbance being a reflection of the degree of social stability at a particular time seems to derive from a belief that social stability is measurable and popular disturbances are countable. This is probably why historians keep arguing whether Scotland witnessed *fewer* instances of popular disturbance or *lower* degree of disorder than England. It has become increasingly clear, however, that counting riots is practically impossible, while major, large-scale projects of quantification of popular disturbances have only made historians more careful about methods of quantifying and categorising, as well as interpreting of the available evidence.[6] The quantifying and categorising approach is certainly important if historians are interested in general patterns, distributions, chronology, and typology of popular disturbances on a national level. These various indications of disorder have, however, tended to be interpreted in relation to general economic trends and social-economic structures which have previously been established by economic historians, rather than being interpreted as keys to a further exploration and understanding of the structure and dynamics of popular politics. In fact, realising these shortcomings, historians of popular disturbances and collective action in England have recently moved away from the quantifying and categorising approach, while fresh emphasis has been placed on a regional or micro-history approach to historical research, on a close attention to social conflicts in everyday life as well as major outbreaks of disorder, and on the role of the press in shaping popular perceptions of disorder.[7]

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[5] Christopher A. Whatley, 'How tame were the Scottish Lowlanders during the eighteenth century?', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Conflict and stability in Scottish society 1700-1850: proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1988-89* (Edinburgh, 1990), 12.

[6] Roger Wells, 'Counting riots in eighteenth-century England', *Bulletin - Society for the Study of Labour History*, 37 (1978), 68-72; for attempts to quantify popular disturbances, see John Bohstedt, *Riots and community politics in England and Wales, 1790-1810* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Mark Harrison, *Crowds and history: mass phenomena in English towns, 1790-1835* (Cambridge, 1988); Charles Tilly, *Popular contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834* (Cambridge, Mass; London, 1995); Andrew Charlesworth *et al.*, *An atlas of industrial protest in Britain 1750-1990* (Basingstoke, 1996). For critical comments on these works, see John K. Walton, '*Riots and community politics in England and Wales, 1790-1810* by John Bohstedt', *Journal of Social History*, 18-1 (1984), 156-157; R.J. Morris, '*Popular contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834* by Charles Tilly', *Economic History Review*, new series, 49-4 (1996), 836-837; David Eastwood, '*Popular contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834* by Charles Tilly', *English Historical Review*, 112: 445 (1997), 145-147; William Stafford, 'Shall we take a linguistic turn? British radicalism in the era of the French Revolution', *Historical Journal*, 43-2 (2000), 583-594.

[7] Katrina Navickas, 'What happened to class? New histories of labour and collective action in Britain', *Social History*, 36-2 (2010), 192-204. A most recent major work on popular disturbances in eighteenth-century England does not make any attempt to count, quantify, catalogue, or generalise incidents of disturbances. Rather, it attempts to look at more representative aspects of popular

Although evidence of disorder and violence that revisionist historians have revealed has helped to rectify the excessive emphasis in the traditional approach on social stability in eighteenth-century Scotland, this debate about popular disturbances does not appear to provide fresh insights into the nature of the politics of the Scottish crowd as long as historians continue to see popular disturbances as simply reflection of socio-economic conditions and hence indicative of social stability.[8] Popular disturbances are probably better interpreted and understood when historians see them as a form of expression of the ideas, morals, superstitions, and beliefs of the people at large, a view originally developed by E.P. Thompson. It is also important to place popular disturbances in the local context in which they originated, rather than to generalise and quantify them for the sake of comparisons at a national level. Popular disturbances in eighteenth-century Britain were, as John Bohstedt has pointed out, 'quintessentially local politics'. An in-depth examination of social and political ties in the localities is necessary in order to understand the crowd's calculations and participations.[9] This approach to understand popular disturbances as part of local politics permits a 'thickened' description of what crowds actually did or attempted to do and the creativity that they displayed in fashioning their protests. While it avoids seeing them as isolated events and also generalising them as reflections of socio-economic conditions without regard to the subtle differences in local political conditions, it also helps to place the crowd's actions into the particular local political world in which they lived, negotiated with the authorities, calculated the impact of their actions, and endeavoured to air their frustrations, anger, and grievances by resorting to direct actions.[10]

Avoiding seeing popular disturbances as an indicator or not of social stability, this chapter aims to examine popular disturbances as part of the politics of the people.[11] It seeks to

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disturbances. Adrian Randall, *Riotous assemblies: popular protest in Hanoverian England* (Oxford, 2006), especially introduction.

[8] There has been a recent shift, however, in historians' approach to popular disturbance which attempts to understand popular disturbances as part of a lower level of disorders and controlled excesses and to contextualise them in the everyday community life. Christopher A. Whatley, 'Order and disorder', in Elizabeth Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley (eds), *A history of everyday life in Scotland, 1600 to 1800* (Edinburgh, 2010), 191-216.

[9] Bohstedt, *Riots and community politics*, 3.

[10] John Walter, *Crowds and popular politics in early modern England* (Manchester, 2006), introduction.

[11] Christopher A. Whatley, 'Labour in the industrialising city, *c*. 1660-1830', in T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds), *Glasgow,* volume I: *beginnings to 1830* (Manchester, 1995), 360-401 covers this period,

challenge the traditional view of its deferential and subservient character of the populace at large in eighteenth-century Scotland by showing the agency, creativity, and vibrancy of ordinary people that were revealed in popular disturbances. It interprets the crowd's actions as reflective of their ideas, morals, and beliefs, carefully but deliberately acted out in public, not simply as desperate and spasmodic reactions to economic distress. It examines major types of disturbances, conventionally identified in the study of popular disturbances: grain, industrial, taxation, and patronage protests. It also looks at political disturbances. Although it attempts to make general reference to the occurrence and chronology of these types of disturbance, it focuses on relatively well-documented cases in the belief that each disturbance had its own complex political and social contexts and therefore needs an in-depth analysis. Finally, it investigates as a separate case study the Shawfield riots of 1725, which left so much evidence that they merit particular attention.

II

Grain disturbances

Grain disturbances have attracted considerable attention from historians since the 1970s and, thanks to E.P. Thompson's seminal analysis of English food riots, it has become well accepted that grain disturbances were not simply a knee-jerk response of the populace to scarcity or soaring price of grain, but a complex expression of indignation based on a traditional view of the norms and obligations within the community as well as 'a popular consensus as to what were legitimate and what were illegitimate practices in marketing, milling, baking, etc.', a sense which Thompson called the moral economy of the crowd.[12] Research on Scottish grain disturbances has discovered a similar sense of legitimacy among the crowd, although Christopher Whatley's important article on food riots on Scotland's eastern coast in 1720 puts greater emphasis on changes to the national and local socio-economic context brought about by the Union of 1707.[13] Whatley's findings on the 1720 food riots, at the same time, make an intriguing point regarding the absence of such grain disturbances on the west coast in the same

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but it looks more at the post-1780 period and gives only passing references to this period.

[12] Thompson, 'Moral economy of the English crowd', 78.

[13] S.G.E. Lythe, 'The Tayside meal mobs 1772–3', *SHR*, 46–141 (1967), 26–36; K.J. Logue, *Popular disturbances in Scotland 1780-1815* (Edinburgh, 1979), Chapter 1; Whatley, 'The Union of 1707, integration and the Scottish burghs: the case of the 1720 food riots', *SHR*, 78 (1999), 192-218.

period. In Glasgow and the west of Scotland, grain disturbances appear to have been concentrated in the 1740s and 1760s. While six cases have been identified in the 1740s, four occurred in the 1760s. In fact, the region had benefited from its geographical location close to Ireland. Although imports of grain from Ireland had been banned by acts of the Scottish parliament and this was confirmed by Article four of the Union Treaty, grain from Ireland was still smuggled into the country and imports reached a peak in the early 1720s.[14] These illegal imports from Ireland supplied relatively cheap grain to the west of Scotland in the first decades of the century.[15] Considering this advantage that the west of Scotland had, it is not surprising that the first recorded grain disturbance did not occur until 1740.

The background to these disturbances lay in an extremely bad harvest in 1740 that affected much of the British Isles. The winter of 1739-1740 was long and intensely cold, and the summer of 1740 was dry. This bad weather, combined with the outbreak of war in October 1739, resulted in grain shortages and a sharp rise in grain prices in almost all regions, the first crisis on a national scale in Scotland since the 'ill years' of the 1690s. From the early months of 1740, the working and living conditions of the common people worsened because of dearth and unemployment. To rescue the populace from this hardship, town councils and kirk sessions as well as individuals in the upper ranks of society undertook charitable measures, such as special collections and the free distribution of meal and coal. In January, both in Glasgow and Greenock, special funds were collected. In October a company of landed gentlemen and merchants in Glasgow bought up grain to sell it again to the poor and necessitous at low prices.[16]

These efforts did not entirely ease the fear and nervousness about food scarcity, however. Grain prices remained high during spring and summer, and those in the west of Scotland followed the national pattern, showing in 1740 a sharp peak, which was almost twice as high as in previous years.[17] In November, a month when the price of grain set by the local

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[14] L.E. Cochran, *Scottish trade with Ireland in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh, 1985), 102; *CTP*, vi, 39-52.

[15] Cochran, *Scottish trade with Ireland in the eighteenth century*, 94-95.

[16] Michael Flinn, *Scottish population history: from the 17th century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977), 216-218; *CM*, 24 January 1740 and 14 October 1740.

[17] A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, *Prices, food and wages in Scotland 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 1995), 96-98, 100.

authorities was traditionally publicised, food riots took place in Edinburgh, Musselburgh, and Prestonpans in the Lothian as well as at Hamilton in the west. At Hamilton, a crowd of forty to fifty appeared on the morning of 1 November, beating a drum and inviting 'such as wanted Meal' to join them.[18] Other towns in the west such as Glasgow, Ayr, Saltcoats, and Irvine witnessed similar grain disturbances between 1741 and 1743.[19] Apparently these disturbances were triggered by the high prices and shortage of grain during these years. After these riots in the early 1740s came a decade of relative tranquillity, and the next known grain disturbance in the west did not take place until the early 1760s. A crowd rose in 1761 at Carrick to prevent the export of grain, and in 1763 a great number of tradesmen in Glasgow complained to the magistrates about retailers' unjust practices.[20] From the late 1760s, grain prices soared again and riots occurred at Stewarton in Ayr in 1767 and at Dumfries in 1771.[21] These disturbances reveal basic actions which are quite similar in nature to those in other grain disturbances: the attacks on grain sellers and their granaries; the seizure of grain and the fixing of prices; and the prevention of the export of grain.[22] The Scottish crowd thus followed what might be called the 'classic' pattern of eighteenth-century food riots.[23]

It is clear that these disturbances were related to the high price of grain, but it is also important to note that the dates of disturbances such as 1741-3, 1761, and 1763 do not necessarily coincide with the years of highest prices and that there is no evidence of grain disturbances in such peak years for price as 1745, 1751, 1756, 1765, and 1772.[24] In addition, there were reports indicating that, even when disturbance did occur, markets were sometimes full of grain and grain price were low. In November 1740, when a crowd at Hamilton attacked the granaries of a local merchant, it was reported that 'the Markets there are as well stocked as

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[18] *CM*, 13 November 1740.

[19] *GJ*, 24-31 August 1741; *ibid.*, 29 March-5 April 1742; NLS, MS16588, ff.58v-59r: Quintin Crawford to Lord Milton, 21 July 1742; *GJ*, 14-21 March 1743.

[20] *CM*, 28 September 1761; *GJ*, 27 October-3 November 1763.

[21] *GJ*, 2-9 April 1767; *CM*, 27 May 1767; *GJ*, 28 March 1771.

[22] MS16588, ff.58v-59r: Quintin Crawford to Lord Milton, 21 July 1742; *GJ*, 2-9 February 1767; *ibid.*, 2-9 April 1767; *CM*, 13 November 1740; *GJ*, 29 March-5 April 1742.

[23] C.A. Whatley, 'Roots of the 1790s radicalism : reviewing the economic and social background', in Bob Harris (ed.), *Scotland in the age of the French Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2005), 23-49; John Stevenson, *Popular disturbances in England 1700–1870* (2nd edn, London, 1992), 126.

[24] Gibson and Smout, *Prices, food and wages in Scotland*, 96-98, 100.

ever, and cheap'.[25] Grain was also plentiful and sold at reasonable prices at markets in 1741-3, when grain disturbances did occur.[26] It is possible that these positive opinions about grain supply and prices were based on wrong information or intended to persuade those who had grain to bring it to market and to emphasise the unreasonableness of resorting to rioting, and therefore this evidence should be read carefully.[27] At the same time, the fact that the crowd took direct action, even when grain sold at markets was plentiful and cheap, means that soaring prices were not the sole reason why the crowd took direct action.[28] This is certainly true of these disturbances in the west of Scotland. In the case of the disturbances in the early 1740s, after 1740 grain prices returned to a normal level. An agent of Lord Milton reported, in his account of Saltcoats disturbances, that 'never did a mobb raise upon a more unreasonable occasion, our Victuall is att present a drugg, Soe that a great service done the Country to exporte it'. At the same time, he added that the crowd rioted because 'they Cannot forget the last year'.[29] Hence the disturbance was not about an actual economic crisis, but may have been caused by the fear of such a crisis as that of 1740 returning. Such psychological factors therefore, rather than an actual shortage of grain or an increase in price, were probably among the elements that drove the populace to take direct action.

Other important causes of grain disturbances were suspicions that grain was being held back by producers or retailers so that the prices rose and their profits increased. In November 1763, Glasgow tradesmen complained to the magistrates that 'meal from the country, was bought up by a number of retailers and kept out of the market, by which the price was raised and the inhabitants not supplied'. The magistrates summoned grain retailers mentioned by the tradesmen and searched their houses, although they did not find much grain. They ordered, however, these retailers to bring and sell what they had to the public market. Nevertheless, 'this care of the Magistrates did not hinder a mob in the evening from breaking into the houses of these people and carrying off what they thought proper'.[30] The tradesmen

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25 *CM*, 10 November 1740.

26 *GJ*, 24-31 August 1741 and 14-21 March 1743.

27 Flinn, *Scottish population history*, 218.

28 Stevenson, *Popular disturbances in England*, 131-132; Rude, *Crowd in history*, 38-46; Logue, *Popular disturbances in Scotland*, 24-28.

29 NLS, MS16588, ff.58v-59r: Quintin Crawford to Milton, 21 July 1742.

30 *GJ*, 27 October-3 November 1763.

and probably the rioters believed that the price and supply of grain was unduly controlled by retailers who sought to keep the price unnecessarily high in order to reap a greater profit. A local pamphlet, published by William Thom explained the causes of the disturbance in Glasgow in a similar manner. According to Thom, the price of oatmeal had been very high for a long time, but at the end of September and beginning of October, it fell 'one fourth of its price in one market-day' because of a good harvest. The magistrates' order to reduce the grain price was also implied by Thom. Many of ordinary people in the town, 'who had been long straitened', expected the price would decrease further, probably knowing about the good harvest in the countryside, 'but their expectations were disappointed; for within a few days there was very little meal in the public market, and its price began to rise'. This caused a rumour 'through every quarter of the city, that the mealmongers had entered into a combination to keep up their grain till markets should rise', and, as a result, these retailers 'became the object of the popular hatred and clamour'.[31]

Contrary to the crowd's belief, it is apparent that the retailers in fact retained little grain themselves. The newspaper reported that, when the crowd searched the retailers' houses, they 'carried off what they thought proper', but, according to Thom, what was carried off was money, as 'little or no meal was found'.[32] Thom considered that the reason for the scarcity of grain in public markets was a 'great alteration' in the way grain was brought to the town. Thirty or forty years before, there had been 'exceeding few, or next to no retailers in town, and the public market was every day crouded with sacks of meal', whereas now there were a lot of 'retailers, who must live upon the profits of their business'. What happened after retailers appeared as middlemen in the grain market was that 'for many years past, even during the greatest plenty, there hath been gradually less and less meal sold in our two public markets'. Hence Thom concluded that 'it must therefore be retailed at private houses'.[33] It is not certain whether the tradesmen who complained to the magistrates about the scarcity of grain understood how retailers dealt with grain because they assumed that grain was still concealed

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[31] William Thom, *The causes of the scarcity of oat-meal in the public market of Glasgow; with an easy method proposed for preventing that evil in time coming. In a letter to a friend. To which are subjoined, Some thoughts on the late scarcity of meal in the market of Edinburgh* (Glasgow, 1763).

[32] *GJ*, 27 October-3 November 1763; Thom, *Causes of the scarcity of oat-meal in the public market of Glasgow*, 4.

[33] *Ibid.*, 5-6.

somewhere by the retailers. In fact, Glasgow's townspeople appear to have been preoccupied with this idea of concealed grain since the early 1740s. It was reported in August 1741 from Glasgow that, 'we were threatn'd with a formidable Mob, on a groundless Notion that a great Quantity of Meal was conceal'd in Town, in Order to be exported'.[34] In April 1745, a disturbance almost occurred on account of a false report that 'some Grain, Meal, &c. had been hoarded up for Exportation' but the tension in the town disappeared when they knew about 'the Faulty of the Rumour'.[35] This suspicion about concealed or exported grain had therefore been building up for a long period after 1740, and it was sustained and aggravated by the experience and fear of actual grain shortages. Probably these psychological factors were no less important as a cause of grain disturbances than the real shortage and soaring price of grain.

III

Industrial disturbances

Glasgow and the west saw at least ten disturbances that involved workers taking collective action to protect their way of life. Eight of these were related to weavers, one to shoemakers, and one to seamen. Four of these took place in Glasgow, five in Paisley and the other one in Greenock. This distribution of locations, however, does not do full justice to the actual extent of the workers' collective action because, as will be shown, there is evidence to suggest that workers sometimes took part in these collective actions from quite a distance. Most of the disturbances were caused directly or indirectly by differences between employers and employees over wages. Many of them were related to the changing working conditions of weavers in Glasgow and Paisley, where the textile industry was rapidly developing from the 1730s and by the end of the period employed a large number of workers. While in 1726 the incorporation of weavers of Glasgow claimed that there were 2,000 looms under its control, in 1778 there were about 4,000 working looms in Glasgow and its neighbourhood, as well as 1,360 in Paisley. It is estimated that there were about 20,000 weavers in the west of Scotland, including about 5,000 in Paisley, by about 1780.[36] It is not surprising that this rapid increase

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34 *GJ*, 24-31 August 1741.

35 *CM*, 16 April 1745.

36 A.J. Durie, *The Scottish linen industry in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh, 1979), 44; Henry Hamilton, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (Oxford, 1932), 101; Norman Murray, *The Scottish*

in labour in the textile industry in the west changed working conditions and practices, resulting in disputes between masters and journeymen, and in occasional disturbances. The sailors' disturbance at Greenock in 1773 looks rather different from the rest, but this is counted as an industrial disturbance as it was in fact caused by a disagreement between merchants and sailors over the increase and payment of wages.

There are a few common patterns of crowd action seen among these disturbances. In most cases, the workers formed a sort of combination with a view to resisting wage reduction or demanding a wage increase. A disturbance by Glasgow weavers in 1742, more than twenty years earlier than what has conventionally been thought of as the first incident of industrial protest in Glasgow,[37] was caused by a wage reduction, and after the disturbances 'a great part of the Journeymen have left the Factorys', implying some cooperation among the weavers.[38] Sometimes they attacked employers' premises or workplaces and destroyed tools and machines there. In 1754 there occurred 'a Tumult … by the Journeymen Weavers, on account, 'tis said, of reducing their Wages, when several Windows were broke'.[39] In 1755, a crowd in Glasgow attacked the house of one John Finlay and afterwards 'demolished and broke the windows of the house and shoe factory of Robert Finlay'.[40] A similarly violent crowd in Paisley broke into a weaver's workshop and 'cut and destroyed goods, looms, &c.'.[41] In the later period, protests became better organised and more sophisticated, resulting in such large-scale disputes as a weavers' combination in Glasgow in 1767, a weavers' strike in Paisley in 1773 and one by sailors at Greenock in 1773. It is in these organised protests that tradesmen of the region, especially weavers, demonstrated their remarkable ability of organisation, negotiation, and intimidation.

A close look at these relatively well recorded disturbances in the later period suggests that the principal cause of the Glasgow weavers' disturbance in 1767 appeared to be their demand for an increase in wages 'in the weaving of lawns and cambricks'.[42] Cambric was white and thin linen cloth used for making fine clothing. It had been imported from France for a long

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handloom weavers 1790-1850: a social history (Edinburgh, 1978), 18-19.

[37] Whatley, 'Labour in the industrialising city', 375; W.H. Fraser, *Conflict and class: Scottish workers 1700-1832* (Edinburgh, 1988), 59.

[38] NLS, MS16588, ff.71r-70v: William Dalrymple to Lord Milton, 24 September 1742.

[39] *CM*, 22 August 1754.

[40] *GJ*, 15-22 September 1755.

[41] *Ibid.*, 29 October 1772.

[42] *Ibid.*, 1-8 October 1767.

time, but imports were prohibited by two acts in 1745 and 1748. Since then, weavers in Glasgow and Paisley 'made some Advances in making Goods nearly fit for the same Uses as the prohibited Goods were formerly put to'.[43] Because of frequent reports about smuggling and frauds, these acts were amended by a further act in 1767, which was welcomed by weavers in and around Glasgow.[44] In an advertisement published in July 1767, weavers in Glasgow expected the new act to give great advantages to 'the weavers, and other poor persons concerned in manufacturing of lawns and cambricks in Great Britain and Ireland' because the prohibition of importing French cambric would increase domestic production, and manufacturers would thereby employ more weavers and offer 'them higher prices for weaving, &c. than formerly'. To the weavers' great surprise, however:

> in place of the prices for weaving those commodities being increased, the greatest part ... of the manufacturers of plain and long lawns and cambricks in and about GLASGOW, have entered into a combination, and for that purpose, as several of themselves acknowledge, have actually subscribed a bond, obliging themselves under a penalty to reduce the prices to more than a fifth part less than what they were but of yesterday, small and low as they were before.

The weavers understood this to be 'so inconsistent with equity, so disagreeable to humanity, so intolerable' that they were 'resolved, not to accept of any price of lawn or cambrick to work at the prices mentioned in the printed bills now handed about by the combined manufacturers of this place'. They implied that they might possibly form a 'lawful' combination or association by themselves as a counter measure, but, on the other hand, they hoped 'the interest of the country in general, their own interest in particular, as well as the distressed situation of our families, will induce these gentlemen to think and act more favourably'.[45]

In August 1767, it was reported in Edinburgh newspapers that journeymen weavers in Glasgow went in a body to the house of one James Moffat, a weaver in Shettleston in Glasgow's outskirts, who was said to have undertaken to weave cambric or lawn 'at the reduced price'. They 'brought him to town with the web, and obliged him to return it to the manufacturer who

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43 18 Geo. II. c. 36; 21 Geo. II, c.26; *GC*, 9-16 May 1748.
44 7 Geo. III. c.43.
45 *CM,* 20 July 1767.

had employed him'.[46] Five weavers, John Miller, James Raeburn, Archibald Hamilton, William Wilson, and Andrew Somerville, all journeymen weavers in Glasgow, were arrested for this disturbance and brought to the circuit court in October. They were charged with 'the Crimes of Mobbing, riotously convocating & Combination' as well as with attacking James Moffat and another weaver, one David Carswell, in Glasgow.[47] When the assizes were held and witnesses gave their accounts, two of the panels were dismissed and the other three were sentenced.[48]

As witnesses' accounts were not recorded in the circuit court minute books, it is impossible to know any details about weavers' direct actions. It is known, however, that, after their advertisement was published in late July, weavers in Glasgow entered into a sort of combination with their fellows. The initiative was taken by one David Nicolson, weaver in Anderston, 'a man of deep views, much beyond his station in life'. He launched an organisation to gather the support of weavers and to raise funds to resist the employers' attempt to reduce their wages. About two hundred weavers joined.[49] At the same time, some of the leading weavers, probably including Nicolson, had sought redress before entering into a combination. They had a meeting with manufacturers in order to negotiate an agreement. At the meeting, the manufacturers mentioned 'much trouble and expence in obtaining a settlement of trade', implying difficulty in business and justifying the wage reduction. The weavers even 'offered to contribute the defraying of that charge', but the manufacturers refused to accept it.[50] It appears that both sides failed to reach a compromise and the lowered wage of the weaving set by the employers remained unchanged. The purpose of the weavers' combination was surely to bargain collectively with their employers in order to maintain their wages for weaving cambric as well as to make sure that their brethren would not undertake work at a lowered wage. Collective bargaining of this kind would have been impossible without support from and consensus among the numerous weavers in and around Glasgow, who numbered at least twelve thousand. Since this combination was based on a consensus of numerous weavers, attempts to

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[46] *Ibid.*, 15 August 1767.

[47] *GJ*, 24 September-1 October 1767; NAS, JC13/16, 68-69, 3 October 1767.

[48] *CM*, 7 October 1767; NAS, JC13/16, 70, 5 October 1767.

[49] Fraser, *Conflict and class*, 60.

[50] *CM*, 20 July 1767.

break it by their brethren would have been punished.

The weavers who were attacked, James Moffat in Shettleston and David Carswel in Glasgow, obviously broke this combination and agreement among the weavers and undertook to work at the wage set by their employers. Although the details of the disturbance is unknown, a series of weavers' actions reported in the newspaper – going in a body from Glasgow (probably after assembling somewhere in the town to make it known to the townsmen) to Shettleston, bringing Moffat (and possibly Carswel on their way back) with the web to the town and making him, probably in public, return the web to his employer – may well be understood as a sort of charivari, a ritualistic punishment of those who broke the customs of the community. This is precisely why the arrested weavers denied positively the charge of maltreatment of any person who undertook to receive lower wages. The weavers were firmly convinced of the legitimacy of their action. They stated at the circuit court that 'it was absolutely untrue that the Pannels had entered into any Combination in this case, in order to highten their wages'. It was not they, but 'The Manufacturers themselves, at whose Instigation this process is carried on', who 'did enter into a Combination in order to reduce the Wages of their Weavers to a fourth part less, at least considerably lower than they formerly gave'. Their conviction was also based upon advice by 'an eminent Counsel' about 'how to get the better of it in a legal manner'. They obtained from the counsel a 'Memorial & opinion ...with a Table of the old rates of working & the prices now offered' and referred to it at the trial.[51]

It is remarkable that their statement to and arguments in the court were almost the same in content as the weavers' advertisement published in newspapers in July. In this advertisement, the weavers questioned the legitimacy of the 'combination' of manufacturers:

> It is certain, that there is a law against craftsmens servants entering into combinations ... and therefore they ask, if those combined manufacturers ought to be treated in the same manner or not?

They also made it public that they would turn to 'those learned in the law' for advice about 'whether redress can be got for such a grievance as the present', which they eventually obtained

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[51] NAS, JC13/16, 68-69, 3 October 1767. The memorial is not recorded in the minutes.

and made available at the court.[52] It is evident that these arrested weavers and the author(s) of this advertisement agreed on the legitimacy of their actions and their criticism of their employers. It is also likely that there were some leading figures among the weavers who were highly active, highly literate, and even familiar with the law (or at least with persons whom they should consult about a lawsuit) and that they were able to persuade, organise, and mobilise a great number of weavers for collective bargaining. This pressure against the employers from collective action appears to have been so strong that, although three of the arrested weavers were first sentenced to transportation to plantations in America, an advocate, 'authorised by the Lawn & Cambrick Manufacturers in Glasgow', moved that punishment should be 'as light & easy as was consistent with Law & regard to the Peace & good Government of the Country'. The final sentence was imprisonment for two months for John Miller and Archibald Hamilton and one month for William Wilson.[53] This sentence did not defeat the weavers' determination to oppose their employers. They formed a new committee in November 1767, with Wilson as its leader, and made a public appeal for financial support to pay the cost of summoning the manufacturers before the court of session. They claimed that the manufacturers had reduced wages far below the rates formerly paid in order to enrich themselves. The case duly came to the court in February 1768, but unfortunately the outcome is not known.[54]

Similar, but better organised examples of collective bargaining by weavers occurred in Paisley in the 1760s and 1770s. The first sign of collective protest by Paisley weavers concerning their wages was in fact seen as early as 1754, when they raised an 'organised protest' and smashed the windows of 'those masters who had reduced wages'.[55] As in Glasgow, there must have been growing tension and disagreement between masters and weavers in Paisley caused by the rapid development of the textile industry and the resultant wage issues in it. This appears to have led to a series of disturbances and disputes between 1764 and 1766, which began with 'mobs and riotous proceedings in order to obtain higher wages' and came to an end by the decision of the court of session.[56] In the early 1760s, when 'the spirit of manufacture has

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52 *CM*, 20 July 1767.

53 NAS, JC13/16, 71, 5 October 1767.

54 Fraser, *Conflict and class*, 60.

55 *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 27 August 1754.

56 *Select decisions of the Court of Session, from the year 1752 to the year 1768* (Edinburgh, [1799]), 312.

no where made a more rapid progress' than in Paisley, journeymen weavers there endeavoured to raise their wages 'by mobs, and riots, and tumultuous threatenings'. Little is known about the situation at this stage, but the weavers soon formed a society called *The Defence-Box*, 'the nature of which was, that a number of journeymen-weavers thereto subscribing, bound themselves not to work under a certain rate'.[57] Although this society attracted the attention of many journeymen weavers, it was deemed 'unconstitutional'.[58] Probably aware of this criticism, the weavers then formed a new copartnership called *The Universal-Trading Company of Paisley* in April 1764, and its contract was signed by 648 people, out of whom 45 were manufacturers and 442 journeymen weavers.[59] While the object of this copartnership was to promote 'a joint Trade of manufacturing and selling Cloth of different Kinds, both of Silk and Linen', it was again criticised for being 'really intended for no other purpose than to compel their employers to give them higher wages'.[60] Some of the subscribers, perceiving that 'they had been deluded into an illegal combination, and that the purpose of erecting this society was extremely different from what they had imagined it to be', resolved not to have any further involvement in it and decided not to pay their monthly fees any more. Being charged by the directors of the copartnership for breaking the contract, they appealed to the court of session in July 1765.[61] At the trial it was argued for the copartnership that it was 'designed for the laudable purpose of carrying on a joint trade' and that the alleged wage increase was not in their general interest because 'many of them were of different professions, some of them manufacturers'. Despite this defence, the session judged that the subscribers were 'almost all of them journeymen weavers' and 'may be increased to thousands' and hence decided 'that the contract and agreement in question was not intended for carrying on a manufacture, but is an illegal combination'.[62]

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[57] *Information for John Barr and others, weavers in Paisley, pursuers; against James Curr preses, Robert Wallace collector, and Alexander Glen and …* ([Edinburgh], [1765]), 2.

[58] *Ibid.* The act is Bubble Act 1720, 6 Geo I, c. 18.

[59] *Information for James Cur, Robert Wallace, Daniel Brown, Hugh Reid, James Proven, and others, weavers in Paisley, and managers of the Universal …* ([Edinburgh], [1765]), 8. The rest of the members were 53 children and 108 'of Persons who are not Weavers at all, but of other Employments'.

[60] *Information for James Cur, Robert Wallace, Daniel Brown, Hugh Reid, James Proven, and others, weavers in Paisley*, 3; *Information for John Barr and others, weavers in Paisley, pursuers; against James Curr*, 2.

[61] *Ibid.*, 2-3.

[62] *Decisions of the Court of Session, from November 1765 to December 1769* (Edinburgh, [1777]), 249.

What is interesting about this case is the weavers' skilful and sophisticated, though in the end vain, tactics as well as the relatively large-scale and wide-ranging organisation they created. They could alter the outlook of their two societies from *The Defence-Box* to *The Universal-Trading Company* because of their effective means of collecting information and their sufficient knowledge of the law. The speed with which they collected members for the copartnership was impressive. The contract was first signed on 26 April 1764 and, within ten days, more than 600 people had subscribed to it.[63] There might have been some kind of intimidation or threats against those who would not join the copartnership as was claimed at the court of session, but it would have been very difficult to force that many people to join and pay fees in such a short period of time. In addition, since there were also many journeymen weavers in Paisley who did not join this copartnership, the members seem to have chosen to join of their own accord.[64] Although the partners were mostly from Paisley, some were from Glasgow and others all the way from Dalry and Stewarton (both in Ayrshire, about fifteen miles away from Paisley). There were also members of trades and occupations other than weavers, such as stocking-makers, wrights, gardeners, and bakers, as well as shop-keepers, manufacturers, and merchants. This wide and varied membership would imply that the partners were motivated to join by something more than intimidation or threats.[65] The copartnership was initiated and led by John Brown and Andrew Sym, weavers in Paisley. Brown was particularly known as 'the most remarkable for ingenuity, and the most noted lawyer'.[66] Although little is known about him, he probably provided the copartnership with legal knowledge and solicited counsel from William Somervell, an eminent writer in Glasgow, who sent his clerk to witness members entering into a contract.[67]

This copartnership shows the remarkable capability of the middling and lower sorts in the west to organise and mobilise themselves for collective bargaining with their employers.

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[63] *Extract, contract and agreement betwixt James Curr, and others, the Universal Trading-company of Paisley* ([Edinburgh], [1765]), 12-22.

[64] It was estimated that there were at least 1,000, or at most 1,500, journeymen weavers in Paisley. *Information for James Cur, Robert Wallace, Daniel Brown, Hugh Reid, James Proven, and others, weavers in Paisley*, 9.

[65] *Extract, contract and agreement betwixt James Curr, and others, the Universal Trading-company of Paisley*, 12-23.

[66] *Information for John Barr and others, weavers in Paisley, pursuers; against James Curr*, 2.

[67] *Extract, contract and agreement betwixt James Curr, and others, the Universal Trading-company of Paisley*, 11.

After their contract was declared void and their combination illegal, there is no evidence of this kind of workers' organisation for collective bargaining again being formed in and around Glasgow in the later 1760s and 1770s. This does not mean that the relationship between master and worker was amicable or that the latter's working conditions improved, but workers still took to the streets, resorted to direct action or formed a loose, but still organised, combination. In 1768, two or three hundred women engaged in clipping lawns struck for higher wages and marched through the streets of Paisley accompanied by journeymen weavers.[68] In October 1772 a riotous and disorderly crowd in Paisley 'broke into a weaver's work shop there … and cut and destroyed goods, looms, &c'. Those who attacked the work shop were apparently weavers, as it was believed that they knew where those goods and machines were usually stored.[69]

The tension between masters and journeymen weavers remained strong the next summer, when 'an unlawfull Combination [was] formed by the Journeymen Weavers of Paisley, for regulating their wages'.[70] This combination of journeymen weavers prevented, on the one hand, masters who refused to submit to their demand not to carry out any work and, on the other, weavers who were willing to work at the current wages from receiving any work. According to witnesses' accounts in Paisley sheriff court records, 'there is a committee, appointed by the weavers who refuse to work, for treating with the manufacturers about a bargain concerning the prices of work' from about June.[71] The weavers had put guards 'at all the entrys into the town, in order to hinder work from being carried out of the town' as well as at manufacturers' houses 'night and day'. The guards threatened and sometimes attacked servants of the manufacturers who attempted to deliver linen yarn or web to workers.[72] The weavers also assaulted some of the journeymen weavers who did not join their combination but kept on working with manufacturers. On 13 August at night, when John Barr, Robert Boyd, and Thomas Boyd, all journeymen weavers, with Andrew Brown, silk manufacturer in Paisley, were walking in town:

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[68] *GJ*, 24 March 1768.

[69] *Ibid.*, 29 October 1772.

[70] TNA, SP54/46/88, ff.248r-v: Lord Justice Clerk Miller to Secretary Suffolk, 25 October 1773.

[71] William Hector (ed.), *Selections from the judicial records of Renfrewshire … With notes introductory and explanatory*, 2 vols (Paisley, 1876-1878), i, 202: precognition of Andrew Brown, weaver in Paisley,.

[72] *Ibid.*, 200-202: precognitions of Andrew Brown, weaver in Paisley, James Stevenson, silk manufacturer in Paisley and John Corse, merchant in Paisley.

they were surrounded by a crowd of people, consisting of several hundreds, who formed a ring round them, and often called out to them that they wrought at under wages to the said Andrew Brown, and threw clods and dirt at [them] and the other two, and often called out to kill them outright that they might have no more to do with them.[73]

It was reported by Lord Justice Clerk Thomas Miller to London that 'This combination … Interupted the Manufactures of the place for several weeks, and reduced many of the Journeymen to a state of beggary'. Miller went on:

> A prosecution was necessary, and twelve persons concerned in this Combination were brought to the bar. As some thousands of usefull weavers were engaged in this Combination and threatened to goe off in a body to America, the trial became very delicate. I appointed a Jury of the most intelligent & disinterested Gentlemen. They heard the evidence fully, and returned a verdict against seven of them. I had occasion to speak to the persons convicted with warmth and tenderness for their situation; and by mitigateing their punishment to an imprisonment for a short space of time, I had the happiness of convincing them of the criminality of their conduct, and of the Lenity with which they had been treated; from which I have reason to hope that peace & good order is now restored to that place.[74]

This report summarises the scale and tactics of the combination and also the authorities' serious concerns about them. The weavers were able to organise 'some thousands' of brethren, which meant that they gained widespread support not only from Paisley but also from other neighbouring towns. The authorities regarded them as 'usefull', which the weavers themselves must have known. The sheer number of the weavers who joined the combination and their importance to the regional economic conditions as skilled artisans, as well as their tactics in declaring their intention to emigrate to America, put them in a strong bargaining position. Although it is hard to know whether this was just a bluff or not, the authorities had to treat them with great care.[75]

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[73] *Ibid.*, 203: precognition of Robert Boyd, weaver in Paisley.

[74] TNA, SP54/46/88, ff.248r-v: Lord Justice Clerk Miller to Secretary Suffolk, 25 October 1773.

[75] William Hector, the editor of *Selections from the judicial records of Renfrewshire*, concluded that 'No prosecution at all followed the long and expensive investigation; and Murray, who had been apprehended, was discharged from prison'. *Ibid.*, 204.

Weavers were not the only workers who complained about their working conditions and resorted to collective bargaining with their employers. On Thursday 11 March 1773, 'a great number of sailors assembled at Greenock and Port Glasgow in a riotous and disorderly manner … [and] insisted on an increase of their wages which the merchants declined complying'. Despite the magistrates' efforts to stop them, the sailors, led by 'some Irishmen', not only prevented ships from sailing, but also put 'a stop to all business at the port, and will not even allow tobacco to be weighed at the King's scales'. After placing the port under their control, they marched through the town, 'punishing such sailors as refused to join them'.[76] On Sunday 14 March, a few companies of soldiers arrived and in the evening the magistrates apprehended four of the ringleaders. When they attempted to put these ringleaders into the custody of the military, they 'were immediately surrounded by a vast number of the sailors, and … pelted with stones, bricks, &c.'. The magistrates endeavoured to disperse the crowd and read the Riot Act, but to no avail. They ordered the military to shoot over the heads of the crowd 'in their own defence', which resulted in two men being killed on the spot and the crowd being dispersed. In the evening, however, the crowd reassembled 'in a greater number … threatening to burn the house of the magistrates and the ships in the harbour, if the prisoners were not immediately delivered up to them', a demand to which the magistrates acceded.[77]

This disturbance by Greenock sailors is obviously an example of collective action by workers with a view to improving their wages and working conditions. The sailors reportedly demanded an increase in their wages, and eventually struck for that purpose, which led to a sudden halt to the whole business of the port. Although there is little evidence about it, the level of violence from the crowd might have been higher than other collective protests, resulting in shooting by the military. What is remarkable about this disturbance, however, is the way the sailors responded to the situation. About one week after the disturbance, they sent a letter to a Glasgow newspaper that was published. They emphasised first of all that the issue was not a wage increase, but that they 'want to get a little sooner into them'. They then mentioned what they had intended to do:

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[76] *GJ*, 11 March 1773; *CM*, 8 March 1773.

[77] *GJ*, 11 March 1773; *CM*, 10 March 1773.

> Sir we did not intend a Mob, Riot, or what d'ye call it? we only mistook our plan, and by having some Chips of[f] the old Block from Boston, as well as some Irish Runners among us, they soon convinced us, that the best way of doing Work was, "to do none" that is, to let NONE be DONE; and that there was no harm in giving a few Land waiters, Coopers, Porters, Jobbers, and Carmen, a HOLIDAY or TWO, as they would do as much for us again.

For them, the event was not a riot or disturbance, but an organised strike to bargain with their employers for an earlier payment. Moreover, they believed that they were not a mob: 'it was not the Sailors who threw dirt and stones at the Soldiers that evening, but the Mob, consisting chiefly of Women and Boys'. They also blamed magistrates and leading people in the town for their response. According to them, 'we … ordered our drum to call all hands on Deck, and get aloft, and when doing so the Magistrates and principal inhabitants got their drum too forfooth, came ahead of us, and suddenly seized our drummer and chief mate, and directly steered along with them to the *George*'.[78] In their eyes, their co-workers were arrested for no good reason and the conduct of the magistrates was far from legitimate. This probably caused anger and discontent among the sailors towards the local authorities, which was further inflamed by the shooting by the military.

The following week, two troops of dragoons were sent to Greenock, where the people appeared to have calmed down and business was going on as usual. The regiment secured more than forty suspected rioters, out of which twenty-four were arrested and escorted to Paisley. At the same time, the magistrates 'attended by the principal inhabitants, without any of the military' went to those sailors who were still assembling in a body. The sailors 'observing that their behaviour was disagreeable to the townsmen, forthwith dispersed, and most of them returned to the respective ships they belonged to'.[79] At the circuit court, six sailors were charged 'for being concerned in the mobs and riots', and two were sentenced to transportation to the plantations for five years, two to imprisonment for two months, and one to imprisonment for only two weeks.[80]

The principal cause of these collective bargaining and related disturbances was, as

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[78] *GJ*, 18 March 1773.

[79] *CM*, 20 March 1773.

[80] *Ibid.*, 22 May 1773.

has been shown, the wages of workers. This makes it difficult to assess how effective their protests were, because average earnings of the middling and lower sorts of people and their short-term changes in this period remain unclear. What is clear is their complaint against 'so great a reduction … , considering the high rate of all kind of provisions' as well as their attacks against their employers who, they believed, 'were murderers of many poor familys'.[81] It is clear that the workers did not attempt to increase their wages in these cases related to wages. In fact, they sometimes expressed their indignation at the charge that they were trying to increase their wages. In the case of the 1767 Glasgow weavers, those arrested stated at the circuit court that 'it was absolutely untrue that the Pannels had entered into any Combination in this case, in order to highten their wages'.[82] Greenock sailors declared in newspapers that 'we didn't want our Wages *increased* -- God bless the Merchants, we have Wages enough'.[83]

It appears that the workers focused their attention on maintaining the status quo in their working conditions and keeping up the old practices and agreements, all of which must have been subject to changes created by rapid economic developments and changing social relations between employers and workers. In the traditional relationship between masters and journeymen, the former were in charge of the latter in almost all aspects of life and work, and the latter were, in return, expected to be subordinate to the former and work as instructed. These traditional patterns were beginning to disappear in the early eighteenth century and, according to W. H. Fraser, there had been great changes in the twenty years since the 1760s.[84] Workers appear to have wanted to retain the disappearing customs. The 1742 weavers' disturbance in Glasgow was caused not only by a wage reduction, but also by 'Differences with their Masters, who should be at the Charge of the Candles burnt at Work, &c.', signifying that even this seemingly trivial change in working conditions could influence the mind of workers and led them to take direct action. Greenock sailors demanded 'that their wages should commence immediately on their going abroad … as was the practice formerly'.[85] Another reason for their strike was that 'it was very improper to do BUSINESS of a Sunday', implying

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[81] *Ibid.*, 20 July 1767; precognition of Andrew Brown, weaver in Paisley. *Selections from the judicial records of Renfrewshire*, 201.

[82] NAS, JC13/16, 69, 3 October 1767.

[83] *GJ*, 18 March 1773.

[84] Fraser, *Conflict and class*, 22.

[85] *CM*, 8 March 1773.

their inclination towards orthodox presbyterianism.[86] At the same time, workers appear to have become accustomed to a contractual relationship between employer and worker. If the employer-worker relationship was based on a signed contract, the worker was no longer simply in a subordinate position, but retained certain rights. This is why Paisley weavers, who formed a combination in 1773, did not accept a wage reduction, despite the economic hardship caused by the combination itself. According to a silk manufacturer, 'many of his weavers, as well as other people's, have been in great straits, but durst not work … and … have told him that they could not do it till once the manufacturers had signed an agreement to pay them by the old prices'.[87] As long as their wages were traditionally based on an agreement signed by the manufacturers, the new wages should be set in the same way. The weavers wanted 'to have a regulation of the prices wrote upon stamped paper, and to be signed by all the manufacturers, which regulation they insisted should be observed in all time coming'.[88] That the experience of these protests gave them sufficient knowledge about the law, contracts, and legal prosecution and to make their tactics more sophisticated.

IV

Taxation disturbances

Disturbances about taxation were arguably the most common and frequent type of popular protest in eighteenth-century Scotland, and Glasgow and the west were no exceptions. The background and context of this type of disturbance were peculiar to Scotland. The Treaty of Union between Scotland and England in 1707 stipulated that the Scottish taxation system was abolished and that of England would be introduced north of the border. The rate of general duties such as customs, excise, and land tax were united with these of England, although there were a few exemptions such as the excise on paper, windows, coal, and malt.[89] The treasury in London had to establish customs and excise houses across the country and to appoint

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[86] *GJ*, 18 March 1773.

[87] *Selections from the judicial records of Renfrewshire*, 200: precognition of James Stevenson, silk manufacturer in Paisley.

[88] *Ibid.*, 202: precognition of David Boyle, weaver in Dalry.

[89] Articles VI to XV. 'The Articles of the Treaty of Union of 1707, with the amendments inserted by the Scottish Estates during the "Explanations" ', in Christopher A. Whatley, *Bought and sold for English gold?: explaining the Union of 1707* (2nd edn, East Linton: 2001), 103-110.

commissioners and officers. Customs officers were appointed in a great rush, partly because the customs regulations were applied to Scotland with the commencement of the Union on 1 May 1707 and partly because many of the offices were distributed as patronage to friends of the government. Lack of time and political calculations led the treasury to choose some men unfit to serve as customs officers. George Lockhart of Carnwath believed that most of the 256 new customs officers were English, and this probably explains Scottish hostility to customs officers.[90] The revenue officers, acting under the authority of the British state, were brought into the localities to collect taxes which the people had not paid before and were not yet ready to accept.

To these changes, the people in Scotland responded with great hostility. Many traders and merchants disregarded the new regulations and duties and committed frauds and indulged in smuggling, while ordinary people attacked customs and excise officers everywhere. These attacks were so ubiquitous and frequent that an historian has even called it 'a national pastime'.[91] This is not surprising considering that, in the eyes of ordinary people, these changes were brought about solely by the Union, the unpopularity of which was fresh and widespread across the country. There was surely an anti-English/British edge to these collective attacks on revenue officers. In July 1707, for instance, an excise officer at Leith were pursued and assaulted by a great number of women and boys. He fled to a brewer, who asked these women and boys the reason for their conduct. They answered that 'he was an Englishman, and they would have his blood'.[92] Attacks were also directed to other symbols of authority brought in by the Union. In February 1708, a crowd attacked the customs house in Edinburgh and destroyed 'the Queen's arms, and the Union crosses, and other devices' which had been set up there only a few days before.[93] Although these examples were from Edinburgh, it is reasonable to presume that a similar hatred of these changes existed in Glasgow and the west as well.

There is a slight fluctuation in the occurrence of anti-tax disturbances. The first two decades after the Union witnessed nine disturbances, more than a half of the total reported cases. This number hardly appears to reflect the real scale and frequency of anti-tax protests in

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[90] P.W.J. Riley, *The English ministers and Scotland 1707-1727* (London, 1964), 56.

[91] Whyte, 'A relatively orderly, authoritarian, society?', 89.

[92] *CTP*, iii,504-538.

[93] *Ibid.*, iv,87-101.

the period, however. As was reported from the customs house in Edinburgh to the treasury in March 1715, 'Mobs in the several ports in this country (where military force is wanting) have become so frequent and terrible to the officers of Customs that they are afraid to do their duty'.[94] Ten years later, officers at Irvine still had to deal with 'the daily insults and abuses of the smugglers and the common people, who are too ready, upon all occasions, to assist the unfair traders and oppose the officers in the execution of their duty'.[95] It is probable that anti-tax disturbances were commonplace in the 1730s, as one of the causes of the Porteous riots in 1736 was the arrest and execution of smugglers in the Firth of Forth.[96] From the 1740s, however, reports and information sent to the treasury about anti-tax disturbance became fewer than previously. Anti-tax disturbances did occur, but the number was apparently decreasing. There is no report of this kind of disturbance after 1763. The anti-tax disturbances may well be interpreted as a form of opposition by the Scottish people to the political and administrative changes brought about by the Union.

There are some patterns of action seen in this type of disturbance. In most cases, the crowd used violence to prevent revenue officers' from finding out and securing untaxed goods. Those goods which the crowd attempted to ensure evaded taxation were varied, but they were usually expensive and valuable imports from Europe. For example, a crowd at Govan in 1718 attacked excise officers who seized untaxed brandy.[97] A disturbance in Irvine in July 1725 was caused by the seizure of 'a considerable quantity of Dutch soap'.[98] Sometimes a crowd tried to obstruct the seizure of smuggled tobacco, as at Ayr in 1749.[99] That crowd chiefly consisted of women and boys, and the crowd which attacked the house of an excise officer in Cumnock in Ayr in 1739 were '20 mobbish People in Women's Clothes'.[100] The scale of such disturbances was quite small and their duration was short. The number involved was normally between twenty and forty, and disturbances lasted only a few hours. Although the crowds were in many cases armed with staves, clubs, and other types of weapons, the level of violence used was not

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[94] *Ibid.*, v, 90-104.

[95] *Ibid.*, vi, 342-376.

[96] H.T. Dickinson and K.J. Logue, 'The Porteous riot : a study of the breakdown of law and order in Edinburgh, 1736-1737', *Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society*, 10 (1976), 21-40.

[97] TNA, T1/215/43(d), f.257r: Alexander Kennedy to Treasury, 30 October 1718.

[98] *CTP*, vi, 342-376.

[99] *CM*, 12 December 1749.

[100] *Ibid.*, 15 February 1739.

very high. The attacks and protests were not usually well organised, and the crowd mainly became involved in disturbances spontaneously, which may explain the presence of many women and boys in these crowds. At the same time, the spontaneous nature of these disturbances meant that the reasons for them are not always clear, though they seem to have been understood and accepted by the local communities involved. In other words, even though the scale of disturbance was small, the action of the crowds appear to have been based on a wider communal consensus.

There is evidence that this communal consensus about the legitimacy of some crowd actions was even shared by the leading ranks of people in the localities.[101] The involvement of people of respectable status in the local community demonstrates some recognition or approval of the crowds' actions and may have given them confidence and a stronger sense of legitimacy. It was even reported from customs officers in Glasgow that:

> they are not only insulted by the Common People in the Execution of their duty, but that the Provost there with some of the Justices of the Peace instead of Supporting them have lately in several instances made use of their Authority as Justices of the Peace to obstruct them in the Execution of their duty.[102]

The details of this instance will be examined later, but it is evident that there was some support for anti-tax protests from not only the upper ranks, but also from the local authorities.

There are two well-documented disturbances worth investigating as case studies. One of these is a disturbance in Irvine in July 1725 and the other in Glasgow in 1724. The former disturbance was caused by the seizure of a considerable amount of Dutch soap by customs officers. When the officers were seizing these untaxed goods, they were attacked by a crowd and the goods were seized. John Norman, a land waiter at Irvine, was among the officers and he reported that, 'although he had a small party of the King's forces to assist him, the "rabble were so great" that he and the soldiers were unmercifully beaten and wounded'. Norman and other officers had to seek shelter in a laird's house. After the disturbance, Norman informed General Wade and the Lord Advocate Duncan Forbes of the affair. The whole troop of the Earl of Stair's

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[101] *CTP*, v, 104-119.

[102] TNA, T1/249/6(6), ff.133r-v: Custom House at Edinburgh to Treasury, 23 October 1724.

regiment was then sent to Irvine and six rioters were arrested.[103] The arrested rioters were brought to the circuit court in May 1726 and charged with attacking John Norman and other officers of the crown.[104]

The witnesses' accounts were recorded in the circuit court minute book, including that by Norman himself. According to him, he was informed 'that there were some firkins of fforaigne soap lying in the barn of Bryce Barr Tennent ... in the paroch of Dalry and Sherriffdom of Air'. He and his assistants from Lord Stair's regiment went to the place and found 'about eighty firkins of soap' which they seized. On their way back to Irvine, they came across 'a number of people tumultuously assembled whereof some were armed with fire armes, others with Clubs and other like weapons, which tumultuous assembly exceeding the number of one hundred'. The crowd attacked them violently and Norman asserted, 'some one or other of the mob fired upon them' and forced them to leave the soap behind.[105] One of the assistants remembered that the 'mobb of people [were] upwards ... to the number of Two hundred'.[106] Norman and his assistants apparently emphasised the violence and the large size of the crowd. Accounts by other witnesses, all of whom were local people, differed considerably from Norman's version. Thomas Stevenson, a merchant in Dalry, claimed that the crowd was much smaller, 'Consisting of men women and Children above the number of fourty'.[107] Other witnesses saw the crowd attacking Norman and other officers, and Stevenson observed one of the rioters 'Strugling with one of the Dragoons'. Stevenson's description of the scene and choice of words are interesting in that he claimed that the crowd was 'struggling' with officers, rather than attacking them. Jean Boyle, a local woman, did hear among the crowd and officers 'the shot of a Gun also heard some more shots but whither these Shots came from the mobb or the dragoons the Deponent Knowe not'.[108] These accounts by witnesses neutral or relatively sympathetic to the crowd are indicative of some communal understanding of the crowd's action. This sympathy may have encouraged some local people to watch or participate in the crowd. Stevenson saw James Gray, one of the panels, in the town of Dalry before the disturbance

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[103] *CTP*, vi, 342-376.

[104] NAS, JC13/6, 9-26, 2 May 1726.

[105] *Ibid.*, 12-13: deposition of John Norman, land waiter at Irvine..

[106] *Ibid.*, 21: deposition of William Dickson Dragoon in Stairs Regiment.

[107] *Ibid.*, 18: deposition of Thomas Stevenson, merchant in Dalry.

[108] *Ibid.*, 14: deposition of Jean Boyle.

started and heard him say to the people there 'that they should go with the Mobb if it were not more but to bear bulk', and his suggestion was agreed by townspeople, because 'from that Toun many thereafter did joyn the mob'.[109] Boyle also saw Gray in Dalry and heard him talking 'with some others … about the soap [and] say They might go and assert and recover the soap'.[110] Interestingly, the last six words of this quotation were deleted 'by order'. The reason for this deletion is unclear. This sense of legitimacy of possessing and 'recovering', instead of 'taking', the goods, however, appeared to be shared by the people present at the disturbance. Stevenson described how 'Robert Glen pannel with a rung in his hand … [was] active about the recovering of the s[ai]d firckines'.[111] It is probable that this sense of a right to the seized goods was widely shared and motivated many people to join the crowd action.

If the case of Irvine exemplifies the common pattern of crowd action in taxation disturbances, the case of the Glasgow anti-customs crowd in 1724 shows a slightly different dimension. In this case, the involvement of the local authorities was the most important issue. The long-term background to this event was the fault of the poorly-established customs system on account both of the lack of time and the political calculation at the commencement of the Union described above. The short term backgrounds were the political changes both at urban and national levels after the Jacobite rebellion discussed in Chapter Two. The defeat of the Jacobite rebellion and the leading role which the duke of Argyll played had a considerable impact upon the urban politics in Glasgow. The council members obviously shifted their allegiance from the duke of Montrose to Argyll, and Argyll's friends in town such as John Aird and Daniel Campbell became more influential.[112] To dominate politics at a national level, the Argyll brothers and their friends had to wait for the rise of Walpole and the fall of the Squadrone party in 1724, but the Squadrone's influence on the treasury had already been curtailed by 1722, when the reorganisation of the Scottish customs system was planned and carried out without the Squadrone's involvement. The change brought about by the reorganisation was considerable. The customs officers in Glasgow appointed by Montrose were

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[109] *Ibid.*, 19: deposition of Thomas Stevenson, merchant in Dalry.

[110] *Ibid.*, 15: deposition of Jean Boyle.

[111] *Ibid.*, 19: deposition of Thomas Stevenson, merchant in Dalry.

[112] Ronald Sunter, *Patronage and politics in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1986), chap. 10.

all dismissed, and the newly appointed officers were friends of Argyll.[113] At the same time, it was widely thought that this customs reorganisation ruined the tobacco trade and manufactures in Glasgow.[114] This caused great anger and hostility among the townspeople towards friends of the Argyll family in Glasgow, Daniel Campbell in particular, generating an anti-Argyll atmosphere in the town.

In October 1724, as quoted above, it was reported by customs officers in Glasgow that they were not only insulted by 'the Common People', but also obstructed by the provost and the justices of the peace in the execution of their duty. The memorial attacked three justices, Provost Charles Miller, Colin Campbell of Blythswood and James Hamilton of Aikenhead, for assuming 'a power of determining Seizures which the Law vests in the Court of Exchequer only'.[115] According to the detailed reports from customs officers and copies of proceedings by justices of the peace attached to the memorial, from September to October in 1724, the customs officers in Glasgow frequently stopped carriages loaded with goods such as tobacco and wines which they asserted were untaxed. There were at least five such attempts by the customs officers, the first of which took place on 3 September, when the officers attempted to stop at the Gallowgate port 'two hampers containing Eight dozen bottles of Claret Wine Wanting Permitte shewing the duties to have been paid, upon which John Black Constable by a Warr[an]t from the Justices of Peace, assisted by W[illiam]m Howat, Thomas Marshall, & John Dougall Porters in Glasgow, deforced the s[ai]d John Buchanan & Robert Ellis who were carrying one of the Hampers to the Wareh[ouse], by violently taking the hamper from them & carrying it Off'.[116] A stoppage of tobacco happened on 5 September and those of wines on 30 September, 2 and 3 October.[117] The case on 30 September almost created a disturbance. Customs officers at the Gallowgate port stopped three carts loaded with claret wine because these did not have permits. Believing that the duty had not been paid for these wines, the officers began taking these carts to the warehouse to inspect them. When they came to the entry to the warehouse, 'Mr

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[113] HMC, *Polwarth*, iii, 248-250: George Baillie of Jerviswood to Lord Polwarth, 1 Mar 1723.

[114] Riley, *English ministers and Scotland*, 266-267; J.M. Price, 'Glasgow, the tobacco trade, and the Scottish customs, 1707-1730: some commercial, administrative and political implications of the Union of 1707', *SHR*, 63-1 (1984), 34-36.

[115] TNA, T1/249/6(6), ff.133r-v: Custom House at Edinburgh to Treasury, 23 October 1724.

[116] *Ibid.*, f.141r: The same to the same.

[117] *Ibid.*, f.135r: The same to the same.

Howstown late Compt[rolle]r at Pt Glasgow and James Graham Apprentice to Rich[ar]d Grahame Mer[chan]t appeared, threatening any Off[ice]r that would venture to take the Wine into the Wareh[ouse] and one of them Exciting the people to a Mobb, … w[hi]ch as near happen'd as anything could be, the people having begun to gather Stones'.[118] Robert Ellis, one of the officers, though attempting to carry the goods into the warehouse despite the threat, was beaten down by James Graham.[119] Before any of the goods could be taken into the warehouse, Colin Campbell of Blythswood and James Hamilton of Aikenhead, both justices of the peace, appeared and ordered their constable to carry the wines off and lodge them in an adjacent cellar.[120]

Immediately after this, the justices summoned a court, in which James Graham stated that he was carrying by his master's orders these wines into the country and was stopped by William Carlile and Robert Ellis, customs officers, at the Gallowgate port, despite the fact that 'there is a Certificat Lodged in the Customhouse of this place for the Said Wine as Being Imported in the Hamilton Brigantine and duties paid by Alexr Hamilton & Compy'. Graham went to Hamilton of Aikenhead to complain about this, and Aikenhead sent a constable with orders 'to hinder The Said Wine from Being carried into The Kings Warehouse till The foresaid Complaint should be heard and determined by the Justices of the peace'. In spite of this, the officers, according to Graham, violently brought the wines into the warehouse. At the same time William Carlile asserted that he stopped the carriage because the wines 'had no Clearance and no document produced to Instruct The duty was paid', and he did not obey the constable because the constable did not have any written warrant from Aikenhead. The justices of the peace, Miller, Campbell of Blythswood and Hamilton of Aikenhead, decided that, while admitting Graham's complaint, Carlile had no right to stop the carriage because 'The Reason of his Stopping the Said Wines was only Suspicion That The Same had no Clearance And That he had no particular Information against the Same'. They also gave Graham a caution for beating Carlile.[121]

Other cases followed almost exactly the same pattern. In all cases, the officers stopped

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[118] *Ibid.*, f.137r-v: The same to the same.
[119] *Ibid.*, f.145r: The same to the same.
[120] *Ibid.*, f.137r-v: The same to the same.
[121] *Ibid.*, ff.143r-144r: The same to the same.

the carriages and were met by hostile, sometimes violent, responses from those carrying the goods because the latter knew that their goods had certificates and duty had been paid. The scuffles between the officers and those transporting the goods involved the townspeople around the scenes and caused disturbances. The provost and the justices of the peace intervened in these disputes and settled the cases in favour of the carriers. These disputes had some political implications. Provost Charles Miller and one of the justices, James Hamilton of Aikenhead, were known for their anti-Argyll tendency. Miller, as one of the leading figures of the Revolutioner party, and Hamilton of Aikenhead kept close alliance with the Duke of Montrose.[122] In addition, the attitudes of the officers, who probably owed their appointments to the Argyll interest, towards the local authorities might be indicative of the tension between the Argathelians and their opponents. At the scuffle on 30 September, William Carlile, surveyor of customs, was said to 'use Expressions of Contempt Against The Authority of The Justices of The peace'.[123] Carlile was most actively involved in four out of the five disputes, despite the decisions at the justice of the peace courts. The justices were so concerned about his disregard of law and authority that they warned him on 3 October that, 'The next time any Such Stop was made They Would Imprison him'. Carlile's conduct also caused hostile reactions from the townspeople, whose antipathy towards the Argyll interest had already been raised to such an extent that the customs officers this time believed that 'There is at present Such a humour in This City That We are affraid Every day of Being mobbed'.[124] This hostility towards revenue officers, occurring in an anti-Argyll atmosphere, was to be part of the context of the Shawfield riots in June 1725.

While these political implications have to be taken into account, there is evidence that the problem was not so much political as administrative. The reason the customs officers made frequent stoppages was explained by orders from the customs board 'to Stop all forreign Goods passing Thro[ugh] The toun to Country without a Clearance'.[125] This order may have been related to the customs reforms and appears to have been dutifully followed by the officers, who had been newly appointed in 1723. These new officers appeared to be unfamiliar with the laws

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[122] See Chapter Two.
[123] *Ibid.*, ff.143r-144r: The same to the same.
[124] *Ibid.*, f.139r: The same to the same.
[125] *Ibid.*, f.135r: The same to the same.

regulating trades and customs, because all the carriages and goods stopped by these officers were lawful. Although they reported to the treasury that both the populace and the justices of the peace obstructed them in the execution of their duty, 'there is no Law obliging Merchants to take Land Permitts', as was admitted by Duncan Forbes, the lord advocate, to whom the customs commissioners in Edinburgh turned for advice.[126] This signifies that these disputes were caused by a lack of proper legal knowledge among the new customs officers, whose appointment depended entirely upon the winners of the political struggle at Westminster. This was a failure of the new customs establishment which had been enacted in such a hurry at the commencement of the Union. In other words, the roots of these disputes in Glasgow in the autumn of 1724 lay in one of the administrative problems created in Scotland in 1707.

<div align="center">V</div>

Political disturbances

Glasgow and the west of Scotland witnessed at least five disturbances directly caused by political issues. Two of them are particularly well known, the anti-Union riots in Glasgow in 1706 and the anti-Catholic riots in Glasgow in 1779. The anti-Union riots were relatively well-documented thanks to accounts by Daniel Defoe and the correspondences of politicians. There occurred in November a disturbance related to the townspeople's claim to send an address against the Union, and in December another disturbance took place on account of the imprisonment of one Finlay, reputed to be a Jacobite, leading to large-scale disorder and a crowd march for Edinburgh led by Finlay himself.[127] This section looks more closely at the first of the disturbances. The sources related to the anti-Catholic riots are only a few second-hand reports printed in newspapers and a pamphlet published in Edinburgh in February 1779. Despite their scale and impact, neither of these disturbances left records of the trials of the rioters.

The anti-Union disturbance occurred in Glasgow in November and December 1706, when accounts and rumours of the Scottish parliament ratifying the Treaty of Union with England were spreading across the country and raising nationwide opposition against it.

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[126] TNA, T1/249/9, f.150r: The same to the same, 19 November 1724.

[127] Daniel Defoe, *The history of the Union of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1709), 62-71; Karen Bowie, *Scottish public opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* (Edinburgh, 2007), 142-143.

Numerous addresses and petitions against the Union were sent to Edinburgh and public opinion frequently expressed anti-Union sentiments.[128] Glasgow was no exception to this nationwide opposition. Different social groups were opposed to the Union: Hugh Montgomerie, a member from Glasgow, voted against the first article of the treaty; the merchant ranks, who had already benefited from the Atlantic trade by eluding English Navigation Acts, did not need the Union; the ministers of the Church of Scotland, who feared for the status of the national church, were almost unanimously against it.[129] The general anti-Union sentiments in Glasgow were raised so high that in early November ministers in the town suggested to Provost John Aird that an address of the whole town signed by the provost should be presented to parliament. Aird did not comply with this suggestion because he believed that it was not 'prudent' and would do harm to the town's interest.[130] It was also said that James Clerk, minister of the Tron church, preached for addressing and said that if the address was not obtained, 'its a shame for one of ye most whiggist cities in Scotland to be last Edr'.[131] The provost's rejection raised serious concerns among the townspeople that 'the Crowd is waiting on the provests coming home, & hopes to acord on a full address'.[132]

On Friday 8 November, about 200 'handicrofts men' marched through the streets 'armed each wt a paper in his hate qrein was writen in red letters no incorporating Union'. After marching, these tradesmen dismissed peaceably on an assurance from the magistrates that the 'town would all agree on the address on monday nxt'.[133] It seems that no address was presented and 'the ferment is growing', which probably provoked 'a litle mob'.[134] On Thursday 14 November, a day appointed as the Fast, it was said that James Clerk preached against the Union and, according to Defoe, concluded his sermon with this expression: 'Address would not

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[128] Bowie, *Scottish public opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union*, Chapter 6.

[129] M. D. Young, (ed.), *The parliaments of Scotland: burgh and shire commissioners*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1992-3), ii, 505; Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland*, 278; T.C. Smout, 'The development of enterprise of Glasgow, 1556-1707', *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 7 (1960), 211; James Clerk, *Scotland's speech to her sons* ([Edinburgh?, 1706?]).

[130] Defoe, *The history of the Union of Great Britain*, 60.

[131] NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. IV, no. 108, f.155: James McDougal to Robert Wodrow, 11 November 1706.

[132] NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. IV, no.107, f.154: [Thomas Brown?] to Robert Wodrow, 8 November 1706.

[133] HMC, *Mar & Kellie MSS*, 318: The Earl of Mar to Sir David Nairne, 10 November 1706; NLS Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. IV, no.107, f.154: Thomas Brown to Robert Wodrow, 8 November 1706.

[134] NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. IV, no. 108, f.155: James McDougal to Robert Wodrow, 11 November 1706; HMC, *Mar & Kellie MSS*, 322: The Earl of Mar to Sir David Nairne, 14 November 1706.

do, and Prayers would not do, there must be other Methods; … Wherefore up, and be Valiant for the City of our GOD'.[135] As the Earl of Mar was also informed that, 'Ther has a mob hapend at Glasgow, mostlie occasioned by the preaching of their ministers',[136] this sermon by Clerk is believed to have acted as the trigger for a violent anti-Union disturbance. The action of the crowd, however, shows that the sermon was not the direct cause of the disturbance and they still stuck to the idea of presenting an address. It was said that, on the following day, deacons of trades and tradesmen went to the Tolbooth and deacons and a few of tradesmen went up to Provost Aird and 'demanded of him … if he would Address'. While refusing the idea of addressing, Aird and some other 'eminent inhabitants of the town' were trying to persuade tradesmen 'not to promote any Disorders in the city'. According to Defoe:

> While they were thus Discoursing in the Town-House, the Number of the People increased without, and began to be Tumultuous; but as soon as the Deacons came out, and Reported them in short, that the Provost had refused to Address, the People fell a Shouting, and Raging, and Throwing Stones, and Raised a very great Uproar.[137]

If Defoe's account is to be believed, what finally caused the disturbance was not Clerk's sermon, but Aird's refusal to present an address. The crowd was so enraged that they broke into John Aird's house and took away arms, and Aird had to conceal himself and retreat to Edinburgh. At the same time, the townspeople, probably led by tradesmen, collected signatures and presented an address of their own without support of the the provost.[138] The crowd also read a proclamation of its own:

> the companies of the [ap]prntices yt appeared before, did muster yesterday & before they dismissed, they read a proclamation over the crosee ag[ains]t the Union. qrunto they declared they would stand with yr lives & fortun, etc. these words so holy w[i]t[h] god.[139]

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135 Defoe, *The history of the Union of Great Britain*, 60.

136 HMC, *Mar & Kellie MSS*, 325: The Earl of Mar to Sir David Nairne, 16 November 1706.

137 Defoe, *The history of the Union of Great Britain*, 61.

138 *Ibid.*, 62.

139 NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. IV, no.112, f.159: Thomas Brown to Robert Wodrow, 20 November 1706. Underlined on the MSS.

Following this, the townspeople calmed down and the peace of the town was restored until early December.

What is interesting about this series of events in Glasgow in November 1706 is the presence and active involvement of tradesmen, journeymen, and young apprentices. The language and expressions they employed throughout imply that they had a proper grasp both of what was at stake during the Union crisis and of what political discourse to employ. Without the latter they could not have been able to use the phrase 'no incorporating Union' as their slogan on their march through the streets. The wording of their anti-Union 'proclamation' in which they declared that they 'they would stand with yr lives & fortun' also indicates their familiarity with common expressions employed in petitions and addresses.[140] At the same time, a close look at tradesmen's actions gives insight into their understanding and the mental landscape of power and authority in the town. At first sight, they seem to have acted according to the situation without any deliberate plan, but they were probably taking very careful steps to get their opinion through to the urban political hierarchy. They first marched through the streets with a view to letting the townspeople and local authorities know about their sentiments against the Union. They did all that they could to boost the impact of their march. They marched through 'all aray went twice yrough ye town wiy drums beating'.[141] Their slogan on their hats, written in red, served as a strong visual message about their opposition to the Union. Realising that this step did not advance their cause, they attempted to gain access to the urban authorities and to press them into understanding their case. It is not surprising, therefore, that the provost's refusal angered them and led to the attack on his house. In their eyes, Provost Aird had betrayed their trust and had abandoned his duty by fleeing to Edinburgh. This address led to the tradesmen and apprentices taking control of the cross, one of the most important public spaces in the town, where they read their own 'proclamation' against the Union.[142] In this way, the tradesmen in Glasgow showed a high degree of political awareness and a sophisticated understanding of their political world during these anti-Union protests.

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[140] For common wording of petitions and addresses, see Bowie, *Scottish public opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union*, 120-121.

[141] NLS Wodrow Collection, Letters Qu. IV, no.107, f.154: Thomas Brown to Robert Wodrow, 8 November 1706.

[142] The anti-Union crowd at Dumfries also declared against the Union and burned printed articles of the Union at the market cross. *An account of the burning of the articles of the Union at Dumfries* ([Edinburgh?], [1706]).

It is not an easy task to investigate the crowd in the anti-Catholic disturbance in 1779 in the same depth because of the lack of sources. A couple of reports printed in the February newspapers and a pamphlet help reconstruct the basic features of the disturbance. The background to this disturbance were the anti-Catholic feelings in Glasgow created by a proposal for extending the repeal of penal laws against Catholics to Scotland introduced to the House of Commons in May 1778. In October, the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr appointed a Fast Day on account of 'the rapid progress of infidelity and the encouragement given to Popery' and published its resolution against Catholic relief in the newspapers.[143] This resolution by the synod, attacking Catholic superstition, had a strong impact. A few days after the synod, a crowd gathered in the Salt Market and smashed the window of a Catholic comb-maker, in whose house Mass was being celebrated. Excited bystanders stoned Catholics returning home after hearing mass.[144] The anti-catholic sentiments in and around Glasgow became intense and numerous bodies, societies and associations were formed to prevent the bill from being passed by Parliament. In early February 1779, a Glasgow crowd threatened one Robert Bagnal, a Catholic from England, who had been settled in Glasgow and set up a 'flourishing' stone manufacture.[145] He was targeted by the anti-Catholic crowd probably because his house was used celebrating Mass. Bagnal asked the magistrates for assistance. On 9 February, a day appointed for a national Fast, and probably a day when he had been warned of an attack, the crowd appeared around Bagnal's house. According to Bagnal himself:

> the mob began to break my windows on Tuesday about eleven o'Clock; upon which I wrote to the Magistrates for assistance, but they did not arrive at my house 'till four in the afternoon: By this time all the Windows on the out-side of my Close were demolished. The Magistrates spoke to the Mob, and desired them to go home, and told me there should be no more damage done. They remained about ten minutes, and they were not long gone away, when the Mob returned again with great fury. ... The City Guard was indeed called, but they stood and looked on, and never offered the least assistance.[146]

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[143] *CM*, 17 October 1778; *Scotland's opposition to the popish bill. A collection of all the declarations and resolutions, published by the different counties, cities, towns, parishes, incorporations, and societies, throughout Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1780), 4.

[144] R.K. Donovan, *No Popery and radicalism: opposition to Roman Catholic relief in Scotland, 1778-1782* (London, 1987), 14.

[145] TNA, SP54/47/228: Oughton to ?, 12 February 1779.

[146] George Hay, *A memorial to the public, in behalf of the Roman Catholics of Edinburgh and Glasgow;*

Although Bagnal stressed the lack of assistance from the magistrates, the magistrates may have done what they could to prevent their attack and other disturbances in the town. According to one pamphlet, the crowd gathered about four in the afternoon and when the magistrates arrived at Bagnal's house, the crowd was already setting fire to a part of it. The magistrates immediately called for military support, which 'in a very little time' arrived to protect the house from further attack. The crowd then dispersed. The regiment stayed another hour at the house, and when they marched away from it, they left 'a double guard behind them in case of further danger'. The crowd consisting of a 'great many idle women' came back after dark and robbed 'the house of every thing that was valuable', finally setting fire to it and destroying it.[147] The next day, the magistrates assembled deacons of trades and told them to choose twenty men of each trade in order to patrol the streets every night, along with the military. It was also agreed that the magistrates 'will cheerfully pay every farthing of Mr Bagnal's loss'.[148]

The magistrates were seriously concerned about the disturbance because it harmed the town's reputation. The fury of the crowd, however, made it difficult to take strong action against the rioters. Immediately after the disturbance, the magistrates did arrest a few of the ringleaders, 'whom the mob demanded to be released to them, otherwise they would do it themselves. This unreasonable demand the Magistrates were obliged to comply with'.[149]

<div align="center">V</div>

The Shawfield riots

The most serious disturbances in early-eighteenth-century Scotland were the Shawfield riots in Glasgow in June 1725. The riots are sometimes referred to as the malt tax riots because of the widespread hatred of the malt tax newly levied on Scotland. The mob attacked and demolished the house of Daniel Campbell, MP for the Glasgow district, and the troops sent from Edinburgh were forced to flee from the town before an enraged mob. Despite its notoriety, no in-depth

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containing, an account of the late riot against them on the second and following days of February, 1779 (London, 1779), 31-32.

[147] *Particular account of the great mob at Glasgow, that happened on Tuesday, 9th of Feb. 1779* ([Edinburgh?], 1779), 3-5.

[148] *CM*, 13 December 1779. The amount paid to Bagnal by the council was £1,429 1s. sterling. *GBR*, vii, 547-548.

[149] *CM*, 10 February 1779.

analysis has been conducted or published except for an article by William Black and a chapter in a PhD dissertation by Marianne Birkeland.[150] Neither Black nor Birkeland, however, have made proper use of the available primary sources, failing to reconstruct the full details of the incident and to consider its significance. This study draws on newly listed evidence in the State Papers Scotland in The National Archives at Kew,[151] which has not been included in the photocopies of State Papers Scotland held in the National Archives of Scotland. The evidence consists of more than thirty depositions by witnesses and provides a fuller and more thorough account, revealing hitherto unknown and surprising aspects of the riot.

On Wednesday 23 June 1725, the date for the commencement of the malt tax in Scotland, many women and boys appeared on the streets and gathered in front of the malt barns.[152] They prevented excise officers from doing their duty by pursuing and throwing stones at them. A crowd of women and boys, led by a woman, marched through the streets, shouting against the malt tax. Provost Charles Miller arrested the leading woman and put her in prison, but she was soon released because the crowed threatened to break open the prison. On Thursday 24th, in the forenoon, the same woman with a large stick, followed by about thirty or forty disorderly women and boys, came up to the market cross, where the provost went up to her, twisted the stick from her hand and chided the crowd. The woman was committed to prison again, but was freed in the afternoon. At six or seven o'clock in the afternoon, two companies of foot arrived from Edinburgh to support the excise officers and the magistrates. When these companies tried to enter the guard house, it was locked up and the keys had been taken away by the same woman. At nine o'clock suddenly a drum was beaten around the town and a crowd of more than one hundred men and women of different ages gathered together in front of the house of Daniel Campbell. The magistrates rushed to the site and tried to dissuade the crowd, but they had to retreat in the face of crowd's rage. The crowd was led by a woman with a large stick and after her huzzah they started to throw stones and entered the house,

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[150] Marianne Birkeland, 'The politics and society of Glasgow, *c.* 1690 - *c.* 1740' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1999), Chapter 5; W.B. Black, 'The Glasgow malt tax riot', *Scottish Local History*, 74 (2008), 36-45.

[151] Barvie Panvel (ed.), *Descriptive list of Secretaries of State: State Papers Scotland, series two (1688–1782),* Part one (SP 54/1–23) (Kew, 1996).

[152] This general description of the riots is a summary of reports published in *LG*, 13-17 July 1725 and *Daily Courant* ,13 July 1725 and information in [Robert Wodrow?], *A true and very particular Account of the Mob which happened at* Glasgow*, last Week* (Glasgow, 1725).

breaking doors, walls, and windows. After several hours, the house was completely demolished.

On 25 June, in the forenoon, the magistrates and principal burgesses gathered to consider the safety of the town. The provost secured the guard house and desired the captain of the companies, Francis Bushel, to put his soldiers in the guard house. In the afternoon, a crowd of about fifty women and young apprentices led by a woman appeared at the market cross, but they were dispersed by the provost and town officers. Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon a similar crowd assembled in front of the guard house. The crowd began to throw stones at the soldiers and eventually Captain Bushel ordered soldiers to fire at the crowd. Several persons were killed on the spot. The crowd became even more enraged and threw many more stones. The provost, who was in front of the town house, noticed the shooting and sent a town officer to Bushel to tell him to retreat from the town. The troops fled through the west gate of the town, firing several other shots at the crowd. After this, the town's alarm bell was rung and drums beaten. About an hour later, thirty or forty men gathered in front of the guard house and formed themselves in armed ranks. Led by a man in a black coat, called 'captain', they pursued the soldiers who had fled from the town. They came back to the town in about an hour with two soldiers whom they had captured. One of the soldiers was treated harshly, but both were released. The government reacted quickly. General George Wade and Lord Advocate Duncan Forbes led a large detachment of the military to Glasgow and entered the town on 9 July. Forbes arrested the magistrates and eighteen townspeople and sent them to Edinburgh. The magistrates were soon bailed, whereas out of the eighteen suspects, seven were judged guilty and sentenced to transportation to the West Indies. The number of casualties of the shooting is unknown, but estimates vary from nine to thirty two.

The most notable feature of these disturbances was probably the degree and extent of violence against the house of Daniel Campbell. Daniel Campbell was a merchant in Glasgow engaged in the Atlantic trade.[153] He was an able, shrewd man. He established himself quickly among the closed circle of Glasgow elite merchants, and by the time of Union he had became closely associated with the Argyll family through business. He represented Inveraray, the

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[153] About Campbell, see Young, (ed.), *The parliaments of Scotland*, i, 100-101; David Hayton, 'Campbell, Daniel', *Oxford DNB*; David Wilkinson, 'Glasgow Burghs' in HoP, *Commons 1690-1715*, i, 916-920; D.W. Hayton, 'Daniel Campbell', in *ibid.*, iii, 444-446; Romney Sedgewick, 'Glasgow Burghs' in HoP *Commons 1715-1754*, i, 399-400; J.M. Simpson, 'Daniel Campbell' in *ibid.*, i, 520.

stronghold of the Campbells, in the final Scottish parliament in 1706 and voted for Union. In 1716, at a by-election, he was elected MP for the Glasgow district. Backed by the Duke of Argyll, he became the most powerful and influential politician in Glasgow. With the rise of the Argyll brothers, the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Ilay, and the fall of the Squadrone, Campbell and friends of the Argyll family in Glasgow curtailed the interest of the Duke of Montrose and dominated the town council. By June 1725 the social tension against Campbell and the malt tax, which it was believed he brought in, was heightened up to such an alarming degree that the excise officers in Glasgow had to ask for military support at the commencement of the malt tax.[154] This is the reason why the troops came to Glasgow on 25 June. There was also a rumour that Campbell's house would be attacked, and probably knowing this, he retreated to his country house eight miles away from Glasgow just one day before the commencement of the malt tax.[155]

Due to the length and complexity of the whole process, it is difficult to be certain of the size of the crowd. Although London newspapers reported that there were thousands of people involved in the destruction of Campbell's house, this may well be an exaggeration because these newspapers were based on second-hand accounts sent from excise commissioners and military officers in Edinburgh, who assumed that the disturbance was caused by the intrigues of the Squadrone or the Jacobites. [156] One relatively reliable anonymous pamphlet, probably written by Robert Wodrow, minister at Eastwood, only describes it as a great multitude.[157] The crowd probably numbered a few hundred, many of them spectators rather than active participants. Other less violent crowds which appeared during the disturbance may have numbered only forty to sixty people. Given the size of Glasgow's population at this time, about 14,000 to 15,000, the number of people involved was not as great as was reported in newspapers.[158]

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154 TNA, SP54/15/17, f.102: Captain Cossley to Delafaye, under-secretary of state, 8 May 1725; SP54/15/26B, f.143: Excise officers in Glasgow to commissioners of excise in Edinburgh, 21 June 1725; D. Warrand (ed.), *More Culloden papers,* 5 vols (Inverness, 1925), ii, 246: Duncan Forbes to John Scrope, 24 June 1725.

155 TNA, SP54/16/37, f.252: Deposition of John Small, officer of excise at Glasgow; SP54/15/34, f.173: Daniel Campbell to Townshend, 1 July 1725.

156 *LG*, 13-17 July 1725; *The Daily Courant*, 13 July 1725. About the sources of these newspapers, TNA, SP54/15/47, f.214: J. Buckley to Townshend, 13 July 1725.

157 [Wodrow?], *A true and very particular Account*.

158 *The Daily Courant*, 13 July 1725.

It is also difficult to know the composition of the crowd because of the lack of evidence. Women and boys predominated in the early phases or in the daytime, and this is supported by a list made by Lord Advocate Duncan Forbes of the principal actors which gives seventy-three individuals with their names and occupations.[159] There are sixteen young boys included who are described as 'son' or 'apprentice' and thirteen women who are 'spouse' to someone. There are also many tradesmen in the list – eight butchers, seven weavers and six smiths – and four journeymen. Although this list seems to tell us a lot about the composition of the crowd, it should be used carefully because it does not show how the information was gathered or who was involved in which phase. Nevertheless, the involvement of a number of butchers and smiths could be explained by the fact that there was a flesh market near the guard house, the site of the shooting, and there was construction work going on in King's Street.[160] The predominance of women and boys as well as butchers and smiths also implies that they may have taken part in the crowd spontaneously. That the crowd of women and boys were led by the same woman and that the crowd appeared mostly in the market cross, the centre of social life suggests a degree of communal support. It is difficult to prove the government officers' suspicion that the disturbances originated with the Squadrone or Jacobites. As Daniel Szechi has concluded, it seems likely that this disturbance was spontaneous.[161] Although General Wade reported to the ministry that the crowd were shouting 'up with Seaforth, down with Walpole', this was based on second-hand information and there is no other evidence of Jacobite involvement.[162] It should also be taken into account that shouting Jacobite slogans was commonplace in non-Jacobite disturbances and demonstrations in eighteenth-century Britain.[163]

At the same time, one can notice strikingly different features of the crowd which attacked the house of Campbell and that which pursued the troops. The former was greater in size, more variable in age and more violent, and determined in its purpose. It clearly sought

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[159] NLS, MS2966, ff.277-281: 'List of the Prin[cipa]ll Actors in the Mobb att Glasgow, the 24th, 25th, & 26th of June 1725'. The dates given in the title are wrong.

[160] *GBR*, v, 130-131. Several witness referred to the King's Street as 'new street', implying that the building and construction work were still going on.

[161] Daniel Szechi, *George Lockhart of Carnwath, 1681-1731* (East Linton, 2002), 133.

[162] TNA, SP54/15/33A, f.158: George Wade to Townshend, 1 July 1725.

[163] Nicholas Rogers, *Whigs and cities: popular politics in the age of Walpole and Pitt* (Oxford, 1989), *passim*.

revenge on Campbell for the customs reform and the malt tax. The anger directed at Campbell was intense and it was rumoured that his house would be attacked by a mob. The friends of the Argyll interest believed this rumour was spread by the Squadrone, but even if they were right, it would be difficult to explain why the crowds in the early phases were, though noisy, relatively peaceful and why they did not attack Campbell's house until the night of 24 June. Robert Wodrow admitted that there was no 'formed design as far as I ever heard or could learn'.[164] The temper of the crowd appeared to have been suddenly changed by the arrival of the troops in the afternoon of the 24th. After this the crowd became more violent and determined, and, at the site of the attack, they did not listen to, and even threatened and beat the magistrates who endeavoured to stop them. This sudden change in the crowd's behaviour can perhaps be ascribed to a rumour that these troops were sent to collect the tax by Campbell.[165] Campbell, as just an MP, did not have the right or power to do that, but this rumour suggests that he was imagined to be a very powerful man who could pass an Act of Parliament and send troops at his own command, because of his association with the Duke of Argyll or even Walpole. For the crowd, their protest may have been made against those powerful politicians. One witness, William Taylor, a smith, went into Campbell's house to stop the looting. There he saw a man, William Hamilton, acting like a leader. He deponed that he approached Hamilton and 'Desired him to desist and dismiss those … That the sd William Hamilton was then holding up a stick In his hand Turned away, hastily from the deponent And went into the house of Mr Daniell Campbell Saying, That he was not worth a Six pence who would not fight for his bread'.[166]

The destruction was thorough and complete. The crowd, led by one Janet Hill, who 'has these many years been famous for gathering the mob',[167] broke down 'the fore Rails, the next the Glass-windows of the first Story, and got into the House'.[168] Inside the house, they broke the doors, walls, floors, and ceiling with hammer and axe. They went down to the cellar and destroyed the casks of wine, brandy, ale, and beer (some of them drank the alcohol and were found drunk and sleeping in the cellar the next morning). Jewels and gold and silver ware

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164 *Analecta*, iii, 210-211.

165 NLS, Wodrow Collection, Letters Quatro, XVI, no.253, f.378: John Wodrow to Robert Wodrow, 24 June 1725.

166 TNA, SP54/16/42, f287: deposition of William Taylor, Smith in Glasgow.

167 TNA, SP54/16/38(1), f.185: Ilay to Newcastle, 7 Oct 1725.

168 [Wodrow?], *A true and very particular account*, 1.

were carried off. Many of these valuable goods were later found or returned to Campbell's house, and so his losses were not as great as had been expected.[169] It seems as if the crowd would not allow valuable goods to be stolen and had a shared understanding that they should be saved. One witness, Joan Crokat, deponed that, when she went into the house to rescue the goods from the crowd, she found 'some Napery, a flagon and Silver Sloup' and tried to take them away. But one Peter Mitchell held on to these goods, saying that he did not know her and would not let go. Then 'one Standing by Told the Said Peter That the deponent … was concerned in the house And So he lett the deponent go'.[170]

It appears that the crowd was focusing on the destruction of the house, rather than stealing and selling the valuable goods within it. This is probably because of the symbolic importance of Campbell's house. The house, known as Shawfield mansion, was built around 1711 in the west extremities of the town, and it was the first of the grand houses of wealthy merchants built in this area, which would later become the most fashionable in the town. It was designed by Colen Campbell, one of the most famous architects of the time. The site of the house was 'evidently selected for its potentially impressive situation opposite the head of Stockwellgate'.[171] This is where the Duke of Argyll stayed in 1715 when he came to Glasgow after the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion.[172] The Shawfield mansion had thus become the symbol of Campbell's power and wealth, and this may explain why the crowd's destruction was so complete. The crowd also expressed its hostility towards Campbell in a different way. On the 25th, probably before the shooting, about sixty boys and girls led by three or four women were drawing 'a Chariot out at the port of the Gorbals of Glasgow and … they came To the bridge'. They took 'off the body of the Chariot from the Carriage and throw it into the river and yrafter throw the Carriage likways over the bridge Into the river'. It was 'Commonly understood' to be Campbell's, because he was the only one who had a chariot in the town.[173] The crowd was deliberately choosing as their targets the symbols of Campbell's power and wealth and

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[169] TNA, SP54/17/10A, f.57: Lord Justice Cockburne to Newcastle, 17 February 1726.

[170] TNA, SP54/16/42, f.293: deposition of Joan Crockat, Spouse to Patrick Arroll, Workman in Glasgow.

[171] T.A. Markus, P. Robinson and F.A. Walker, 'The shape of the city in space and stone', in Devine and Jackson (eds.), *Glasgow*, 114-115.

[172] George Eyre-Todd, *History of Glasgow*, vol. III: *from the Revolution to the passing of the Reform acts 1832-33* (Glasgow, 1934), 95; *idem.*, *The story of Glasgow: from the earliest times to the present day* (Glasgow, 1911), 78-79.

[173] TNA, SP54/16/42, f.288: deposition of Thomas Gemmell, Armourer in Gorbals of Glasgow.

concentrating on destroying them.

The action, composition, and objectives of the crowd that pursued the troops were rather different. They were about forty to sixty adult men. What is unusual about them is their quasi-military behaviour. They were armed with guns, swords and other weapons. Before going out of the town, they 'form[ed] themselves into Ranks and Files' and were led by a man called 'captain' in black coat, one James Falconer.[174] Falconer was a burgess of the maltmen craft and the captain of one of the ten trained bands.[175] Given his respectable status in the town, he was running the risk of a charge of treason and hence of the death sentence by leading the crowd and pursuing the troops.[176] Why did he do this? The key to understanding his conduct lies in the meeting of the magistrates and principal burgesses on the morning of the 25 June to talk about the the peace of town. At this meeting, Charles Millar, provost, ordered that twenty men of each of the ten trained bands assemble in arms in front of the town house at three o'clock.[177] One of the captains deponed that 'while he was giving Orders to bring his men together for that Service the Kings Troops about the Guard house fired, and as the Witness was informed Some men were Shot, which made him give over thoughts of having his men together'.[178] Another captain deponed that 'That Some time before three about eight or nine of the men had Convened at the Witness's Shop door, when they heard the firing from the Guard house, ... whereupon the Men of the Witnesses Company ... Separeted, And Witness came to the provost, and Informed him what had past'.[179] Now that the trained bands were not available, many people were shot by the troops and the crowd grew more and more furious, Millar probably could do little. He ordered Archibald Galbraith, town officer:

> To gett one of the Captains of the Train bands And bring him to him And [Galbraith] having gone to James Falconer his house who was one of the Captains. He went along with him To the provost And heard the provost desire the said James Falconer To

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[174] TNA, SP54/15/31, f.271: deposition of David Pitcairn, Flesher in Glasgow; SP54/15/31, f.272-273: deposition of Mr Alexander Dunlop, Professor of Greek at the University of Glasgow.

[175] Robert Douie (ed.), *Chronicles of the maltmen craft in Glasgow. 1605-1879* (Glasgow, 1879), 96; J.R. Anderson (ed.), *The burgesses and guild-brethren of Glasgow*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1925-35), i, 332.

[176] H.R. Duff (ed.), *Culloden papers: comprising an extensive and interesting correspondence from the year 1625 to 1748* (London, 1815), 350-351: Delafaye to the Lord Advocate, July 29 1725.

[177] TNA, SP54/15/100, f.332: deposition of Robert Alexander, late Baillie of Glasgow.

[178] *Ibid.*, f.333: deposition of John Linning, Dyer.

[179] *Ibid.*: deposition of Robert Fullon, Copersmith.

give the deponent a List of twenty men of the best Credite of his Company That he might warn them to Come ... With Sward or Gun or other Such weapons.[180]

Millar's purpose was 'To endeavour To Composs the Mobb', but it remains obscure how Millar told Falconer to do so. In the event, as has been shown, Falconer led about forty to sixty men – which is more than Millar's order – to pursue the troops. While some of these men were non-burgess adults and young men, at least a half or a third of these men were from the trained bands and this would explain why they showed disciplined behaviour and were armed with guns and swords.[181] Thus, the strange crowd that pursued the troops were a mixture of burgesses and non-burgesses, adult and young men, led by a captain of a trained band, formed by a direct or indirect order of the provost. This is indicative of the unifying effect of the disturbance upon the urban community of Glasgow. Although in the immediate aftermath of the disturbance the populace was enraged with Millar because of a false report that he ordered the soldiers to shoot, the ministers of the town 'from Pulpit ... desired them not to believe the false Reports'.[182] When the magistrates came back to town from Edinburgh after their imprisonment, they were 'met at a considerable Distance from the City by a great Number of the principal Inhabitants on Horseback', and they 'were received with ringing of Bells and other Demonstrations of Joy'.[183]

The general background to the malt tax was the government's attempts to extend the more sophisticated and rigorous English taxation system to Scotland. There had been an attempt to impose the malt tax on Scotland in 1713, but the government had to drop it because of strong opposition in the House of Lords by Scots peers.[184] The situation had changed by 1725 with the rise of Walpole, who wanted tighter political and financial control over Britain and with it there was a shift from the land tax to excise taxes.[185] In other words, opposition

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[180] TNA, SP54/16/37, f.265: deposition of Archibald Galbraith, Town Officer in Glasgow.

[181] TNA, SP54/15/31, f.275: deposition of Alexander Wotherspoon, Wrighter in Glasgow; *Ibid.*, f.276: deposition of Alexander Thomson, Tailor; SP54/16/42, f.292: deposition of Robert Goldie, Flesher in Glasgow.

[182] *A true and very particular account*, 2.

[183] *A letter from a gentleman at Glasgow to his friend in London. Containing, an impartial history of the late tumults at Glasgow, ...* (London, 1725), 24-25; *A letter from a gentleman in Glasgow, to his friend in the country, concerning the late tumults which happened in that city. ...* ([Glasgow?], 1725), 18.

[184] G.S. Holmes and Clyve Jones, 'Trade, the Scots and the parliamentary crisis of 1713', *Parliamentary History*, 1 (1982), 47-77.

[185] John Brewer, *The sinews of power: war, money and the English state, 1688-1783* (London, 1988),

against the malt tax was the Scottish response to Walpole's rule and the emergence of the British fiscal-military state. At the same time, however, there were important local political and social factors which need to be considered. The riots would not have happened without the social changes Glasgow had experienced since the Union, without the customs regulation of the tobacco trade and hence without Daniel Campbell. For Glaswegians, Daniel Campbell was the personification of the Argathelian ascendancy and the government's rigorous taxation policy which was brought about by the Union. For them, his wealth and power was obtained in return for bringing hardship upon the local community. Hence, he became the prime target and the destruction of his house and property was complete. The crowd achieved its immediate objectives. After gaining compensation from the city of more than £6000 sterling for damage and loss, Campbell sold the mansion and left the town. The Argathelians lost their most powerful agent in Glasgow. The consequence was that Glasgow's tendency towards independence grew and the Argathelians encountered unexpected difficulties in managing Glasgow's urban politics.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to show that popular disturbances are better understood not simply as reflection of socio-economic conditions or indicative of social stability, but as part of the politics of the people at large. It has revealed striking evidence of the agency, articulation, creativity, and organisation demonstrated in popular disturbances. The cases of Paisley weavers are particularly remarkable because of the high level of mobilisation, organisation, and discipline, as well as their tactics to use emigration to America as a threat in their bargaining with the employers. This clearly signifies that the people at large were fully aware of their important role as skilled workers in an industry on which the region's economic development depended and also knew how to make the most of that role in resisting changes in labour relations which they found unacceptable. Anti-taxation disturbances were smaller in scale and lower in the extent of violence, but occurred mostly spontaneously. A close analysis of this type of disturbance has shown that, since these disturbances were mostly spontaneous, they were based on a consensus which was widely shared in the local community. This communal

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consensus sometimes obliged the local authorities to get involved in disturbances. This chapter has also revealed that anti-taxation disturbances were largely caused by administrative and political problems which resulted from the changes wrought by the Union of 1707. It has also shown that the Shawfield riots, which have previously been understood as part of wider national resistance against malt tax, are better understood if they are placed in the context of local politics.

By not generalising or quantifying incidents of disturbances, this chapter might have run the risk of being descriptive and failing to provide information about the extent of disorder in eighteenth-century Scotland. It also fails to consider sufficiently the distinctiveness of Scottish disturbances. Despite these shortcomings, this chapter nevertheless has demonstrated that, while a notion of popular disturbances as indicative of the degree social stability is not entirely wrong, an in-depth approach to popular disturbances can enrich historians' understanding of the agency and vibrancy of the people at large and also of the potential of the politics of the people.

Chapter Six

The constitution and liberty in popular political ideology

Introduction

This study has so far endeavoured to find out the popular element in the political struggles of the urban elite and to analyse the growth of popular political awareness. It has examined the way the people at large expressed their opinions through petitions, addresses, subscriptions, and demonstrations in order to influence, or at least constrain, the decision-making processes at both local and national levels. It has also sought to demonstrate, by examining incidents of popular disturbances, that there existed a higher level of disorder and violence in Scottish society than has previously been supposed. Considering the established importance of ideas and principles in understanding politics in eighteenth-century Britain,[1] it is probably reasonable to hypothesise that these activities were inspired by a set of ideas and beliefs which were held by the populace at large and were passed on across generations. As long as ordinary Scots lived in a world in which their values and morals differed from those of the governing political elites,[2] it is also reasonable to assume that these ideas and beliefs contained distinctive elements that influenced these popular political activities and gave them a unique character. It is this set of ideas and beliefs of the people that this chapter aims to explore. It is an attempt for an intellectual history of non-educated, non-elite ordinary Scots in the eighteenth century. It seeks to find out its distinctive character in the ideological map of eighteenth-century Scotland and a particular role it played in providing the people with a useful, inspiring, and reliable frame of reference in their political activities.

Historians have attempted to map the contours of ideologies in eighteenth-century Scotland. Colin Kidd has brilliantly shown the course of change and decline of political, constitutional, religious, historical, and cultural ideologies as well as the development (or lack

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[1] H.T. Dickinson, *Liberty and property: political ideology in eighteenth-century Britain* (London, 1977), introduction; John Brewer, *Party ideology and popular politics at the accession of George III* (Cambridge, 1976), chaps 1 and 2; H.T. Dickinson, *The politics of the people in eighteenth-century Britain* (London, 1994), part II.

[2] T.C. Smout, *A history of the Scottish people 1560-1830* (London, 1969), chaps 12 and 13; Elizabeth Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley (eds), *A history of everyday life in Scotland, 1600 to 1800* (Edinburgh, 2010).

of it) of national identity in eighteenth-century Scotland.[3] He has further explored the development of an English-oriented North British patriotism, which was tantamount to a Scottish appreciation of English history and English constitution.[4] If this attachment to an Anglo-British ideology represented the dominant features of the ideological map of eighteenth-century Scotland, Jacobitism occupied part of one edge and the Covenanting tradition filled the opposite one.[5] What remains to be added to this map are the main features of the ideology of non-elite, ordinary Scots, who were the great majority of the population. They were the middle and lower ranks of the population who accepted the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian Succession as well as the authority of the British state and, in this period, their voice was probably best represented by the tradesmen, artisans, journeymen, and daily labourers of various descriptions. They were in general loyal subjects of the British crown who opposed the Jacobites and later supported the war against the rebellious American colonists.[6] They were Presbyterians in the Church of Scotland and were strongly opposed to lay patronage.[7] The ideology of ordinary Scots in the region filled much of the lower level features of the ideological map of eighteenth-century Scotland.

In order to find out the distinctiveness of this popular political ideology, it is important to take a closer look at the upper-stream ideology and consider the similarities and differences between them. The upper-stream ideology of eighteenth-century Scotland chiefly consisted of the acceptance of the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian Succession as

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[3] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's past: Scottish Whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-c. 1830* (Cambridge, 1993).

[4] Colin Kidd, 'North Britishness and the nature of eighteenth-century British patriotisms', *Historical Journal*, 39-2 (1996), 361-382.

[5] Bruce P. Lenman, 'The Scottish Episcopal clergy and the ideology of Jacobitism', in Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and conspiracy: aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, 1982), 36-48; Daniel Szechi, *George Lockhart of Carnwath, 1689-1727: a study in Jacobitism* (East Linton, 2002); Colin Kidd, 'Conditional Britons: the Scots Covenanting tradition and the eighteenth-century British state', *English Historical Review*, cxvii. 474 (2002), 1147-1176; Valerie Wallace, 'Presbyterian moral economy: the Covenanting tradition and popular protest in lowland Scotland', *SHR*, 89-1 (2010), 54-72.

[6] Bob Harris and Christopher A. Whatley, ' "To Solemnize His Majesty's Birthday": new perspectives on loyalism in George II's Britain', *History*, 83 (1998), 397-419. As to popular support for the American war, see Chapter Four and Brad A. Jones, 'The American Revolution, Glasgow and the making of the second city of empire', in Simon P. Newman (ed.), *Europe's American Revolution* (London, 2006), 1-25.

[7] See Chapter Four. See also Callum G. Brown, 'Protest in the pews: interpreting Presbyterianism and society in fracture during the Scottish economic revolution', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Conflict and stability in Scottish society, 1700-1850: proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1988-89* (Edinburgh, 1990), 83-105.

well as the appreciation of an Anglo-British identity.[8] Its upholders were the governing and educated Presbyterian elite, typically represented by the literati of the Enlightenment, the Whig landowners and lawyers, the ruling elites in the localities, and the ministers of the Church of Scotland.[9] Needless to say, this broadly defined group divided over church patronage between the Popular ministers and the rest.[10] It has been pointed out, however, that, with regard to their intellectual and cultural tenets, similarities and affinities, rather than differences, were evident between the Popular clergy and the rest of the elite. Ned Landsman has argued that these evangelically minded Popular ministers shared some of values and ideas of the Enlightenment with the literati.[11] Moreover, Landsman and Kidd have pointed out an important ideological development shared by the Popular clergy and the moderate literati. According to them, both of these groups abandoned the traditional rhetoric of Scottish liberty by the mid-eighteenth century and replaced it with the language of British liberty.[12] It is therefore possible to draw a generally accepted picture of the main ideology of eighteenth-century Scotland: it consisted of an attachment to the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian Succession as well as an appreciation of the Anglo-British history and identity; it failed to develop the traditional and indigenous Scottish identity; and many of its key concepts, particularly liberty, became Anglo-British in their nature. The dominant, enlightened ideology of eighteenth-century Scotland was heavily English-oriented and was characterised by its appreciation of Anglo-Britishness.

Historians have thus worked out the nature of the dominant ideology of eighteenth-century Scotland. At the same time, there has been an historiographical tradition which emphasises the strength at grass-roots level of the Covenanting tradition. While the Covenanters of the eighteenth century, who were not great in number, stood outside the

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[8] Kidd, 'North Britishness'.

[9] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's past*, chaps 8 and 9; *idem.*, 'North Britishness'; Nicholas T. Phillipson, 'Politics, politeness and the anglicisation of early 18th-century Scottish culture', in R.A. Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815* (Edinburgh, 1987), 226-246; Friedhelm Voges, 'Moderates and evangelical thinking in the later eighteenth century: differences and shared attitudes', *Records of Scottish Church History Society*, xxii (1985), 141-173.

[10] J.R. McIntosh, *Church and theology in Enlightenment Scotland: the Popular party, 1740-1800* (Edinburgh, 1998).

[11] Ned C. Landsman, 'Presbyterians and provincial society: the evangelical enlightenment in the west of Scotland, 1740-1775', in John Dewer and Richard B. Sher (eds.), *Sociability and society in eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993), 194-209.

[12] Kidd, 'North Britishness', *passim.*; Landsman, 'Presbyterians and provincial society', 203-204.

Revolution Settlement and defied the authority of the British state, it has been argued that the Presbyterian theory of equality and popular sovereignty, as well as a Covenanting past, underpinned popular unrest in southwest Scotland.[13] Due to its radical political theory, the Covenanting tradition has tended to be associated with the radical movement of the 1790s,[14] but it has also been pointed out that there was a strand of Calvinism which experienced a significant modification, making it suitable to enter into the mainstream of eighteenth-century Scottish intellectual thought.[15] Although the tradition was clearly upheld by those dissident Presbyterians, what is not clear is to what extent this tradition penetrated into the middle and lower ranks of the population who chose to accept the Revolution Settlement in church and state.

This chapter considers whether, as the current historiography has suggested, ordinary Scots in Glasgow and the west of Scotland accepted the dominant ideology of Anglo-British patriotism and the polite and moderate culture of the Enlightenment or not. It also assesses the relationship between the Covenanting tradition and loyal ordinary Presbyterian Scots. It argues that, while there is evidence suggesting the influence of the English-oriented North Britishness on the popular appreciation of the British constitution, the strength and depth of Scottishness in the popular concept of liberty has been unduly underestimated. It also argues that, while the radical aspect of the Covenanting tradition has been emphasised, the tradition, at least elements of it, was shared by ordinary loyal Presbyterians and served as a crucial inspiration in the development of a distinctive popular political ideology. It will demonstrate that it was the Scottish Presbyterian heritage wrapped in the rhetoric of British liberty that inspired and underpinned the growth of the popular understanding and usage of the concept of liberty in the late eighteenth century.

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The appreciation of 'our happy constitution'

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[13] Kidd, 'Conditional Britons'; Wallace, 'Presbyterian moral economy'.

[14] John Brims, 'The Covenanting tradition and Scottish radicalism in the 1790s', in Terry Brotherstone (ed.), *Covenant, charter, and party: traditions of revolt and protest in modern Scottish history* (Aberdeen, 1989), 50-62.

[15] R.J. Finlay, 'Keeping the Covenant: Scottish national identity', in T.M. Devine and J.R. Young (eds), *Eighteenth-century Scotland: new perspectives* (East Linton: 1999), 126.

By the mid-eighteenth century, most Scottish Whigs came to subscribe to the Anglo-British ideology of the mixed and balanced constitution and to praise its benefits and advantages.[16] The mixed and balanced constitutionalism of king, lords, and commons, however, had originally been alien to Scots. Scotland's Parliament had been unicameral and its polity had not been focused on Parliament to the exclusion of other representative or juridical institutions.[17] Scotland also had an historical tradition of promoting the freedom of the nation and restricting the powers of the monarchy and, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, this tradition had been firmly established as an historical ideology of national independence and constitutional freedom from tyrannical kings. In the national self-image, Scotland was a country which fought against tyranny and had successfully preserved its national independence intact for 2000 years.[18] As the prospect for an incorporating union with England became publicly known from about 1703, therefore, strong opposition to incorporation was expressed in public discourse which pointed out the fundamental differences in the history, constitution, and laws of Scotland and England. It was feared that an incorporating union would deprive Scotland of its historical independence, its rights and liberties, and its Parliament and that Scotland would be annexed or absorbed by a country which possessed a totally different constitution.[19] This ideological understanding of Scotland's historical independence and the fear of losing it were clearly expressed in an address against the Union by the Presbytery of Lanark:

> Only as ministers, Scotsmen, and subjects of this free and independent kingdom, we cannot but wish and pray that our civill government may be rectified as to the execution of good lawes without being dissolved; our monarchy may be regulated and limited, without being suppressed; our Parliament may be secured from English influence, without being extinguished; and the just rights and liberties of the Nation … may be asserted, without being resigned in bulk, to the will and disposal of a British parliament, who are strangers to our constitution.[20]

Evidently, the understanding of the constitutional differences between Scotland and England

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[16] Kidd, 'North Britishness', 372.

[17] R. Sutherland, 'Aspects of the Scottish constitution prior to 1707', in J.P. Grant (ed.), *Independence and devolution: the legal implications for Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1976), 15-44.

[18] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's past*, Chapter 2.

[19] Karin Bowie, *Scottish public opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* (London, 2007), 74-78.

[20] NAS, CH2/234/4, 224-226.

and the distrust of a British parliament were widely shared and formed one of the common grounds for opposition to the Union with England.

After the Union, however, many Scots seem to have come to terms surprisingly quickly with the constitutional differences of the two countries and had started to praise the excellence of the Anglo-British constitution. Reference to 'our happy constitution' appeared in the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715. The magistrates of Glasgow declared that they would stand up 'in defence of your Majesty and of the protestant succession' to prevent the Jacobites' attempt to subvert 'our happy constitution in church and state'.[21] In the 1720s and 1730s, such praise of the constitution was more frequently expressed in public discourse. On the accession of George II in 1727, the magistrates and council of Lanark sent a loyal address congratulating the new king on his accession and declaring that 'we must be the most sensible of the Value of our excellent Constitution'.[22] On the twentieth anniversary of the Fifteen in 1735, the interpretation of the event as an attempt at 'the Subversion of our present happy Constitution' was repeated in a sermon at Black Friar's church in Glasgow.[23] It is clear that such praise of the constitution was closely connected to loyalty to the king and this means that, by the 1720s, the loyalty of Scots found expression in support for the Hanoverian Succession and also an appreciation of the excellence of the Anglo-British constitution. While these positive references to the constitution were mainly made by those in authority in the localities, on occasion when it was believed to be necessary, there is also evidence suggesting that a similar appreciation was expressed by those outside the ruling urban officials. A pamphlet published by William Tennoch, a pamphleteer of Glasgow, in the aftermath of the Shawfield riots, proudly stated that: 'We have a just and gracious king upon the Throne; we have a noble Constitution; we have a just and wise Parliament, who are the Patrons and Bulwarks, not only of our own Liberties, but also the supporters of the distressed in most places in Europe'.[24] By the mid-1720s, therefore, despite the pre-Union distrust of English constitutionalism and a British parliament, an understanding that Scots already possessed an excellent constitution

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[21] *GBR*, iv, 540.

[22] *LG*, 26 August 1727.

[23] *An anniversary sermon against popery. Preached in Black-Frier's Church, Glasgow. Wherein many of the romish tenets, ... are set forth to view. By James How, M.A.* (Glasgow, 1735), 38.

[24] [William Tennoch], *A letter from a gentleman at Glasgow to his friend in London. Containing, an impartial history of the late tumults at Glasgow, on the ...* (Lonodn, [1725]), 27.

comprised of a Protestant king and a parliament which safeguarded the liberties of the nation came to be shared and expressed in public discourse. It is important to note that this development of a Scottish allegiance to, and appreciation of, the British constitution and the Hanoverian regime was encouraged by fear of the ideological strength of Scottish Jacobitism in this period. Scottish Jacobites were able to exploit the pre-Revolution history of Scotland better than the Whigs, and could assert their longstanding loyalty to the continuous hereditary line of Scottish kings who had ruled the nation for 2000 years.[25] In this ideological context, it was crucial for the Scottish Whigs to place paramount importance on the Glorious Revolution as the event that delivered Scotland from the reign of Popish and arbitrary government and that established presbyterianism as the national religion. The Glorious Revolution was understood to have put an end to arbitrary power and William III was portrayed as the king who 'delivered these Nations from the Danger of Popery and Arbitrary Power; and by settling the Protestant Succession ... has secured to us, our Religion and Liberties, the greatest Blessing and Happiness these Nations ever met with'.[26]

In the 1740s, the Scottish understanding of the Anglo-British constitution became more evidently English-oriented. The Squadrone politicians, through their alliance and communication with opposition Whigs in England, learned to employ the rhetoric and language of civic humanism developed by English Patriots.[27] The campaign of Scottish opposition Whigs gained widespread support in many burghs and counties, where the rhetoric of the English Patriots who were determined to restore the purity of the constitution and the independence of Parliament was imitated. Freeholders in Ayrshire instructed their MP to oppose 'all destructive Schemes to the Constitution of your Country, especially any Attempts to prolong this present Parliament'.[28] The magistrates and council of Glasgow also told Neil Buchanan, MP for the Glasgow district, that their chief concern in electing him was 'The securing and restoring our liberty and constitution and preserving the independency of parliament'.[29] These arguments over the constitution were clearly based on a belief that the

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[25] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's past*, 74-78.

[26] *A letter from a gentleman at Glasgow to his friend in London*, 27; *LG*, 23 April 1734.

[27] Kidd, 'North Britishness', 370-371.

[28] *CM*, 5 November 1739.

[29] *GBR*, vi, 123-124.

constitution was under attack. While, in domestic terms, Parliament was in danger because of the corruption and abuse of power, war in Europe posed a serious external threat to the Britain constitution. This was why the magistrates of Glasgow, when congratulating the success of George II's army in Germany in December 1743, expressed the hope that the king 'may long be preserved ... to secure the Liberties of Europe, and protect the British Constitution and Commerce'.[30] Apparently, the security of the country was now equated with the security of the constitution, and this equation is significant in that Scots began to interpret wars with other countries as being fought to preserve Britain's constitution and British liberty.

In the mid-eighteenth century, this idea of the constitution coming under external challenge was developed and strengthened after the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. The Forty-Five provided loyal Scots with an unmistakable opportunity to prove their 'zealous Attachment to our present Constitution of Church and State' as well as to 'the happy Revolution and the Protestant Succession'.[31] Loyal Scots understood that the Rebellion was a Jacobite attack on the British constitution and portrayed those who fought against the Jacobites as loyal subjects who 'have vigorously exerted themselves for the Preservation of a Constitution dear and valuable to us'.[32] They believed in their staunch loyalism and strong attachment to the constitution so firmly that they reacted decidedly against claims made in English newspapers that a Scot was naturally an hereditary Jacobite. A letter by 'Scoto-Britannus' published in the *Glasgow Journal*, criticised 'such indecent Freedoms with the Character of a People, whose Regard for the Constitution, and firm Attachment to his Majesty's person and Government, are so well known'.[33] It is evident that the self-image of the Scottish people had been transformed by the mid-1740s. They now believed themselves to be renowned for their attachment to the constitution and demanded to be regarded and treated as such. This strong belief in their self-image was probably gained because of the sacrifices and contributions which they believed they had made to defend the British state during the Rebellion. In this context, Glasgow stood as an example of profound loyalism in Scotland and its citizens as committed servants of the state. Scoto-Britannus argued that 'there was not a Town in *England*, who did so much to serve

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[30] *LG*, 10 December 1743.

[31] *LG*, 31 May 1746, 18 February 1746.

[32] *GC*, 26 July-4 August 1746.

[33] *GJ*, 23 February 1747, reprinted in *CM*, 26 February 1747.

the Government, or suffered so much for their doing so, as your City of Glasgow'.[34] Another letter to the *Glasgow Courant* maintained that the lives of loyal Scots 'lost in defending the Cause of true Religion and legal Liberty, is of infinite more Value to the State than Thousands of Rebels, who would destroy the State'.[35] It was this commitment to the defence of the British state that helped to develop further their self-image as lovers of the constitution.

The sense that the constitution was under attack was also clearly articulated during the course of the War of American Independence. The military engagements in 1775 completely changed the nature of the crisis. With George III's declaration in August, the colonists became rebels who, in defiance of British sovereignty over the colonies, had taken up arms against king and country. This situation was understood quite well by the urban elite in Glasgow and the west of Scotland. The magistrates of Paisley declared in November 1775 their readiness to 'support the Rights of your Majesty, as Sovereign of all your Dominions, and the supreme Authority of the British Legislature over the whole Empire'.[36] The magistrates of Rutherglen also regarded the colonists as rebelling 'against their lawful Sovereign and the Constitution of the British Empire'.[37] Since the colonists' rebellion was understood as an attack on the British constitution, support for the war against them was expressed through expressions of loyalism and a firm attachment to the constitution. When a subscription to raise a battalion to serve against the colonists was opened in Glasgow in January 1778, the journeymen weavers' contribution was represented as 'the ardent loyalty of this place, among all the lovers of liberty, of their country, and of our happy constitution'.[38]

By the end of 1770s, the ideology of Anglo-British constitutionalism was well understood and widely shared outside the educated and governing elite in Glasgow and the west of Scotland. The attempt to repeal the penal laws against Catholics in Scotland was criticised in a letter by 'Many hundreds of the friends of the Protestant Interest', published in the *Caledonian Mercury*, as 'dangerous to our constitution, civil and religious'.[39] Another letter signed by more than 5000 inhabitants of the Barony parish adjacent to Glasgow also

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34 *Ibid.*

35 *GC*, 26 July-4 August 1746.

36 *LG*, 14 November 1775.

37 *LG*, 12 December 1775.

38 *Glasgow Mercury*, 8 January 1778.

39 *CM*, 13 January 1779.

described the proposals for repeal as 'no measures more likely to disturb the peace of this country, to alienate the hearts of his Majesty's best subjects, or to destroy our happy civil constitution'.[40] In the 1780s, popular appreciation of the British constitution was expressed more frequently, signifying the high level of popular understanding of this constitutional ideology. In February and March 1784, a number of Scottish towns, including Glasgow and Paisley, addressed George III in order to express their support for his decision to dismiss the Fox-North coalition because of its attack on the king's legitimate power of patronage. An address from Glasgow, signed by 4350 persons, of whom 1096 were merchants and 3254 were tradesmen, stated that they 'revere the Constitution of Great Britain, as it was settled at the Revolution, by which the Prerogatives of the Crown, together with the Rights and Privileges of the Nobles and People, were mutually ascertained; and we reprobate every Attempt to innovate a Government so happily balanced'.[41] This reference to the constitution in which the government was 'happily balanced' indicates the popular understanding of the balanced constitution. The address from Paisley was signed by the magistrates, town council, and manufacturers amounting to 776 and also by more than 4000 weavers. It expressed 'our firm Attachment to your Majesty's Person and Government' and, with a profound religious tone, believed that, 'that over ruling Providence which has hitherto defended the British Constitution, both from Foreign and Domestick Enemies, will yet … secure the Prerogatives of That Crown, and the Rights of the Subjects'.[42] The other Glasgow address had a more popular base, representing the opinion of 'many Thousands of His Majesty's loyal and well-affected Subjects'. They acknowledged:

> with the greatest Pleasure and Satisfaction the Wisdom and Excellence of our happy Constitution, which has vested in your Majesty the undoubted Authority of appointing to all the Offices of executive Government; and from the late salutary and constitutional Exertion of that Authority in the Dismission of the late Ministry, we have the firmest Assurance and Reliance in your Majesty's Honour, Wisdom, and fatherly Care.[43]

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[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *LG*, 28 February 1784.

[42] *LG*, 13 March 1784.

[43] *LG*, 24 February 1784.

This address was sent from 'a Number of the Præseses of the different Societies in and about Glasgow', clearly the successor of the Eighty-Five societies, which had been formed during the anti-Catholic relief agitation in 1779, since these two bodies shared the same person, John Paterson, a grocer in Glasgow, as their president.[44] These addresses illustrate the remarkable popular understanding of, and trust in, the British constitution. Although, at the time of the Union, Scottish Whigs possessed a common constitutional belief that the power of the monarch should be regulated and limited, by the mid-1780s they were supporting the prerogatives of the king because these were vested in him by the mixed and balanced constitution. This support for the king's prerogatives clearly derived from their absolute trust in the British constitution. According to them, this popular support was widespread. The popular address from Glasgow assured the king that 'Nineteen of Twenty of your Majesty's dutiful Subjects entertain the fame Sentiments with us upon this important Point'.[45] The appreciation of the Anglo-British constitution was thus firmly established in public discourse and popular political ideology by the mid-1780s.

II

Liberty and the popular Presbyterian traditions before 1745

While the Scottish parliament and the ancient Scottish constitution were abandoned in 1707, creating ideological circumstances in which the Scottish understanding of the constitution became primarily English-oriented, the Union preserved the national Church of Scotland, which maintained in its institutionalised ideology a belief in the historical struggles of Presbyterians in Scotland for religious liberty since the Restoration. While Scottish Presbyterians had different attitudes towards the Glorious Revolution, which did not acknowledge the National Covenant (1638) and the Solemn League and Covenant (1643), and some sections of hard-line Calvinists, most notably the Cameronians, remained outside the boundary of the Revolution Settlement, a majority of them chose to accept the Presbyterian Revolution Settlement and the Church of Scotland. Although the post-Revolution Church of

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44 John Paterson signed as 'Preases', a Scottish equivalent of chief or president, with the secretary Robert Park. *Ibid.* Robert Park was the organiser of a resolution against Catholic relief from the parish of Carmunnock in Lanarkshire. *Protestant interest; or, the unanimous resolution of about forty thousand inhabitants in and about Glasgow ...* ([Glasgow], [1779]).

45 *LG*, 24 February 1784.

Scotland as the nationally established church came under criticism from, on the one hand, Jacobites and Episcopalians, and, on the other hand, these radical Covenanters, it attempted to assert its authority by constructing an ideological defence against such criticism.[46] The compilation of an historical account of the Scottish Presbyterians' sufferings was one of these attempts. The Presbytery of Lanark, for example, appointed its members to make 'ane accompt of the late sufferings' just after the Union and, in 1708, the General Assembly decided to collect accounts of Stuart religious persecution against Presbyterians, which resulted in the publication in 1721 of Wodrow's *History of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland*.[47] A similar effort was also made by the United Societies, a body of hard-line Covenanters, in order to commemorate those who were persecuted and killed under the Restoration regime.[48] Before the Union, therefore, both the Church of Scotland and radical Covenanters attempted to inherit the legacy of the Presbyterian martyrs.

At the same time, leading Presbyterians of different principles, including radical Covenanters and Church of Scotland ministers, made efforts to publicise and propagate their versions of the Covenanting legacy not only from pulpits, but also in print. These Covenanting books and tracts were widely read and provided readers with sources of understanding and inspiration. According to some commentators on Scottish reading and religious culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the popular Covenanting standards in the south-west were Alexander Shields' *A hind let loose* (1687), *A cloud of witnesses* (1714), Wodrow's *History* and John Howie's *Scots worthies* (1775), all of which put much emphasis, though with varied strength, on the struggles, persecution, and death of the Covenanting martyrs.[49] Three of them were available in the early eighteenth century. *A hind let loose* seems to have been relatively widely read and accessible, at least among the elite and intellectuals, as

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[46] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's past*, Chapter 4.

[47] John Robertson (ed.), *Selections from the registers of the presbytery of Lanark* (Edinburgh, 1839), 141; A.M. Starkey, 'Wodrow and the History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland', *Church History*, 43-4 (1974), 488.

[48] Extracts from 'Minutes of the meetings of the General Societies' on 21 April 1697, 29 October 1701 and 6 October 1711, in *A cloud of witnesses for the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ: being the last speeches and testimonies of those who have suffered for the truth in Scotland since the year 1680. Reprinted from the original editions, with explanatory and historical notes by the Rev. John H. Thomson* (Edinburgh, 1871?), xi-xii.

[49] George Robertson, *Rural recollections; or, the progress of improvement in agriculture and rural affairs* (Irvine, 1829), 98-100; John C. Johnston, *Treasury of the Scottish Covenant* (Edinburgh, 1887), 393-396.

Wodrow was advised in 1717 to read and consult it in order to prepare the publication of his *History of the sufferings*.[50] Nineteenth-century commentators remarked that copies of the 1714 edition of *A cloud of witnesses* are 'not uncommon', although it is hard to know its precise circulation, popularity, and readership.[51] Wodrow's *History* had 650 subscribers, making it probably one of the most widely-read books in early eighteenth-century Scotland.[52]

The author of *A hind let loose* was Alexander Shields. Born in Berwickshire in 1659 or 1660, and afterwards educated at the University of Edinburgh, Shields remained at Edinburgh University to study theology, but, in 1679, he fled to Utrecht, where he continued his theological studies. After coming back to Britain he served a Scottish Presbyterian congregation in London and, through his Covenanting affiliation, he came into contact with the United Societies, and then with James Renwick, one of the Covenanting leaders. After being arrested by the authorities for holding an illegal conventicle and imprisoned on Bass Rock, he escaped in November 1686 and sought out Renwick. Shields became increasingly associated with Renwick and the societies, and it was around this time that he wrote *A hind let loose*, a book offering an historical and ideological defence of the Covenanters' religious and political principles. The book was published in Utrecht in 1687. It was the culmination of the radical Covenanting political theory, being in much the same vein as Samuel Rutherford's *Lex Rex* (1644), James Steuart and James Stirling's *Naphtali* (1667) and Steuart's *Ius Populi vindicatum* (1669). It justified popular resistance and, by arguing that it is lawful for private persons to execute righteous judgment upon the enemies of God, approved of the execution of Charles I. Its radical articulation of the Covenanting principles was so feared by the authorities in Edinburgh that it was banned and copies of it were ordered to be burned.[53]

A hind let loose argued that the fundamental relationship between the king and the people was based on mutual consent, but the contract was not a contract between equals because the king had no power or standing whatsoever, apart from the people. All the powers of

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[50] George Ridpath to Robert Wodrow, London, 3 August 1717, quoted in Robert Wodrow, *History of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution. Edited by Rev. Robert Burns*, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1828-1832), i, viii.

[51] Johnston, *Treasury of the Scottish Covenant*, 394.

[52] 'The Names of the Subscribers', in Robert Wodrow, *History of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1721-2), i, n.p.

[53] Michael Jinkins, 'Sheilds, Alexander (1659/60–1700)', *Oxford DNB*.

the king, the governors, and members of parliament arose from the people: 'The people's power is greater than the power of any delegated or constituted by them; ... parliament-men do represent the people, the people do not represent the parliament'.[54] Scotland, 'being from the beginning always free, hath created kings upon these conditions, that the government entrusted to them by the peoples suffrages, might be also (if the matter required) removed by the same suffrages'.[55] In addition, the Scottish nation had the National Covenant as well as the Solemn League and Covenant with their king: 'In these covenants we are not sworn absolutely to maintain the king's person and authority, but only conditionally, in the preservation and defense of religion and liberties'.[56] Since the Stuart kings broke this mutual contract and the Covenants and also were 'introducing popery and slavery, and overturning religion, law, and liberty', it was perfectly natural, or even necessary 'to endeavour, in the defence of their religion, lives, laws and liberties, to resist and repress the usurpation and tyranny of prevaling dominators'.[57] Their rebellion against the regime was justified because they 'are not for rising in arms for trifles of our own thing, or small injuries done to ourselves, but in a case of necessity for the preservation of our lives, religion, laws, and liberties'.[58] Much emphasis was thus put on the vital importance of safeguarding and promoting the people's liberty. The king was under the obligation to 'have true human and Christian liberty established in the common wealth, that is, liberty of persons from slavery; liberty of privileges from tyranny, and liberty of conscience from all impositions of men'.[59] The Covenants were made 'for preservation of the uniformity in reformation, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government: the extirpation of popery, prelacy, error and profanity; the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people: and of the magistrates authority, in defence of the true religion and liberty'.[60] It is clear that a particular concept of liberty formed one of the pillars of the Covenanters' political ideologies. The importance for Shields of the concept of liberty was probably epitomised in his pseudonym for

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[54] [Alexander Shields], *A hind let loose, or, An historical representation of the testimonies of the Church of Scotland for the interest of Christ with the true state thereof in all its periods : together with a vindication of the present testimonie, against the Popish, prelatical, & malignant enemies of that church ...* ([?], 1687), 213.

[55] *Ibid.*, 25.

[56] *Ibid.*, 356.

[57] *Ibid.*, 329, 668.

[58] *Ibid.*, 665.

[59] *Ibid.*, 200.

[60] *Ibid.*, 89.

the first edition published in 1687, 'a Lover of true Liberty'.

This emphasis on liberty was echoed in Wodrow's *History* as well. While *A hind let loose* put forward Covenanting political principles in order to justify their detachment from, and resistance to, the Restoration regime, the *History* was more concerned with the persecution, suffering, and killing of the Covenanters. Despite this difference, the *History* put considerable emphasis on the importance of the concept of liberty in the Presbyterian heritage. Wodrow made it clear in the dedication to George I that the *History* recorded 'the uncontestable facts [about] the arbitrary procedure, oppression and severities of that period, the open invasion upon liberty and property, with the hasty advances towards popery and slavery'.[61] He blamed James VII for 'violently running into the utter extirpation of our reformation, when palming upon them a pretended child of his, and openly overturning civil liberty'.[62] Those noblemen who rebelled against the Restoration regime, such as the earl of Argyll, were described as 'those noble patriots, who had embarked in the design of recovering religion and liberty of Scotland'.[63] Wodrow defended those involved in the battle of Bothwell Bridge (1679) because 'It was no great wonder then, that not a few … joined with such as were forced to be in arms, and wander up and down for their principles, and sided with any party who might procure their relief in their property and civil liberty so dreadfully invaded'. He added that, 'Invasions, generally in an evil time, are made both upon religion and liberty: these ordinarily stand and fall together; and when measures are well laid and concerted, it is certainly the most tenable and justifiable quarrel for rising in arms, which is stated upon property and right, and where civil liberty is defended and maintained with an eye to its influence upon, and subserviency to religion'. The actions of those at Bothwell Bridge, and therefore those of other Covenanting martyrs who took up arms, were justifiable because they 'appeared in defence of religion and liberty'.[64] Thus, Shields and Wodrow, who each represented different strands of early-eighteenth-century Scottish presbyterianism, ranging from radical to moderate, shared a similar ideological understanding of the Covenanting legacy in which great importance was placed on the concept of liberty. This concept of liberty was based upon an ideological

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[61] Wodrow, *History of the sufferings … Edited by Rev. Robert Burns*, i, xxxiv.

[62] *Ibid.*, iv, 431.

[63] *Ibid.*, iv, 311-312.

[64] *Ibid.*, iii, 62-63, 163.

understanding of the Covenanting past and, therefore, was primarily a Scottish liberty.

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III

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Scottish liberty and British liberty after 1745

This distinctive Scottish ideology of liberty was not much in evidence in the earlier Hanoverian period. It was during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 that this distinctive Scottish-oriented ideology of liberty surfaced again in public discourse. A poem entitled 'A Loyal ADDRESS to the Citizens of *GLASGOW*', published in the *Glasgow Courant* in November 1745, employed this concept of liberty and apparently aimed to evoke in the mind of readers memories of the Covenanting past:

> *Remember, O my Friends! the Laws, the Rights,*
> *The gen'rous Plan of Power deliver'd down,*
> *From Age to Age, by your renown'd Forefathers,*
> *(So dearly bought, the Price of so much Blood)*
> *O let it never perish in your Hands!*
> *But piously transmit it to your Children.*
> *Do thou, great Liberty! inspire our Souls,*
> *And make our Lives in thy Possession happy*
> *Or our Deaths glorious in thy just Defence.*[65]

In this, the 'great Liberty', obtained through the sacrifice of their ancestors, was being passed on to later generations who should also stand up and fight to defend their liberty. By the 1760s, both the Anglo-British concept of constitutional liberty and the Scottish-oriented concept of liberty were both firmly embedded in public discourse and popular political ideology and many Scots made a selective use of these two different concepts of liberty. In the Wynd church dispute over lay patronage in Glasgow in 1762, for instance, the opposition side demonstrated its subtle understanding and skilful exploitation of the language of liberty in their attack on the town council. Indeed, its phraseology during this dispute bore striking similarities with that in Covenanting literature. They claimed that the members of the town council 'make an act to break a contract betwixt them and another society ... This they make also in a tyrannical,

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[65] *GC*, 18-25 November 1745.

domineering, cavalier way, against the remonstrances of many of their own council'.[66] The magistrates and town council were attacked for 'attempting to put the city under the yoke of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny'.[67] One of the leaders of the opposition camp, Archibald Ingram, argued that the right to call ministers was 'All the privileges which the individualls can without inconvenience exercise in a body', and which 'every lover of liberty should wish them to continue in possession of'.[68] Ned Landsman has argued that this rhetoric and concept of liberty in the Wynd church dispute, particularly that expressed by Ingram, 'incorporated several different conceptions of liberty into his argument, ranging from the republican to the civic to the contractual' and denied the influence of orthodox Presbyterian political principles because 'that was severely restricted' and 'essentially a sectarian understanding'.[69] Landsman is right to point out that Ingram's understanding of liberty was based on a wide range of different concepts of liberty, but the phraseology of the opposition side seems to have also been inspired by the Covenanting literature that attacked the Restoration regime.

Moreover, there is evidence to suggest, though implicitly, that the opposition side believed that they possessed the Covenanting heritage of their forefathers to assist their struggle against arbitrary and tyrannical rule. A pamphlet against the magistrates also claimed, with a remarkable sense of urban pride, that, 'Remember, you stand foremost among the royal buroughs of your nation; you have long been distinguished for your steady attachment to the principles of liberty; you have fought and bled in this glorious cause; the eyes of all other cities in Scotland are now fixed upon you'.[70] Another anti-council pamphlet contended that the opposition side 'have reason to rejoice that they, and their predecessors, have hitherto been distinguished as friends of liberty, and foes to tyranny and oppression'.[71] It is evident that 'their predecessors' were the Covenanting martyrs. This emphasis on liberty and the

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[66] *A letter from W. M. gentleman, to J. C. citizen of Glasgow, in answer to his of the 20th of March, 1762.* ([Glasgow?, 1762]), 2.

[67] *A seasonable address to the citizens of Glasgow, upon the present important question, whether the churches of that city shall continue free, or be enslaved to patronage?* ([Glasgow?], 1762), 12.

[68] *GBR*, vii, 122.

[69] Ned C. Landsman, 'Liberty, piety and patronage: the social context of contested clerical calls in eighteenth-century Glasgow', in Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher (eds), *The Glasgow enlightenment* (East Linton, 1995), 217.

[70] *A seasonable address to the citizens of Glasgow*, 14.

[71] *Memorial, with regard to the settlement of the Wynd Church of Glasgow: two of the magistrates, and a majority of the town-council, appellants: and, five of the particular sessions of that city, respondents. To be heard at the bar of the very rev. Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, in April, 1764* ([Glasgow?, 1764]), 9.

Covenanting past were shared among many tradesmen, who played a vital role in the campaign against the town council. A petition to the town council by John Jamieson, a skinner, states that, 'a claim of patronage … must, from the genius for civil and ecclesiastical liberty, which has, for time past memory, been the distinguished characteristic of this city, be attended with very hazardous, and unforeseen consequences, equally destructive of its peace and industry'.[72] Clearly, the understanding of the Covenanting past and the Covenanting concept of liberty played a key role in the Wynd church dispute. This concept of Scottish-Covenanting liberty, however, also had a distinctive British edge. The Modellers argued in defence of their right of popular calls that 'as you breathe British air, you will enjoy British liberty, and not suffer yourselves to become the slaves of fellow-citizens'.[73] Another Modeller also proudly declared that 'we glory in our liberty as British subjects, and the security in which we enjoy our private fortunes'.[74] When the North-West or Ramshorn parish was in dispute over patronage in 1755, a supporter of the congregation maintained that:

> as British subjects, as members of a church always remarkable for asserting its liberties, and of this corporation, which has so long been distinguished for opposition to arbitrary power … we declare our willingness to offer, with great deference, to the honourable the magistrates and council, in a way of open and fair argument, our reasons in support of our right.[75]

This declaration is a remarkable articulation of a strong sense of inheriting the Covenanting tradition by British subjects. By the mid-eighteenth century, therefore, Scots had coloured the essentially Scottish-Covenanting concept of liberty with a self-conscious Britishness in public discourse and popular political ideology.

In the 1760s and 1770s, however, the concept of liberty came into negative use in the course of highly ideologically charged events such as the Wilkite movement and the American crisis. Wilkes' relentless attack on Lord Bute and insulting equation of Scottishness with Toryism made him extremely unpopular in Scotland and anti-Wilkes crowds burned Wilkes'

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[72] *A continuation of the historical account of the debates which happened in the years 1755, 1761, and 1762*, 25-26.

[73] *A letter from W. M. gentleman, to J. C. citizen of Glasgow*, 5.

[74] *Memorial, with regard to the settlement of the Wynd Church of Glasgow*, 8.

[75] *Appendix. Number I. This is a copy of a protest taken against the Acts of council 1755, by two councillors.* ([Glasgow], [1762]), 5.

effigies on the king's birthday and other occasions in 1763 in Edinburgh, Stirling, and Borrowstownness.[76] Although Scottish anger against Wilkes appears to have quietened down after Bute's resignation in April 1763, it exploded again in the course of the Middlesex election dispute in 1768-9. Some Scots attacked Wilkes for his abuse of liberty and insisted on their own historical attachment to liberty. While anti-Wilkes crowds carried his effigies with a banner declaring 'Wilkes the disturber of Liberty', writers such as Tobias Smollett countered Wilkite arguments by asserting Scotland's historical contribution to the attainment of British liberty.[77] At the same time, another Scot responded to the Wilkite movement by denouncing both Wilkes and liberty in a piece entitled 'J[oh]n W[ilke]s's *Catechism*':

> Q. What induced that gentleman to blasphem God and the King?
> A. His invariable attachment to *Liberty*.
> Q. On what account is he the Hero of the English mob?
> A. Because *his* notion of *Liberty*.[78]

A letter to the *Glasgow Journal* also blamed Wilkite polemicists for 'corrupt[ing] the minds of their fellow subjects, and to fill them with fears, that King, Lords, and Commons, are in a plot against their liberty, that these two last Members of the constitution, are venal and corrupted'. Its author believed that they had just arrived at 'The state of extreme liberty' which was always 'the parent of luxury'. He went on to argue that 'The consequence … of luxury …   is, mobs and internal distractions, such as we see at present'.[79] This growing fear about liberty degenerating into licentiousness was exacerbated by the development of the American crisis in the late 1760s and the early 1770s. In their address to the king in 1769, the Glasgow magistrates attacked 'those Attempts … by factious, designing, and wicked Persons, who, under the false Pretence of Liberty, endeavour to misrepresent the Legislature, weaken your Majesty's Influence, and sow the Seeds of Discontent among your Subjects'.[80] In 1776 the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr advanced a similar criticism of the colonists, regretting that 'they should receive any encouragement for the spirit of faction at home, and be flattered with ideas of liberty, which

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[76] *CM*, 28 May, 6 June, and 2 July 1763.

[77] *CM*, 16 April 1768; Kidd, 'North Britishness', 381-382. .

[78] *CM*, 6 February 1769. Dated '*Alloa, February 2d*'.

[79] *GJ*, 30 March-6 April 1769.

[80] *LG*, 4 April 1769.

appear to us inconsistent with subjection to law, and subversive of all regular government'.[81] These negative associations of the American Patriots with the abuse of liberty were probably strengthened by reports of violent struggles over symbols of liberty. It was reported in the *Glasgow Journal* in April 1770 that, in New York, British soldiers 'made several attempts to cut down [a] *liberty pole*, which at last they effected, and whereupon a scuffle ensued between them and the inhabitants'.[82]

These ideological conflicts over liberty must have made many Scots realise the fragile nature of liberty, and this realisation was articulated in the address from the merchants house of Glasgow: 'Liberty; which tho' one of the best of Blessings, can only be maintained by a due Observance of, and Conformity to, the Laws of the Land; as by these, and these only, lawful Authority can be preserved inxiolate [*sic*], and the Rights of the Subjects secured'.[83] It now became clear that liberty could easily become extreme and excessive and so abused and exploited by the licentious and rebellious that it needed to be restored, purified, and protected. Some efforts were made to rescue and promote the concept of liberty by using collocations such as 'true' or 'real' liberty.[84] Others even resorted to employing the term 'English' liberty, claiming that they 'felt the blessings of English liberty' and 'to be sheltered under the wings of English liberty', although this claim was made in a demand for the equal treatment of Scotland with England in the rate of customs on imported oatmeal.[85]

The lost confidence and trust in liberty, however, was suddenly, but fortunately, regained in an atmosphere of crisis created by the Catholic Relief bill. As the proposal in Parliament to extend the English repeal of the penal laws against Catholics to Scotland became publicly known in the autumn and winter of 1778, a number of Scots started to employ the concept of liberty to attack Catholics. 'A respectable number of the inhabitants' of Irvine declared that the relief 'would be destructive to the most invaluable rights and privileges of the Scotch Nation, both civil and religious. ... In short it is our opinion that Papists are enemies to

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[81] *Glasgow Chronicle, or Weekly Intelligencer*, 2-9 May 1776.

[82] *GJ*, 12-19 April 1770.

[83] *LG*, 4 April 1769.

[84] *LG*, 14 November 1775; *Glasgow Chronicle, or Weekly Intelligencer*, 2-9 May 1776.

[85] *Memorial for the merchants, traders, and manufacturers of Glasgow* ([Glasgow, 1777]), 4, 6.

Britain, to liberty, and to truth'.[86] The Eighty-Five societies of Glasgow petitioned Parliament that they 'cannot but be deeply affected with any Attempt to infringe these Privileges and Liberties so wisely and firmly secured to us by the Laws of the Realm'.[87] Since almost all the Presbyterians in Scotland believed that Catholics were the agents of Satan, 'in all the deceivableness of unrighteousness', spreading the detestable, cruel, and unjust superstition, 'which was often been drunk with the bloods of saints',[88] it was easy for them to develop arguments for the ideological defence of their liberty. Since the Reformation Protestants had often associated Catholicism with tyranny and arbitrary rule, the Glorious Revolution in church and state in Scotland, 1688-90, was seen as a Protestant revolution in defence of liberty. What further underpinned this creation of an ideological defence against Catholics in Scotland, however, appears to have been this concept of British liberty with a Scottish-Covenanting heritage at its core. By asserting the legacy of their long-standing struggle for and sacrifice to the cause of liberty, Scottish Presbyterians gained an ideological vantage point to assert the legitimacy of and necessity for their attack on Catholics. Representatives of 'private societies for charitable purposes in and around Glasgow' stated that 'We, as well as our Ancestors, rested content in this enjoyment of Civil and Religious Liberty, without troubling others who differed in Opinion from us ... but ... The Maxims of Roman Catholic governments, Arbitrarily, prevents any such indulgence as Liberty of Conscience'.[89] The Presbytery of Paisley also maintained that 'the proposed repeal appears to be unjust in itself, as calculated to deprive both the Nation and Church of Scotland of privileges dearly purchased by our ancestors'.[90] Scottish Presbyterians also combined this Covenanting heritage with their appreciation of the British constitution, which buttressed their ideological stance against Catholic relief. A body of 'Many hundreds of the friends of the Protestant Interest' in Glasgow contended that Catholic relief 'will be highly prejudicial to the interest of the Protestant religion in Scotland; --- dangerous to our constitution, civil and religious ... destructive to the peace and security of his best subjects, who have always reverenced his illustrious family; and defended their rights in the most

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[86] TNA, SP54/45/208: *Supplement to the GJ, No.1957*.

[87] *Commons Journals*, xxxvii, 723-724.

[88] *SM*, October 1778, 565-566.

[89] TNA, SP54/45/206: representatives of private societies for charitable purposes in and around Glasgow, 22 January 1779.

[90] *Protestant interest*.

perilous times'.[91] The inhabitants of the Barony parish firmly maintained that 'we know from the experience of our fathers, they can never exercise with moderation, nor without the detested instruments of tyranny and persecution'. They firmly believed that 'our happy civil constitution' was 'obtained by the vigorous efforts of our Protestant ancestors'.[92] By the late 1770s, therefore, the Scots had appropriated the history of the Anglo-British constitution, which had originally been alien to them, and, by developing the concept of British liberty within a Scottish Covenanting heritage, come to associate it with their history of religious and political struggles from long before the Glorious Revolution or the Union of 1707.

Conclusion

By the mid-1780s, popular political ideology thus came to possess both similarities with and differences from the elite manifestations of eighteenth-century Scottish ideologies. While ordinary Scots appreciated the excellence of the British constitution, as the governing and educated elite did, they developed a distinctive interpretation of the Scottish and British past, transplanting the Scottish heritage of Covenanting struggle against arbitrary and tyrannical government into the concept of Anglo-British liberty. The main constituents of popular political ideology were thus its appreciation of Anglo-British constitutionalism and trust and confidence in the concept of British liberty with a Scottish Covenanting core. Contrary to the previous understanding of historians, this British liberty advanced by ordinary Scots was not an Anglo-British liberty. Despite its supposed decline in the late eighteenth century, Scottish liberty as a Presbyterian legacy remained alive inside the concept of British liberty and was indeed its inspirational core. It was a liberty obtained in return for the sacrifices of Scottish Presbyterian and Covenanting martyrs since the Restoration, established by the Glorious Revolution, and maintained and safeguarded under the British constitution. It was a liberty which provided ordinary Scots with the motives, encouragement, and inspiration to stand up and fight, as their ancestors had done, to defend their liberty and the constitution. Although historians have emphasised radical aspects of the Covenanting tradition, such as the democratic notion of equality, popular sovereignty, and defiance of state authority, the

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[91] *CM*, 13 January 1779.

[92] *Ibid.*

Covenanting past was also accepted and inherited by ordinary loyal Scots who proudly regarded themselves both as loyal lovers of the British constitution and as descendants of Presbyterian martyrs. They believed that it was a liberty shared only by the common people, not by the upper ranks of society, because this Covenanting heritage was 'a character which cannot be boasted of by some *more wealthy people*'.[93] The political ideology of ordinary Scots therefore established a truly popular and distinctively Scottish character within its concept of liberty.

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[93] *Memorial, with regard to the settlement of the Wynd Church of Glasgow*, 9.

Conclusion

I

Revising the orthodox view

Historians have long believed in, and taken for granted, the stability of politics and the deference of the populace at large in eighteenth-century Scotland. The traditional view has depicted the course of political development as struggles between the great landowners in their closed and exclusive circle. Between 1725 and 1761, Ilay devised his sophisticated management system, monopolised patronage, and controlled politics and administration. His dominance of Scottish politics was achieved because of his ability and qualities as a political manager and his political system never allowed any serious internal conflicts or external challenges to emerge. Scottish politics after 1761 were confused and unstable because no politicians were able to establish control over the political machine Ilay had created. Political stability was resumed in the mid-1770s when Henry Dundas fulfilled the role of political manager and gained control of the political machine. Politics, in this view, is about patronage, management, and control by the great aristocratic politicians with no role for the people at large. It was not until the 1790s that popular political awareness fully developed but, even when it did, Scotland remained a society of massive political stability as evidenced by the failure of political radicalism.

This traditional view rests on a set of assumptions which emphasise the dominance of the landed classes: it states that the political and social dominance of the landed classes was so complete and firmly established that it left little room for other sectors of society to play any important role; that the political system and political management that safeguarded the landed interests was so stable that the landed elite did not face any serious external challenges or internal conflicts; that the closed and exclusive political world of the landed elite had no active or real interactions with the political world outside it; that the landed classes, as an hereditary elite, possessed and exercised enormous power and authority across generations and their leadership in politics and society was accepted by the populace at large; that social stability was strengthened by paternalism in which, on the one hand, the landowners showed the generosity and benevolence expected of social leaders and, on the other, the populace at large were expected to accept these benefits with deference; and finally that power, authority, influence,

ideas, and values were constructed and formed by the landed classes and were accepted and followed by the populace at large.

These assumptions about political and social stability are fundamentally at odds with the instability of Glasgow urban politics and the existence, vitality, and importance of the politics of the people this study has revealed. Social and political stability advanced by the dominance of the landed elite and political management skills are of course important features of eighteenth-century Scotland, but a concentration on their study neglects the existence and vitality of politics outside the governing and educated elite. This study has attempted to offer a broader perspective on political developments in Glasgow and the west of Scotland from the Union of 1707 to the mid-1780s by integrating elements of conflicts and instability in Glasgow's urban politics, the growth of popular political awareness, and popular politics in deeds and ideas. It has shown that the politics of the people was not irrelevant or insignificant and that historians should not ignore or underplay its role. It has shown that politics in eighteenth-century Scotland was not just personal or factional struggles between the great landowners, entirely devoid of passions, ideas, or principles. Rather, politics was inseparably connected with social and economic changes and involved wider sections of society. The politics of the elite interested, inspired, frustrated, and enraged the people at large, while the politics of the people in return delighted, worried, and alarmed the governing elite. A fuller and richer understanding of politics therefore requires a careful examination and consideration of the politics of the people at large. By adopting this approach, this study has revealed a much more dynamic picture of eighteenth-century Scottish politics.

II

A dynamic picture of eighteenth-century Scottish politics

The traditional approach has interpreted the course of political development in Scotland in the two post-Union decades as factional struggles between the Squadrone and the Campbell brothers in the closed circle of aristocratic elite and has ignored its impact outside the governing and ruling elite. At the national level in Scotland, it is true that Argyll and Ilay came to dominate the political scene in that period with the eventual demise of the Squadrone interest as a national political force by around 1725. On the local political level, however, the

fierce political struggles between the Argathelians and the Squadrone after the Union had much wider social implications, not only politicising the church and the university, but also involving the middling and lower ranks of the town. Although the Argathelians successfully eliminated the Squadrone friends from the town council and controlled the town's politics by 1725, the Argathelian dominance resulted not so much from their own ability or leadership, as from the fact that the urban elite chose to support them. Moreover, the urban elite's support derived from the widespread popularity among the townspeople that the duke of Argyll had gained because of his role in suppressing the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715. In other words, the Argathelian dominance in the first two post-Union decades was achieved because the urban community at large chose to support it. The relations between the Argathelians and the urban community were, in a sense, a form of mutually beneficial paternalism and deference because the former, as the town's patron, was expected to protect and promote the town's interests, whereas the latter, in return, accepted the authority of the former and provided support for it. When the Argyll interest failed to meet up with the urban community's expectations, therefore, its dominance and control were critically undermined and met challenges. This was what happened in the aftermath of the customs reform and the imposition of the malt tax. The customs reform was seen to cause serious damages to the town's trade which was vital to the social well-being of the urban community, while the malt tax inflamed popular antipathy towards the Argathelians and eventually provoked the Shawfield riots. The Shawfield riots and the ill treatment of the magistrates in its aftermath had a unifying impact upon the urban community and encouraged it to oppose the Argathelian interests in the town. This widespread opposition to the Argathelians led to the emergence of the Revolutioners on the council, who condemned the factional conflicts and sought political independence from aristocratic control in order to promote the town's interests. Although the Revolutioners eventually succumbed to the administrative and financial pressures of the Argathelians, this study has shown that Glasgow urban politics from the Union to 1730 was full of conflicts and struggles between the urban elites which had wider social implications and that the Argathelian dominance was much less secure than has previously been believed.

Contrary to the accepted understanding of the Argathelian dominance and stability of the political system in the next three decades, Glasgow politics also witnessed a considerable

degree of instability and conflict as well as challenges to the Argathelian interests. This instability and conflict in urban politics were certainly part of a wider political movement of opposition Patriots against Walpolean oligarchy in Westminster, but it is never fully explained or understood without taking into account the rapid socio-economic changes in the region that had a significant impact upon the urban politics of the region. Glasgow's rise in the Atlantic trade, the tobacco trade in particular, led the whole economic development in the region and, as a result, the manufacturing industries, most notably the textile industry, grew rapidly. These rapid economic changes, on the one hand, gave birth to a number of artisanal communities in the region and paved the way for a further development of popular politics and, on the other hand, unified the merchant community in Glasgow which had previously shrunk because of the slump in trade in the mid-1720s. The Glasgow merchant community was now a small group of powerful and influential merchants, closely connected through marriage and business partnerships. This merchant community began to assume a new identity as a leading urban elite and to regard their town as the first town of trade and industry in Scotland. Their pride in Glasgow and the self-recognition as its leaders, as well as the practical necessity of promoting the town's interests, inspired their sense of political independence and encouraged them to challenge the imposed control by the Argathelians. Their growing sense of pride and independence culminated in a by-election in 1744, in which they came close to rejecting the new duke of Argyll's instruction to elect one of his kinsmen. What is remarkable in this electoral dispute are the ways in which the urban elite integrated their urban pride with the voice of the people into a coherent argument for local independence. Their project for independence gained wide popular support outside the council. Although the changed political climate in the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 did not allow this politics of independence to achieve its ultimate goal and the urban elite came to terms with the Argathelian interest, urban and popular politics in Glasgow in this period shows that the path towards the Argathelian dominance, at least at a local level, was full of difficulties. It also proves that the politics of the people possessed a remarkable potential to challenge aristocratic control, a potential fully realised in the period after 1760.

The period between 1760 and around 1785 saw the significant growth of popular political awareness in Glasgow and the west of Scotland. It was a period of political instability at

the national level caused by the death of the duke of Argyll in 1761 and by the failure of Argyll's successors to control the political system. This instability in domestic politics coincided with a series of diplomatic, political, and constitutional upheavals which resulted in the War of American Independence and the eventual independence from Britain of the new United States of America. It was also a period of considerable economic changes. Glasgow's tobacco trade continued expanding until the outbreak of war in 1775, by which time the merchant community increased its wealth and social status as the town's leaders. While some of the greatest merchants assumed an aristocratic social distinction which distanced them from the other ranks in the town, the middling and lower sorts, especially those engaged in the textile industry, increased their numbers and acquired a social identity as significant tradesmen. Although their wages and employment were vulnerable to economic fluctuations, they were highly active, organised, literate, articulate, and independent, and thus able to play a significant role in leading the development of popular politics in this period. They actively participated in the Wynd church dispute and led the opposition to the magistrates who attempted to exercise lay patronage without regard for the will of the congregation. Although the dispute was primarily over church patronage, the tradesmen combined their attack on the magistrates with their discontent over the mismanagement of the town's affairs. They showed a remarkable ability to cooperate with opposition members on the council and also to organise opposition campaign that eventually succeeded in forcing the magistrates to drop their plan.

The tradesmen also showed impressive political awareness in their response to the American Revolution. There appears to have been widespread sympathy for the American colonists in the early stages of the crisis because of the economic, cultural, religious, and personal ties between the region and America. The merchants were strongly against any coercive or punitive measures by the British government because of their economic interests in the Atlantic trade and in the American colonies, while the clergy expressed their sympathies for the colonists. After the start of military engagements in 1775 and George III's declaration that the colonists were in rebellion, however, public opinion in Scotland became strongly supportive of the war and hostile to the colonists. This loyalty towards the king and the British state was most actively expressed by tradesmen. In spite of the reluctance shown by many merchants, they sent loyal address to George III in support of the war and generously contributed to

subscriptions for raising a battalion. This loyalism of the tradesmen was shared by some of the leading merchants, such as the provost James Buchanan, and this proves that there were strong continuing elements in political developments during this period. Opposition to the magistrates' exercise of lay patronage during the Wynd church dispute demonstrates that they were upholders of the orthodox Presbyterian tradition which devoutly upheld the kirk's independence from secular authorities. Their support for the war against the rebellious colonists also points to their staunch loyalism towards the crown and the British constitution. Clearly, these two strands of eighteenth-century British ideology, namely orthodox presbyterianism and loyalism, co-existed in the minds of the tradesmen and some of the leading merchants and it was this combination that underpinned their opposition to the Catholic Relief bill.

Viewed as a threat to the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian Succession, as well as the British constitution and liberty of the subjects, the Catholic relief provoked a nationwide opposition movement across Scotland. In this movement, it was again the tradesmen who took the initiative and most actively organised and promoted the opposition campaign against the Relief bill. While they utilised existing church institutions in order to arrange, draft, and send addresses against Relief to the king, their newly formed societies and associations based on their occupations, such as the Eighty-Five Societies, were further reorganised into larger bodies boasting thousands of members. They raised subscriptions for supporting the opposition campaign and published their resolutions in newspapers and forwarded them to the Westminster government. These active engagements of the tradesmen in corresponding with each other, forming societies and associations, collecting subscriptions, and exploiting the press were remarkable developments during the lifetime of the movement. The growth of popular political awareness in Glasgow during the American Revolution culminated in a call for a reform of the burgh constitution in the mid-1780s. Although the burgh reform movement was known for being led and organised by the landed classes and the educated elite, the movement in Glasgow emerged from the tradesmen's criticism of the mismanagement of the 'public good' in the town by the magistrates and town council. They were concerned with the way that the magistrates and council dealt with the town's property and feared that the rights and privileges of the townspeople were under threat. The trades

house passed resolutions consisting of twenty-two articles for reform, which demonstrate the growth of popular political awareness. They demanded more power and representation on the council, while restricting those of the merchants. They required tighter regulations on the magistrates' power in finance and administration, as well as over the municipal elections. They proposed a change in the system of clerical presentation and required that the parish, the merchants house, and the trades house should choose their own candidate and the minister chosen by two of these bodies should be presented. They criticised the prevailing manner of electing their parliamentary representative as being arbitrary and unconstitutional and demanded that every burgess possessing real property for over a year should be allowed to vote. The tradesmen's resolutions for burgh reform were clear testimony of the mature and sophisticated political awareness that had grown remarkably during this period.

III

Popular disturbances and popular political ideology

Popular politics was fully at work when the people at large rioted. Although historians of eighteenth-century Scotland have debated the topic of social stability and have understood that popular disturbances were directly reflective of socio-economic conditions and hence of social stability or instability, this study has avoided this kind of economic approach and examined them as part of the politics of the people. It has understood popular disturbances as a window through which historians can take a look at the ideas, morals, and beliefs of ordinary people, carefully but deliberately acted out in public. It has attempted to focus on relatively well-documented cases which permit an in-depth analysis. The popular disturbances are loosely categorised according to their causes and nature into grain disturbances, industrial disturbances, and taxation disturbances. At the same time, there are overlapping features and characteristics of the actions of the crowd in these different categories. The crowd possessed and demonstrated their own sense of justice, legitimacy, and discipline during disturbances and their actions, in most cases, were based on the implicit but widely shared acceptance and understanding of the local community, sometimes including the ruling elite such as the burgh magistrates. This partly explains why most of the rioters were not arrested and why details of many disturbances are not recorded.

Conclusion

Most of the grain disturbances occurred in the 1740s and 1760s, signifying that they were largely caused by the changing economic conditions which led to soaring prices and a shortage of grain. A closer examination of these disturbances has revealed, however, that the timing of these disturbances does not necessarily coincide with the periods of highest prices. Moreover, disturbances sometimes occurred even when markets were full of grain and grain prices were low. In fact, disturbances were often caused by widespread resentment about business practices by grain retailers who were thought to be holding back grain so that prices would increase and they would make greater profits. Another key factor in understanding the causes of grain disturbances is the people's fear of grain shortages which was created by their painful experience of previous actual shortages. These psychological factors were no less important as a cause of grain disturbances than real shortages and soaring price of grain.

Industrial disturbances were concentrated in Glasgow and Paisley after 1740, but especially in the 1760s and 1770, and were mostly caused by disputes over the wages of the weavers. This concentration in location and time implies that these industrial disturbances were weavers' reactions to the changing labour relations caused by the rapid growth of the textile industry in Glasgow and the west of Scotland. In most cases, the workers formed a sort of combination prior to disturbances with a view to resisting any wage reduction or to demanding a wage increase. They agreed with themselves on a certain level of wage below which they would not undertake any work and they used their combinations to improve their bargaining position with their masters and employers. Disturbances occurred when these agreements were broken. Workers who broke agreements were severely punished by their fellow workers in a charivari style, a ritualistic punishment of those who broke the customs of the community. As time progressed, the scale of the workers' combinations became greater and their bargaining skills became more sophisticated. They were also well aware of their importance as skilled workers to the regional economic condition and they sought exploit it. A combination of Paisley weavers, joined by some thousands, could threaten the authorities with a mass emigration to America.

Taxation disturbances were largely caused by administrative and political problems. The Treaty of Union between Scotland and England in 1707 stipulated that the Scottish taxation system would be abolished and that of England would be introduced north of the

border. The rate of general duties such as customs, excise, and land tax were united with these of England, although there were a few exemptions such as the excise on paper, windows, coal, and malt. To these changes brought about by the hugely unpopular Union, the people in Scotland responded with great hostility. Many traders and merchants disregarded the new regulations and duties and committed frauds and indulged in smuggling, while ordinary people attacked customs and excise officers in many places. These attacks were so frequent and ubiquitous that it is impossible to know the full scale and extent of anti-taxation disturbances. From the 1740s, however, evidence of such disturbances decreases, which suggests a change or shift in the people's attitudes towards the Union and the British state.

Although the traditional view of eighteenth-century Scottish politics ignores the political ideology of the people at large, the people did possess a set of distinctive ideas and beliefs about their political world which influenced their popular political activities. At the time of the Union, there was widespread distrust among the Scottish people of England's mixed and balanced constitution of King, Lords, and Commons and this distrust formed one of the common grounds for nationwide opposition against the incorporating Union because many Scottish Whigs and Presbyterians believed in their historical tradition of promoting the freedom of the nation and restricting the powers of the monarch. After the Union, however, many Scots quickly came to terms with, and started to praise, the excellence of the new Anglo-British constitution. Reference to 'our happy constitution' appeared in public discourse in the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 and, in the 1720s and 1730s, such praise of the constitution was more frequently expressed. By the mid-eighteenth century, Scottish public discourse was firmly convinced of the excellence and virtue of the British constitution and came to believe that the constitution was under attack by domestic and international enemies. During the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 and the American Revolution, both elite and ordinary Scots regarded these events as external threats to the British constitution and expressed their self-recognition as loyal subjects with a firm attachment to it. In the 1770s, the ideology of the Anglo-British constitution was well understood and widely shared not only among the governing and educated elite, but also among the middling and lower ranks. During the anti-Catholic relief campaign, tradesmen and ordinary Scots in the region expressed staunch attachment to the constitution and believed that the proposed Relief bill would destroy it. In

the mid-1780s, thousands of tradesmen, weavers, and spinners, came to support the prerogatives of the king because these were vested in him by the mixed and balanced constitution. This popular support for the king's prerogatives was clearly based on their absolute trust in the British constitution.

While the people at large thus possessed absolute trust in the British constitution and shared it with the ruling elite, their concept of British liberty contained a distinctively popular and Scottish element. In the orthodox Presbyterian tradition, there was a long-standing emphasis on the importance of liberty which had been preserved in their struggle against religious persecution during the Restoration period. This Presbyterian tradition of liberty survived into the eighteenth century through the efforts of both radical sections of hard-line Calvinists and the ministers of the established Church of Scotland. This distinctively Scottish Presbyterian ideology of liberty was not much in evidence until the 1740s, but it surfaced in public discourse during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. By the 1760s, Scottish Presbyterian liberty, obtained through the sacrifice of their ancestors, became firmly embedded in public discourse and popular political ideology. During the Wynd church dispute, opposition tradesmen argued that they were the descendants of Presbyterian martyrs who had died in their fight to defend liberty and that therefore they needed to stand up against tyrannical and arbitrary magistrates. Furthermore, this concept of Scottish Covenanting liberty had a distinctive British edge. They firmly believed that they enjoyed British liberty as British subjects but they had also inherited the Covenanting tradition. By the mid-eighteenth century, therefore, Scots had coloured the essentially Scottish-Covenanting concept of liberty with a self-conscious Britishness in their public discourse and their popular political ideology. Although the concept of liberty came into negative use in the later 1760s and 1770s because of highly ideologically charged events such as the Wilkite movement and the American Revolution, British liberty with the Scottish Presbyterian tradition at its core came to be revitalised in an atmosphere of crisis caused by the Catholic relief question. Many ordinary Scots asserted the legacy of their long-standing struggle for and sacrifices to the cause of liberty and this Covenanting heritage was combined with their appreciation of the British constitution, which buttressed their ideological stance against Catholic relief. By the late 1770s, therefore, the Scots had appropriated the history of the Anglo-British constitution and, by developing the concept of

British liberty within a Scottish Covenanting heritage, come to associate it with their history of religious and political struggles from long before the Glorious Revolution or the Union of 1707.

IV

Comparative implications

Although this study has focused on popular politics in eighteenth-century Glasgow, its findings could have comparative aspects and wider implications could be drawn in the Scottish and British contexts. Although many of the other Scottish towns still lack detailed account of their political developments in the eighteenth century and further research is required, politics of Edinburgh is relatively well researched and could be compared with the evidence revealed in this study. The most striking feature of Edinburgh politics in the eighteenth century, particularly after the 1720s, has been strong and robust control exercised by the Scottish political managers. As the capital with political, administrative, and judicial institutions of national importance, the town council of Edinburgh had to be strictly controlled and any element of popular involvement was kept in check. This strict control effectively prevented tendencies to independence and popular politics from emerging as a powerful force in Edinburgh's urban politics, although in the 1740s and the 1770s, opposition to aristocratic control and popular involvement grew stronger. Emphasis has been placed on the shortness and temporality of that type popular and opposition politics in Edinburgh as well as on the effectiveness and strength of the aristocratic control and structural stability.[1]

In the case of Glasgow politics this study has examined, political control by the Argathelians before the death of the fourth Duke of Argyll was certainly as strong as that of Edinburgh, effectively contained opposition from the Squadrone and urban elite who sought independence. It was only in a brief period of the late 1720s and the early 1740s that the Argathelians failed to control the council. This does not mean, nevertheless, that the consolidation of the Argathelian control was without difficulty, as Chapters Two and Three have demonstrated. This study has also shown the steady growth of political awareness and involvement among the tradesmen in the mid-eighteenth century, which reached its culmination in the burgh reform movement in the 1780s. It could also be pointed out that,

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[1] Bob Harris, *The Scottish people and the French Revolution* (London, 2008), 20-24.

contrary to the case of Edinburgh, there has been little evidence of political managers' control over Glasgow after the 1770s. It is true that the merchant-politicians of the town in that period such as John Speirs had a close relationship with Henry Dundas, but it is doubtful that the urban elite could put effective control over political activism of the middling sorts. Their support for the War of American Independence and opposition to the Catholic Relief bill was expressed in a strong and effective manner, although their opinion was partly different from that of the urban elite. It is difficult to determine, however, political activism of the middling sorts was more prominent in Glasgow than in Edinburgh because of its strength or lack of political control.

Glasgow's political development could also be compared with those of English towns of similar size. One of the most striking features of the political development in these provincial towns is the relationship between the growth of their popular politics, the spectacular growth of the press, and the development of a rich associational life. John Money, for instance, has argued that the transition of Birmingham and the West Midlands from a rural to an urban and industrial society was effected without a marked break in regional tradition, and without the social schisms and strident radicalism that were found elsewhere. He has emphasised the role of clubs and societies to this to show how the city merchants and manufacturers mixed with each other and also the importance of a thriving local press in fostering and enhancing a sense of a growing consciousness.[2] Nicholas Roger, although his focus has been laid on the politics of London, also demonstrated the urban nature of resistance to Walpolean oligarchy, and in doing so he takes seriously a range of communicative and political practices in which its middling and plebeian participants engaged.[3] Kathleen Wilson, at the same time, has emphasised the importance of political discourse in the local publications in Newcastle in the emergence of a popular opposition that criticised the elite and developed a group identity based on the group's political ideology.[4]

Compared to the cases of these provincial English towns, the political role of a local

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[2] John Money, *Experience and identity: Birmingham and the West Midlands 1760-1800* (Manchester, 1977).

[3] Nicholas Rogers, *Whigs and cities: popular politics in the age of Walpole and Pitt* (Oxford, 1989).

[4] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the people: politics, culture and imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge, 1995).

press in Glasgow was, although it was developing rapidly from around 1750 was probably somewhat limited because of its slow development. Glasgow had two local newspapers in the mid-eighteenth century, the *Glasgow Journal* and the *Glasgow Courant*, and from the late 1770s the number increased up to five. Until the beginning of the 1780s, however, these local newspapers, unlike the provincial newspapers in England, did not carry that much information about local politics or political argument and discussion by the local people. Glasgow also witnessed the emergence of many societies and clubs from around the 1740s, but their activities appear to have been convivial and ceremonial, and there is little evidence that these societies and clubs played an important part in the political development and the growth of popular political involvement in the region. Instead, traditional institutions such as the merchants house, the trades house, trade incorporations, and kirk sessions provided basis for political activities of the middling and lower sorts and served as vehicles of the manifestation of their opinions.

This importance of the traditional institutions in the political development of Glasgow and the west of Scotland probably had another implication. Glasgow's political development in this period is different from that of English towns in that there is little evidence of political activism and involvement of dissenters.[5] This is partly because of the focus of this study on ordinary loyal Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, but even after the 1750s, when the number of seceders in Glasgow and the west was increasing, the involvement of dissenters in the political development was not much in evidence. It might be expected that their activities focused on patronage issues, but anti-patronage societies such as the Glasgow Constitutional Society and the New Constitutional Society formed in Glasgow in the 1770s were led by ministers of the Church of Scotland.[6] Dissenters were certainly active in expressing their opinions in pamphlets and tracts, but their political presence in the region appears to have been limited until the 1790s.[7]

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[5] James E. Bradley, *Religion, revolution and English radicalism: noncomformity in eighteenth-century politics and society* (Cambridge, 1990).

[6] Harris, *The Scottish people and the French Revolution*, 33-34.

[7] Colin Kidd, 'Conditional Britons: the Scots Covenanting tradition and the eighteenth-century British state', *English Historical Review*, cxvii. 474 (2002), 1147-1176.

Conclusion

V

The nature, timing, and scope of popular politics

Although this study has thus attempted to provide a fuller and more balanced understanding of eighteenth-century Scottish politics by taking the politics of the people fully into account, this raises further questions relating to the nature of popular politics. We need to ask if there was any element of Jacobitism in the popular politics of Glasgow and the west of Scotland. We need to know why the growth of popular political awareness became more evident after 1760 than before, and how radical this popular political consciousness was.

With regard to the Jacobite element, the answer is largely in the negative. In eighteenth-century Scotland, support for Jacobitism came mostly from Episcopalians, not Catholics, but episcopalianism was very unpopular in Glasgow and the west of Scotland. Orthodox presbyterianism had been the prominent and dominant religious feature of this region since the Reformation,[8] and this presbyterian dominance was not changed by the harsh persecution of it during the Restoration period. At the beginning of the period under consideration, there were some notable Episcopalians and professed Jacobites among the landed and educated elite in the region, such as the Walkinshaws of Barrowfield, the Rev. Alexander Duncan, and Alexander Montgomerie, ninth earl of Eglinton.[9] There is also evidence that, in certain parts of the administration, offices were held by Jacobites. One of these offices was that of justice of the peace.[10] In July 1707, for instance, it was reported that justices of the peace in Clydesdale were 'non-loyal', implying that they were Jacobites.[11] Another example of a Jacobite officer is David Barkly, a tide officer in Port Glasgow, who proposed to drink the Pretender's health at a dinner table in late January or early February 1720, a date very close to the anniversary of Charles I's execution. On another social occasion, Barkly was also known to 'drinke the Pretenders health under the name of King James ye eight

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[8] J.M. Laing, *Glasgow and the barony thereof: a review of three hundred years and more* (Glasgow, 1895), 33-44.

[9] George Eyre-Todd, *History of Glasgow*, vol. iii: *from the Revolution to the passing of the Reform acts 1832–33* (Glasgow, 1934), 121-128; *Analecta*, iv, 26; Ronald M. Sunter, 'Montgomerie, Alexander, ninth earl of Eglinton (*c*.1660–1729)', *Oxford DNB*.

[10] E.K. Carmichael, 'Jacobitism in the Scottish commission of peace', *SHR*, 58-1: 165 (1979), 58-69.

[11] HMC, *Third report*, App., 370, quoted in Carmichael, 'Jacobitism in the Scottish commission of peace', 59.

or did then Curse his Ma[jes]tie King George by saying God damne him'.[12]

These Jacobites who left a trace in the available sources were mostly of the landed classes or upper sorts, while there is little evidence on popular Jacobitism. One of the only few examples of popular Jacobitism in and around Glasgow is found during the anti-Union disturbances in the winter of 1706. When the anti-Union crowd placed the town out of the authorities' control and attempted to march to Edinburgh, they were led by a man called Finley, who, according to Defoe, 'had formerly been a Sergeant in *Dumbartons* Regiment in *Flanders*, and who openly professed himself as a *Jacobite*'.[13] In addition, during the Shawfield riots of 1725, the crowd was heard shouting 'up with Seaforth, down with Walpole', a typical Jacobite slogan at that time, although it must be noted that this account was based on second-hand information and therefore its credibility is doubtful.[14] Other than these two examples, there is no evidence on popular Jacobitism in and around Glasgow in this period. The Jacobites obtained hardly any popular support in the region during the two rebellions in 1715 and 1745 either. While very few Jacobite lairds joined the Jacobite army during the '15, such as John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield and Sir John Macdonald of Sleat, the '45 was also hugely unpopular in the region. Jacobite recruitment in and around Glasgow were quite small, with only ten to fifteen men from Glasgow, two from Campbeltown, and handfuls from Lanark, Greenock, and Hamilton. Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, and Dumfriesshire produced only about forty-seven recruits in total.[15] It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that, while there were a few Jacobites in the upper social ranks, Jacobitism gained little popular support in Glasgow and the west of Scotland.

Why did the popular political awareness become more evident from the early 1760s? Was there anything specifically important in these years? This study has stressed the importance of the Wynd church dispute in 1762 for the active articulation and participation of the people at large. The proliferation of printed tracts and pamphlets published during the dispute gives an impression that the people at large suddenly became concerned about the

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[12] NAS, JC13/4, [no pagination], 10 May 1720.

[13] Daniel Defoe, *History of the union of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1709), 63.

[14] TNA, SP54/15/33A, f.158: George Wade to Townshend, 1 July 1725.

[15] Daniel Szechi, *1715: the great Jacobite Rebellion* (London, 2006), 156, 202; Murray G.H. Pittock, *The myth of the Jacobite clans* (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 2009), 122.

patronage problem, the mismanagement of the town's interests by the magistrates, and the potential threat to their rights and privileges. Their near silence before 1760 makes this impression of the early 1760s as the 'take-off' of popular political awareness appear stronger. This impression should not lead to the neglect, however, of the role played by tradesmen and smaller merchants during the 1744 by-election dispute. The 1744 dispute clearly shows that the non-governing, non-elite burgesses already possessed political consciousness against the external control of the Argathelians and expressed their opinion in support of independent-minded urban leaders. Another factor to be borne in mind is that popular discontent at lay patronage was deep-rooted and was articulated well before 1760. The popular affinity with orthodox presbyterianism and evangelicalism was also evident in the early 1740s when the revival movements took place in the west. In addition, tradesmen were increasing in number because of the growth of the textile industry and had already become active, literate, and highly organised by the 1740s. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that political consciousness did exist in the popular mindset well before the early 1760s.

Presumably, what was lacking before 1760 was a catalyst that provided a definite shape and strength for the amorphous popular political consciousness and turned it into an active, visible, and vocal entity. It was indeed the Wynd church dispute that served as the catalyst. A number of factors helped to unite strands of popular concerns over politics and religion into a coherent attack on the magistrates: the dispute was over the patronage problem to which almost all ordinary people were opposed; the Cochrane administration, having governed the town for more than 15 years, was suspected of corruption and mismanagement of the public interest; Provost Cochrane had been under the influence of the duke of Argyll for a long time; and Argyll died in 1761 and an atmosphere and expectation of a new era of urban politics was created. It is therefore evident that there existed long-standing, continuing popular concerns over politics and religion that helped to unite and develop the tradesmen's opposition to the Cochrane administration in the Wynd church dispute. This explains why many of the tradesmen shared and expressed a sophisticated understanding of concepts of liberty and political language to such an extent that it seems that they had already become quite familiar with these. Nevertheless, it needs to be pointed out that there was also a novel feature in the way the people at large promoted their cause against the magistrates in their use of the press.

The sheer number of tracts and pamphlets on the dispute, of which more than 30 survive, indicates that the development of popular politics had entered into a new stage.[16] This is significant considering that there was no pamphlet or tract published during a similar dispute over lay patronage under the same Cochrane administration in 1755, when a thriving printing industry had already been established in Glasgow.[17] What exactly caused this proliferation of political pamphlets is not clear, but loosening political control by the death of Argyll should probably be taken into account. What is important here is that the effective use of print by the people at large for particular political purposes paved the way for further the development of popular politics at a large scale. By exploiting the press, the people at large probably learned how cheaply and effectively they could propagate and promote their views and cause to promote a shared political purpose. This experience later enabled them to organise a nation-wide political campaign against the Catholic Relief bill. In this sense, although there were important continuing elements in the popular political consciousness throughout the mid-eighteenth century, the early 1760s was a crucial period in providing a new stage for the expansion of popular political *tactics* in Scotland.

How radical was the politics of the people in this period? The answer to this question obviously depends on the definition of the term 'radical' and therefore cannot be clear-cut. In fact, this question itself is based on the functional approach to radicalism, an approach which defends the application of the term radicalism to diverse phenomena, even before the term itself became current in the early nineteenth century. It has been explained that, in this definition, a radical ideology must do three things: it must de-legitimate an old socio-political order; it must re-legitimate an alternative or new socio-political order; and it must provide a transfer mechanism that will change things from the old to the new.[18] If this functional approach to radicalism is to be applied here, popular politics in Glasgow and the west of Scotland was not fully, but only partly radical. The fervent attack on the magistrates and town

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[16] Interestingly, the local newspaper *Glasgow Journal* did not carry any news or information about the Wynd church dispute. This might possibly indicate political pressure from Provost Cochrane, but there is no hard evidence to demonstrate it.

[17] For information about Glasgow's printing industry, see Richard B. Sher, 'Commerce, religion and the enlightenment in eighteenth-century Glasgow', in T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds), *Glasgow,* volume I: *beginnings to 1830* (Manchester, 1995), 312-359.

[18] Glenn Burgess, 'Introduction', in *idem*. and Matthew Fenstenstein (eds), *English radicalism, 1550-1850* (Cambridge, 2007), 8.

council during the Wynd church dispute contained some radical elements, if the Cochrane administration is to be understood as 'an old socio-political order'. The opposition Patriots in the 1744 by-election, or even the Revolutioners in the mid-1720s, might possibly be seen as radical in that they sought a measure of political independence by challenging the Argathelian dominance. This retroactive approach, however, should probably be avoided in a constructive consideration of radicalism because it tends to ignore the marked differences in political and social conditions of these seemingly radical elements.

A more meaningful consideration of popular radicalism in Glasgow and the west of Scotland probably lies in a prospective approach. Historians have agreed that the region produced the most radical elements and most sustained support for the radical cause in Scotland in the 1790s and the link between the strength of radical impetus and the deep-rooted orthodox Presbyterian, Covenanting tradition has, though with some caution, been emphasised. Support for the cause of reform came from the manufacturing areas of this region and a number of weavers and spinners joined radical societies.[19] It is not difficult to point out links between these radical weavers of the 1790s and the loyal tradesmen on whom Chapter Four of this study has focused: they were engaged in the same type of trade; they lived in the same region; and they grew up in the same religious culture and possessed the same religious traditions. Were these loyal tradesmen, then, the direct precursor of the radical weavers of the 1790s? This is highly likely. This supposition that the loyal tradesmen developed into the radical weavers in the 1790s, however, entails intriguing and challenging questions about the nature of loyalism and radicalism in the age of the French Revolution. Did these loyal tradesmen abandon their loyalty and turn into radicals? If this was the case, what made them do so? Or did they remain loyal towards the king and the British constitution and yet still upheld a radical ideology? If so, could loyalism and radicalism coexist? It is probably sensible not to jump to conclusions without suitable evidence. These questions require further in-depth research into change and continuity in the nature of popular politics in Glasgow and the west of Scotland before and after the French Revolution.

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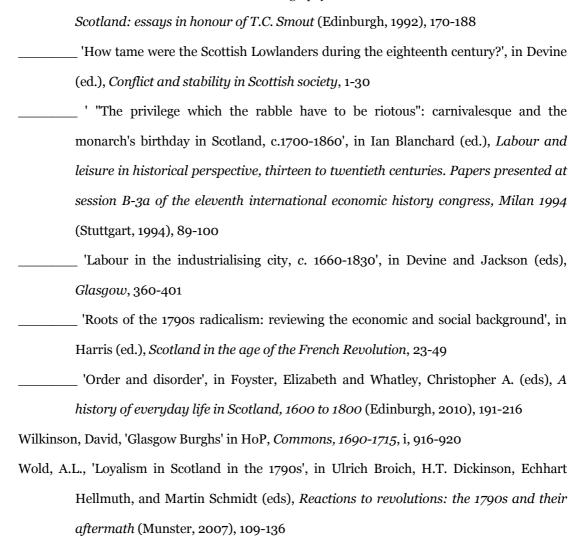Sher, Richard B., 'Moderates, managers and popular politics in mid-eighteenth century Edinburgh: Drysdale "Bustle" of the 1760s', in Dwyer, Mason and Murdoch (eds), *New perspectives of the politics and culture of early modern Scotland*, 179-209

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