THE GLASGOW CITY IMPROVEMENT TRUST: AN ANALYSIS OF ITS GENESIS, IMPACT AND LEGACY AND AN INVENTORY OF ITS BUILDINGS, 1866-1910

MATTHEW WITHEY

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The Glasgow City Improvement Trust:
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by

Matthew Withey

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Abstract

This dissertation comprises a descriptive and analytical account of the workings of the Glasgow City Improvement Trust (from 1895, the Glasgow City Improvement Department), together with a comprehensive inventory of its architectural output. A trawl of library catalogues in the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, St. Andrews and Strathclyde, as well as the Glasgow School of Art, suggests this subject is largely uncovered by academic enquiry. Brian Edwards' Ph.D thesis (cited in the Bibliography) has been the most definitive so far, dealing diligently with the Glasgow Improvement Act 1866, though it disregards the arguably more important Act of 1897.

Several published narratives have touched on the subject too, but most have done so indirectly and superficially. Perfunctory treatment has helped entrench a number of inaccuracies regarding attribution. The 'Buildings of Scotland' Penguin series is not alone in ascribing St. George's Mansions, for instance, to the City Improvement Department. In fact, these buildings were erected by the Corporation's Statute Labour Department.

Errors of this nature illustrate the need for a definitive bank of hard documentation. It is the author's hope the following thesis will fulfil that requirement.
Declarations

I, Matthew Withey, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date 10 Sep 2003. Signature of candidate.

I was admitted as a research student in September 1995 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 1997; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1995 and 2002.

Date 10 Sep 2003. Signature of candidate.

I hereby certify that the candidate fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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Analysis

Chapter One - The City Improvement Trust: its Formation and Remit.

"From each side of the Gallowgate, High Street, Saltmarket, Trongate, etc., there are narrow lanes or closes running like so many rents or fissures backwards to the extent of two, or sometimes three hundred feet, in which tenements of three or four storeys stand behind each other, generally built so close on each side that the women can either shake hands or scold each other, as they often do, from the opposite windows... The breadth of these windows is, in most instances, from three to four feet, the expense of the ground having at first induced the proprietor to build upon every available inch of it. Throughout the whole of these districts the population is densely crowded. In many of the lanes and closes there are residing in each not fewer than five, six, and even seven hundred souls, and in one close we observed thirty-eight families occupying one common stair. In the Tontine Close there are nearly eight hundred of the most vicious of our population crowded together, forming one immense hotbed of debauchery and crime" [Fig.1].

The appalling social side effects of Glasgow's nineteenth century industrial expansion are well enough documented to pre-empt any extended reiteration here. Nevertheless, a summary of the most relevant facts and figures will serve to remind us of the terrible problems faced by the City Improvement Trust upon its establishment in 1866. Census figures show Glasgow's population rising from 77,385 to 395,503 in the years between 1801 and 1861. Most newcomers arrived from the Highlands or Ireland in search of work, usually unskilled. They tended towards the cheapest accommodation, within walking distance of mills and factories in Glasgow's east end or yards on the Clyde. Such dwellings were most frequently found near the medieval Glasgow Cross, in the hundred or so acres making up the city's Old Town. Towards the end of the 1850s, the Social Science Congress heard James Watson - one of the leading advocates of reform, together with philanthropists such as Sir Archibald Orr Ewing - describe this area in the terms quoted above. He might easily have added that sewage disposal here was unreliable, drainage next to non-existent and the water supply, from public wells or one of the two local burns, positively treacherous. Yet by the 1860s, Glasgow's ancient heart was

1 Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1895-6, pp.2-3).
3 Glasgow Herald (21 March 1890, p.9). According to one delegate speaking to a meeting at Hutchesons’ Hall, Ingram Street, of the Commission on the Housing of the Poor by the Presbytery of Glasgow, "...a large proportion of the badly housed were Irish. Their condition was due to the fact that the bulk of them had no trade as their fathers had no trade before them...".
4 Glasgow Herald (3 May 1890, p.9).
swarming with more than a thousand people per acre. In total, 75,000 people lived "...under conditions which made physical well-being difficult, and moral well-being all but impossible...".

In 1864, the mortality rate for all Glasgow was 32.5 per thousand. Ten years later, despite significant sanitary improvements, rates around the slums of Bridgegate ran at 48.2 per thousand. A decade before, they must have been even higher. Given these figures, the city fathers could be in little doubt as to the source of such vicious epidemics as typhus and cholera in 1849-50, 1853-4 and 1863-5; and like others of their class, they were certainly terrified by disease’s disdain for social and geographical boundaries - pestilence spread quickly from the eastern slums to well-heeled areas out west. The fate of the Old Town was decided, then, in 1865: the year in which Glasgow’s Medical Officer of Health, William Tennant Gairdner, officially established a link between overcrowding and infection.

The link was not universally accepted, of course. Questioning it, the respected local architect George Smith cited Springburn, which, "...although open and unbuilt upon, has been frequently noted as a hotbed of contagious disease". This sort of revelation might have prompted more debate had common fear been the Town Council’s only motive, but this was singularly not the case. Religious fervour, it seems, played an equally important role. Several members of Glasgow’s ruling elite belonged to the Free Church of Scotland - most notably John Blackie, Lord Provost for three years from 1863 [Fig.2]. Others worshipped as United Presbyterians, side by side with respected representatives of the city’s mercantile and architectural establishments. Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson, for instance, was a United Presbyterian and counted Blackie among his most valued private patrons.

These denominations were new and modernising, dominated by an emergent middle class and strongly supportive of the "...dual ideology of entrepreneurial philanthropy". Indeed, even before the inauguration of the City Improvement Trust, a genuine spirit of Christian beneficence lay behind much of the important building work done to alleviate the plight of Glasgow’s poor. As a private citizen, not to mention the rich and successful heir to a famous publishing dynasty, Blackie helped establish three lodging houses in

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5 Economic History Review (December 1965, p.603).
4 Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1895-6, p.2).
7 Fraser and Maver (1996, pp.152-3).
8 Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1895-6, p.3).
9 Blackie (1866, p.2). Old Glasgow was blamed for, "...those attacks of contagious and epidemic disease that have from time to time spread over the city".
10 Reed (1993, p.84). According to the Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1888-9, p.29), Gairdner owed this theory to the findings of Dr. William Farr.
11 Smith (circa 1866, p.6). According to Gomme and Walker (1987, pp.282-3), Smith was a pupil to David Hamilton in 1808.
12 Tweed (1883, p.239).
Glasgow as early as 1843, 1847 and 1856. The Glasgow Association for Establishing Lodging Homes for the Working Classes, run by Blackie in conjunction with the aforementioned James Watson, opened lodging houses on Greendyke Street, Mitchell Street and Carrick Street, buildings marked for their influence on the later productions of the City Improvement Trust. The building on Mitchell Street was the most portentous. Standing five storeys tall, it consisted of public rooms on the ground floor and dormitories above. According to one contemporary account, the building’s sleeping berths were arranged “...after the manner of passengers’ cabins on ship-board...”. Two decades later, an eye-witness used very comparable terms to describe her accommodation at the City Improvement Trust’s lodging house for women on East Russell Street.

Glasgow’s improvement drive was imbued from the start with a fiery philanthropic evangelism, though tempered always by an unwavering sense of commercial expediency. Given such a pairing, tensions inevitably arose between the enthusiasm of the city’s altruists and the caution of its businessmen. Initially though, the more charitable city officials held sway and reform was zealously championed. From 1862, consequently, another United Presbyterian, the recently appointed City Architect, John Carrick [Fig.3] devoted “...hours upon hours to a complete survey of the localities in which fever was reported, to interviewing the proprietors and factors on the spot, and to carrying out as far as seemed possible the structural alterations which were of the most immediate importance.” The Glasgow Police Act of 1866 – which owed many of its rectifying clauses to the horrors seen by Carrick during his survey of the slums - sought to enforce standards upon the building of houses, as well as ensuring against worsening conditions in the ones already standing.

‘Ticketing’, brought in to control density, was one of the new legislation’s more stringent measures. Ticketed houses – those with less than 2000 cubic feet – were fixed with metal plaques denoting the number of occupants permitted to sleep within. This number was based upon a ratio of three hundred cubic feet per person over the age of eight. Predictably, ticketing eventually became so widely flouted as to make it unworkable, despite some 40,000 night inspections annually. Many people, it seems, supplemented their earnings by renting out sleeping space on the floors of ticketed houses. Indeed, the shortage of cheap accommodation helped ensure a steady stream of customers, all of them willing to abet a
felonious landlord. Stories abound of the pathetic, often ridiculous lengths to which boarders went to avoid detection.21

The Glasgow Police Act of 1866 was much more effective in the control it exerted over construction. Every new, non-public building was limited to a height equal with the width of the street in front. As Glasgow’s streets were usually between 45 and 50 feet wide, this helped lead to the great stretches of four-storey frontage we know today, each new tenement knitted to the last by the uniformity of its cornice.22 The City Architect, a classicist by nature, certainly approved of this regularity, and it was most probably his influence that saw the introduction of stipulations on building height. Significantly, these stipulations were only ever repealed after Carrick had died.

Despite the aesthetic appeal of what they instigated, these measures failed to check Glasgow’s ever-spiralling mortality rate. Tougher legislation was needed, clearly, especially in light of the substantial slum clearances brought about by the City of Glasgow Union Railway Act 1864.23 Blackie may even have been piqued into action by the comparative ineffectiveness of his own local government.24 As an ordinary citizen, his attempts to effect improvements had been hampered somewhat by a lack of compulsory purchasing powers, and he would have been determined to ensure his spell at the head of Glaswegian public life proceeded in a more satisfactory manner. Certainly, it was with the Lord Provost’s warmest approval that Carrick’s survey work culminated, circa 1865, in plans for the comprehensive redevelopment of 88 acres of city centre slumland [Fig.4].25

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21 Gibb (1983, p.142): “In 1896, there were 25,000 such houses, the majority single apartments, and the night inspectors in that year found 3,686 cases of overcrowding, with 70-90 cubic feet of air per person instead of the new lower limit of 400. By 1904, over 15,000 people were living in illegal conditions in ticketed houses alone, and pitiful attempts were made to deceive the night inspectors. The worst case found eleven adults occupying 880 cubic feet of space, and seven of them had hidden on an adjoining roof when the inspectors called... ”.

22 Reed (1993, pp.85-6).

23 Kellett (1969, pp.115-6). Ten times as many families owed their displacement to the operations of the City of Glasgow Union Railway Company as to the improvement scheme.

24 Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1895-6, p.4). Incidentally, in the 20 years before 1874, according to Anonymous (1902, p.57), Blackie was one of only two Lord Provosts not to combine his civic duties with a senior role in a railway company. Even so, many fellow councillors were suspicious of his behind-the-scenes involvement with the City of Glasgow Union Railway Act 1864, according to the Glasgow Herald (7 November 1866, p.4).

25 Blackie (1866, p.12): “...the scheme...was by no means new: the desirableness of some renovation of the old portion of the city had long been felt...and the actual outline of the present plan, so far as the greater part of the north side of the river is concerned, had been sketched out ten years before; that outline, with some modifications and additions suggested by Mr. Carrick, was adopted”. This...
These plans in hand, Blackie immediately set about petitioning Parliament. Announcements outlining the bill were placed in the local newspapers on 20 November 1865, and seven months later, on 11 June 1866, the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council obtained the Glasgow Improvement Act 1866.26

Earlier the same month, Blackie, Carrick and Gairdner reconnoitred works carried out in Paris "...to improve the sanitary condition, as well as the external aspect of the city".27 Memories of this sojourn informed operations in Glasgow for the next 40 years. On a practical level, Glasgow’s City Improvement Trust was encouraged by the success of Paris in equipping its citizens – many of them for the first time – with modern housing, sanitation and communications. More profoundly, the planning of George-Eugene Haussman showed how utilitarian improvements might be realised through an emphasis on the comprehensive scheme. Broad, juggernaut thoroughfares brought light and air where once was darkness. Handsome buildings sprang like spring flowers from the wreckage of former slums.

It seems Blackie and Carrick were inspired by a near-Napoleonic sense of history to mimic these stupendous changes: "We have now for the first and last time the opportunity of gaining by a well-considered effort, or losing for ever by the neglect of a few great principles, the gratitude and fond regard of generations to come".28 Both men saw the city’s new dawn as hinging on the complete annihilation of its medieval past: a rebirth, as it were, from first principles. Digressing for a moment, the sheer gusto of this maxim may be cited as early indication of the energy upon which Glasgow’s oft-noted reputation for reinvention was founded. Predictably, Edinburgh provided the antithesis of such a wholesale approach.29 From 1867 onwards, the capital’s own programme of urban regeneration developed as a more contemplative, almost piecemeal affair, buildings being demolished only after their dilapidation thoroughly outweighed considerations of historical and architectural interest.30

Back in Glasgow, the City Improvement Trustees convened for the first time on 1 August 1866.31 Five weeks later, on 5 September 1866, the Special Committee threw its weight behind Carrick as the administrator best capable of realising his own plans.32 Reportedly, these blueprints met with acclaim wherever they were viewed, including within the local authority headquarters "...of several British cities".

Glasgow Improvement Act 1866 (Title Page): “An Act for the Improvement of the City of Glasgow, and construction of new, and widening, altering, and diverting of existing streets in said city, and for other purposes”. These phrases closely resemble the language of the formal announcements that appeared in papers such as the Glasgow Herald (20 November 1865, p.3).

Anonymous (1866, p.3). According to an article written many years later by Gairdner in the Glasgow Herald (7 May 1890, p.9), the delegation also visited Amsterdam and Brussels, though Gairdner believed Carrick was most influenced by what he saw in Paris.34

Anonymous (1866, p.13).


See pages 50-51.

Glasgow Improvement Act 1866 (Section 3): “The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Glasgow and their successors in Office, shall be and they are hereby appointed Trustees for executing and carrying into effect the Provisions and Purposes of the Act”.35

Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Committee, 5 September 1866).
Using them, the Trustees hoped to eradicate the slums by first purchasing, then demolishing all the property held within a number of targeted areas. Hotchpockets of serpentine lanes and closes might then be replaced with a system of wide, straight streets. 33 Next, private speculators would be invited to feu and reconstruct the cleared areas according to regulations held within the Glasgow Police Act of 1866. 34 It seems the Trustees were influenced by their Parisian counterparts' success in seeing an abundance of new housing erected in just this way. 35

Sections 30, 31 and 32 of the Glasgow Improvement Act 1866 provided borrowing powers to the tune of £1,250,000, with the right to levy ratepayers for 6d. in the pound until 1871, dropping to 3d. for the five subsequent years. 36 As it happened, a single and deeply unpopular year of the 6d. levy during the final third of Blackie's standard, three-year spell as Lord Provost was enough to see him voted off the Town Council altogether. 37 Standing before cheering crowds on the Candleriggs after defeating Blackie by two votes in the election for Ward Six, J.L. Lang claimed he was "...set forward not for myself, but simply and solely to try if possible to get rid of a system which was bad in itself and leading to ruinous consequences...I am out and out in favour of everything that is really and truly an improvement, but most assuredly not by laying extravagant and unbearable burdens on the people". Shrewdly, the incoming Lord Provost, James Lumsden [Fig. 5], formerly of the Merchants' House, oversaw an immediate reduction in the improvement levy to 4d. in the pound. 38 This charge remained in place until 1871. 39 Blackie, meanwhile, retired to his home in Hillhead, never seeking re-election. He died on 12 February 1873, aged 67, following a severe attack of pleurisy. 40 Two weeks before his demise, poignantly, he was guest of honour at the opening of a Free Church and United Presbyterian mission hall on Gallowgate, erected on a patch of former slumland cleared by the City Improvement Trust.

It would be hard to find two Town Council leaders with more differing approaches to the vexed question of urban regeneration. Broadly speaking, Blackie and Lumsden's variances resided in the tension that exists between idealistic progressiveness and economic populism; whereas Blackie had often pondered the link between town planning and social morality, Lumsden's administration set more store in a watertight

33 Glasgow Improvement Act 1866 (Section 6): "Power to take and use all or any of the lands shown on deposited plans for the purposes of the Act, and to make and maintain the new streets, and widen, alter and divert the existing streets...".

34 Glasgow Improvement Act 1866 (Section 22): The Trustees may take down the whole or any part of the buildings situated on any part of the lands acquired by them...and sell and dispose of materials thereof, and may lay out the said lands of new in such manner as they may deem best, and may sell or dispose of the ground or buildings, or any part or portion thereof, or lease or feu the same on such terms and subject to such conditions as they may fix on...".

35 Anonymous (1866, p.4).

36 Anonymous (circa 1886, p.3). Despite this provision, the City Improvement Trust levied just 2d in the pound for the seven years from 1873 to 1880 - a total of £372,709 11s.

37 Glasgow Herald (7 November 1866, p.4).

38 Tweed (1883, p.258).

39 Anonymous (circa 1886, p.3).

40 Tweed (1883, p.239).
balance sheet. 41 Blackie had lamented the fact that "...the immense masses of population have no resource but a spirit shop at every fifty yards...". 42 A Glasgow of beauty and amenity, he believed, might lead to a citizenry less wretched. It was this thinking which lay, for instance, behind the 1866 Act's provision for a public park. 43 Within a few months of the City Improvement Trust's inception, Walter Stewart of Haghill was persuaded to sell a patch of bleak, unpromising wasteland in Wester Kennyhill - stretching from the Monkland Canal to Cumbernauld Road, nearly a mile from the nearest residential area, but unhealthily close to the noxious atmosphere created by the Blochairn Ironworks - for use as a common ground for the north-eastern part of the city. 44 Shortly after this, Alexander Dennistoun presented the City Improvement Trust with a further five acres to the south-west of the original purchase. Dennistoun's bequest enabled the construction of the long and stately thoroughfare of Alexandra Parade, conveniently opening up the benefactor's estate for feuing purposes and providing a suitably bold approach to Alexandra Park, which was formally opened and presented to the city on 8 September 1870. 45 The park was laid out by Carrick and constructed by a small army of unemployed labourers and artisans, given work by the City Improvement Trust in the very midst of a biting recession [Fig.6]. 46 At the same time as setting a date for the formal opening, members studied sketches by the City Architect for a gateway and gate. Robert McLord was eventually contracted to build the gates at a cost just under £397 [Fig.7]. A pretty cast-iron drinking fountain - attributed by at least one historian to Cruikshank & Co. Ltd. - followed soon after, erected on the pavement outside these gates. 47 On three sides of the park, meanwhile, members watched contentedly as land laid out by Carrick was sold steadily and profitably to speculative builders. 48 Eventually the money the City

41 Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1895-6, p.7).
42 Anonymous (1866, p.18).
43 Glasgow Improvement Act 1866 (Section 24): "Power to acquire ground for a public park".
44 McLellan (1894, pp.86-7, 90-1). Duncan McLellan, who wrote this account, was Superintendent of Parks for 40 years from 1853. According to 'Noremac' (1908, pp.68), the original acquisition consisted of 79 acres. By 1891, following the purchase of lands in Easter Kennyhill, the park had been enlarged to nearly 99 acres.
45 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 30 August 1870).
46 McLellan (1894, p.88).
47 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 18 October 1870).
49 McLellan (1894, p.88).
Improvement Trust paid originally to Stewart for his land at Wester Kennyhill was fully recovered in the form of feu duties.

Though committed to the provision of a park, and though no doubt impressed by the project's surprising ability to turn a profit, Lumsden's officials quickly jettisoned the previous executive's utopianism, implying charges of profligacy and frivolousness on Blackie's more idealistic endeavours. On 11 December 1866, in a self-conscious display of magnanimity, the former Lord Provost was presented with an ornate silver and gilt casket containing a ceremonial address. Seven days later, however, his standing amongst Town Councillors had slumped to such an extent that he was persuaded to dash off an apology of a letter to Lumsden, claiming "...it was to get rid of...evils from our midst, and not any idea of beautifying or improving the mere structural aspect of the city, that was the real aim of, and moving cause in, bringing forward the Improvement Scheme". Given the man's earlier proclamations, this statement must have come across like a politician's half-truth.

Despite its concerted efforts to exploit the damage to Blackie's reputation, the new administration had little choice but to continue with many of his directives, by default if nothing else. For example, the 1866 Act contained no directions as to stylistic complexion; even the Glasgow Police Act of that same year dealt only in architectural dimensions. Thus, with Blackie gone, the design for a new Glasgow came down, effectively, to one man: the former Lord Provost's most sympathetic lieutenant. As City Architect, John Carrick was responsible for examining all plans laid before the Dean of Guild's Court and notifying designers of any contraventions to the relevant Police Acts. Once a building was sanctioned, Carrick also had powers to monitor and advise upon its construction. This supervisory role enabled him to exert an increasing influence over the very character of Glasgow's architectural cityscape. Indeed, in the years following 1866, his control became near-absolute.

The visit with Blackie to Paris must have solidified Carrick's unanimity with the idea of the heroic mega-planner. As an architect in the rationalist tradition, he longed to establish Glasgow as the epitome of 'the ideal city'. Noting, therefore, how the logical grid of right-angled junctions in the city's newer, western areas seemed intrinsically conducive to trade, Carrick proposed the Old Town be arranged in a similar pattern, knitting the tortuous sinews of Glasgow's antiquated past with the latticework of its commercial future. Carrick's strategy had the contingent benefit of affecting much in the way of necessary demolition work, simply by concentrating on the layout of new streets. As indicated already, the railways provided a valuable pointer for this sort of approach, clearing slums -- as they did - as a by-product of laying new tracks.

The grids, once laid out, would be filled with tenements built according to rules held within the Glasgow Police Act 1866. This legislation required that all new tenements be arranged in hollow, rectangular blocks, their greens unblighted by backlands. In the years following 1866, Carrick extended such rules, installing

50 Tweed (1883, p.253).
51 Blackie (1866, p.5).
52 See Appendix 1, page 238.
them as feuing conditions for individuals wishing to acquire City Improvement Trust land. Paris, with its rows of palazzo-style hôtels, ventilated by airy, internal quadrangles, simply confirmed the rightness of this approach. The City Architect also sought to extend the regulations regarding domestic building heights. Tenements built on improved land were routinely four storeys high - an emphasis on repetition that led in turn to streetscapes of great weight and monumentality. To reinforce this bearing, Carrick often insisted new buildings be faced in ashlar, dressed and polished.

Of course, the City Improvement Trust would not have backed Carrick as its sole arbiter of architectural taste had his directions - based, as they were, on aesthetic concerns - not led also to improvements of a more practical nature. Fortunately, the City Architect was always careful to temper, with a clear and level-headed pragmatism, his love of beautiful design. For instance, by destroying and building anew, according to a revised layout, Carrick was able to begin the reconstruction of old Glasgow’s badly ailing street drainage and sewage systems. The success of this operation alone was such that the Trustees remained happy to enforce their City Architect’s regulations, no matter how ideological, throughout the rest of his incumbency.

Carrick’s plan envisaged 45 street alterations - including 29 new thoroughfares. These necessitated the conversion to roadway of 64,670 square yards of ground formerly used for housing. The improvements would take place in 25 targeted areas. Accordingly, the Trustees immediately began purchasing the buildings in these areas, and by the end of the first year they had property to a value of £50,512. Considerably more was secured by the close of the second, with often over-hasty use being made of a contingency clause designed to pick up cheap property adjacent to the designated areas. Such was the Trustees’ enthusiasm, in fact, that things may well have overheated had the General Committee not met on 3 September 1867 to tighten the reins. At this meeting, members related news of an agreement whereby no property would be purchased unless first visited and approved by at least two officials. The report also noted a decision to limit operations to the city centre, where overcrowding was most pronounced.

53 Register of Sasines for Glasgow (1873, p.182).
54 Anonymous (1866, p.14).
55 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 27 December 1870). In Stamp and McKinstry (1994, p.150), Edwards cites these feuing conditions as being listed in a box of miscellaneous City Improvement Trust papers in Glasgow City Archives. Despite a meticulous trawl, the author has been unable to locate this box, though the conditions are indeed referred to in the minute listed above.
56 Carrick (1881, p.1). For instance, when the City Improvement Trust sought to dispose of land acquired from the old Townhead Gas Works, potential buyers were advised, "...that the buildings fronting the streets shall not exceed four storeys in height, and that the character and architectural style thereof shall be subject to the approval of the City Architect".
57 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 1 October 1879). See Appendix 2, page 255.
58 See Appendix 3, page 256.
59 Royal Institute of British Architects Transactions (1878-9, 1st series, vol.29, p.154).
60 Glasgow Improvement Act 1866 (Section 11): “Power to purchase by agreement, in addition to the lands which they were authorised to take compulsorily, such lands as they may think expedient, for any of the purposes thereof”.
61 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 3 September 1867).
Even so, purchasing continued pretty much apace for the best part of another two years, £565,016 being spent within the scheduled areas by 1869, the year in which William Rae Arthur – another well-established businessman - succeeded Sir James Lumsden as Lord Provost. Arthur's administration placed all its emphasis on sales and often the City Improvement Trust neglected even to ask that new houses be built on the land it sold to speculators. On 12 July 1870, for instance, a Special Committee authorised land on Duke Street to be offered to any builder bidding nine shillings per square yard. On 27 September 1870, though, the General Committee met to discuss the imminent expiry of its compulsory powers. Members immediately decided to apply for an extension of these powers, the targeted areas still being far from fully acquired. On 13 December 1870, the General Committee approved draft proposals for the new legislation. These were then sent with the Lord Provost's seal to the Bill Office for ratification, and on 28 March 1871, the General Committee received word of the application's acceptance by the House of Lords, thus extending by five years the City Improvement Trust's powers of compulsory purchase in the scheduled areas. This authorisation was one of William Rae Arthur's last acts as Lord Provost. With outside business commitments pressing, he resigned in the autumn of 1871, a full year before completing the usual term of office. Arthur was replaced in November 1871 by the above-mentioned James Watson [Fig.8]. As we have seen, Watson was an effective and pioneering charity worker. He also maintained long-standing executive positions within the boardrooms of a number of railway concerns, most notably the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company; and by the time he became Lord Provost, he had already had five years' experience as a dedicated and impassioned proponent of the City Improvement Trust. "It is not too much to say that from the outset, or at least since Mr. Blackie left the Council, Bailie Watson has been the head and front of the Improvement Scheme. He has taken the utmost pains both in and out of the Council to inculcate its obvious advantages, and it is largely due to his lucid and practical explanations that the public has been reconciled to the Act". The scheme looked all set to enjoy a revival of enthusiastic Town Council commitment.

62 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 16 October 1872). According to Tweed (1883, p.257), Lord Provost Lumsden was knighted on 3 November 1868.
63 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 12 July 1870).
64 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 27 September 1870). Glasgow Improvement Act 1866 (Section 12): "Power of the Trustees for the compulsory purchase of lands and houses for the purposes of the Act shall not be exercised after the expiration of five years... ."
65 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 13 December 1870).
66 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 28 March 1871).
67 Tweed (1883, p.278).
68 See page 10.
69 Tweed (1883, p.298).
As the Glasgow Improvement Act 1871 creaked into action, Carrick presented the General Committee with his feuing layout for the reconstruction of the Gorbals.70 By demolishing this area’s ageing cottage-like buildings [Figs. 9 and 10], Carrick hoped to facilitate the erection by private builders of modern tenements and public buildings of the most elegant character. As it happened, the whole project took more than 20 years to complete, sales stalling in 1876 after a successful opening period.71 Nevertheless, Main Street in the Gorbals was completely finished by 1879 [Fig. 11].72 It included some fine tenements built by John Morrison to designs by the likes of Campbell Douglas and Thomson & Turnbull. Even more impressively, the row incorporated the portico of David Hamilton’s Union Bank on Ingram Street (1842, demolished 1876), purchased by Morrison and transferred to the front of James Sellars’ Royal Princess’s Theatre (1878, renamed the Citizens’ Theatre in 1945, then tastelessly remodelled in 1989, having been half-demolished for no particular reason in 1970). The thoroughfare was rounded off with a clock and fountain at Gorbals Cross, designed circa 1878 by the City Architect [Fig. 12].73

The initial success of the Gorbals scheme was matched by sales elsewhere. By 1874, the year James Watson received his knighthood, the City Improvement Trust had sold land to a value of £1,317,700.74 Trouble was in the offing, however. In Glasgow and in Scotland generally, the early 1870s was a time of enthusiastic, often frenetic house-building.75 Inevitably, such excessive and often unsustainable speculation led to yet another economic slump, from 1876 onwards. This depression deepened during the office of Lord Provost William Collins, especially after the disastrous failure, in 1878, of the City of Glasgow Bank.76 Credit immediately fell to

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70 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 27 February 1871). See Appendix 3, page 256.
71 Williamson, Riches and Higgs (1990, p.507).
72 Royal Institute of British Architects Transactions (1878-9, 1st series, vol.29, p.156). Main Street, Gorbals, is known today as Gorbals Street.
73 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 26 December 1878).
74 Bell and Paton (1896, p.223). According to Tweed (1883, pp.294-5), the Lord Provost received his knighthood on 2 March 1874.
75 Rodger (1975, p.66).
76 Tweed (1883, p.343).
impossibly low levels, leading in turn to a virtual cessation of private construction work. Demand for building land waned and the City Improvement Trust watching helplessly as its unsold ground depreciated in value. Meanwhile, some 30,000 ordinary Glaswegians suddenly found themselves dependent upon public charity. Pay-dirt arrived in 1879, at the very nadir of the recession. Large areas of scheduled land lay empty, money was running out and deadlines imposed by the 1871 Act were fast approaching. On 18 November 1879, inevitably, newspapers reported the City Improvement Trust's application for an extension of its time limits and the authority to borrow more money. The resultant Glasgow Improvement Act 1880 upped borrowing powers by a quarter of a million pounds.

Over-capacity and a dispirited building industry helped ensure that the decade from 1880 was a time of consolidation rather than expansion. On 12 October 1881, Carrick advised the postponement, for the foreseeable future, of any further demolitions. Originally, he said, the City Improvement Trust had linked the success of its endeavours to a manageable system of sustained demolitions and the gradual displacement of tenants. This approach met with great success, initially, and cleared land was regularly sold at prices well above the estimated value. As confidence grew, however, an increasingly frantic pace was adopted, leading to the displacement of more and more unsustainable numbers of people. As the momentum grew, so the condition of the City Improvement Trust's remaining old houses worsened and the need for demolitions pressed, leading to a vicious circle. Inevitably, when the slump hit and sales dried up, the City Improvement Trust found itself burdened with vast tracts of empty, unprofitable land. At this point, builders were unable to sell land below £15 per acre. The original £1,250,000 was exceeded by £57,304 in 1880.

Builder (1878, 19 January 1878, p.68). In his annual report to the Associated Carpenters and Joiners of Scotland, issued for the year ending 31 October 1877, General Secretary Paterson noted that, in regard to speculation in the building trade, a subject which had recently caused some public controversy in Glasgow: "recent revelations in the Bankruptcy Courts, especially in the West of Scotland, have shown the manner in which many of the speculative builders manage their business. To the action of such men is the present depression in the building trade due...". As a result, "...an uneasiness has been caused amongst capitalists, and it is now scarcely possible to secure advances on property until it is finished and occupied".

Anonymous (circa 1886, p.4).

Tweed (1883, p.343).

Rodger (1975, p.98): "With such hopelessness in the supply of capital to the building industry, it is hardly surprising to find the overall Scottish Burgh Index at its lowest ebb in 1879". According to Anonymous (circa 1886, p.3), the original £1,250,000 was exceeded by £57,304 in 1880.

Edinburgh Gazette (18 November 1879).

Anonymous (circa 1886, p.3).

Tweed (1883, p.344). Despite the difficulties experienced by the city during his stewardship, William Collins received his knighthood on 26 August 1880, soon after stepping down as Lord Provost.

Carrick (1881, p.1).

Economic History Review (December 1965, p.605). According to Allan, the City Improvement Trust began by demolishing every third close in the worst areas.

Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 7 April 1875). One Gorbals steading, estimated at £5 10s. per square yards, sold for £6 1s.

Glasgow Herald (10 November 1879, p.3). The value of this unsold wasteland was estimated at £141,874.
time, ironically, the rents being reaped from those slum properties still standing represented the City Improvement Trust’s most reliable source of income. Seeing this, Carrick suggested the old houses be patched up and made weather-tight, in readiness for a long economic winter.88

Carrick’s employers agreed, and the hatches remained firmly battened for the next five years until the City Improvement Trust’s model development on Saltmarket finally raised hopes of a revival.89 These hopes were somewhat dashed, however, in the face of yet more ignominy. On 2 December 1887, a public memorial highlighted the plight of builders, Alexander Marshall & Sons, purchasers of City Improvement Trust land on Main Street in the Gorbals, Govan Street, Rutherglen Road, Norfolk Street and Dunmore Street.90 Tenements built on these tracts of ground between 1875 and 1877 were deemed a primary reason for the speculators’ failure one decade later. Apparently, rents stalled well below the original estimates and shops remained unlet for years at a time. Though compelling, these accusations could hardly be called impartial. Nevertheless, a climate of irresponsibility ensured no cross-examination of the builders’ covetous haste in acquiring land at preferential rates. Nor did anyone concede the potential of estimates to go up as well as down. The muddy charges of aggrieved bankrupts tended to stick, be they unfounded or otherwise, and soon the City Improvement Trust’s vacant steadings were less desirable than ever.

Sadly, this depressing run of fortune coincided with the demise of Glasgow’s greatest ever City Architect. Having suffered for many years from an affliction of the chest, Carrick died on 2 May 1890.91 His legacy remained, however, in the layouts he planned and the buildings he sanctioned. In terms of planning, Carrick’s Glasgow eschewed the vernacular, replacing quaint squalor with a regularity more in tune with the axial planning of Paris or Washington. His architectural designs testified, meanwhile, to both the beauty and the utility of Roman classicism: robust, functional buildings, lightened always with grace and poise.

The City Architect had enjoyed unprecedented levels of power and we may assume that, despite genuine sorrow at his passing, many in local government were keen to ensure against the establishment of another architectural cabal. Given this determination, Alexander Beith McDonald, Carrick’s less visionary assistant, must have seemed a safe successor [Fig.13].92 When, on 6 October 1890, McDonald was

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88 Carrick (1881, p.1).
89 See page 88.
90 Moncrieff, Barr, Paterson & Co. (1887, p.1). Main Street, Gorbals, is known today as Gorbals Street. Govan Street is known as Ballater Street.
91 Glasgow Herald (7 May 1890, p.9).
92 See Appendix 1, page 245.
appointed City Engineer and Surveyor, he immediately assumed a deferential role, subservient always to the wishes of his councillor-masters.93

As sales continued to disappoint, the Trustees resumed their tentative programme of house-building. The early 1890s saw tenements raised at various sites in the Old Town, including Saltmarket, Trongate, Graeme Street and High Street.94 These years also witnessed the passing of the important Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892.95 Despite such advances, large areas of City Improvement Trust land remained uncovered or encumbered with dilapidated buildings. On 26 July 1894, accordingly, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties made a close study of the various steadings held within its portfolio, with a view to settling upon some definitive policies.96 The Sub-Committee on North District Properties did likewise on the very same day.97 Following visits to the lands in question, and with demolitions already ongoing [Figs.14 and 15], McDonald received instructions, on 23 August 1894, to prepare block plans for ground on Trongate, King Street, Kirk Street and Saltmarket.98 Four days later, he was ordered to make up similar plans for sites in Watson Street and Graeme Street.99

![Fig. 14: artist’s impression of "...old buildings in Saltmarket now being removed...", from the Bailie Cartoon Supplement, 28 March 1894 (Mitchell Library).](image1)

![Fig. 15: artist’s impression of "...Princes Street, now being removed, showing the back of the Tron Church...", from the Bailie Cartoon Supplement, 1 August 1894 (Mitchell Library).](image2)

At last, it seems, the City Improvement Trust was content to embrace its role as a builder, and soon it had even more ground with which to plan. On 7 September 1894, a joint meeting of special sub-committees considered a large batch of land deemed suitable for transfer from the city’s Police Commissioners.100 This

93 Minutes of the Town Council (Joint-Meeting of Special Committees on Offices of City Architect and Master of Works, 6 October 1890).
94 See pages 92, 96, 99 and 101. Today, Graeme Street makes up part of Bell Street.
95 Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1888-9, pp.25-39). On 5 December 1888, John Honeyman implied the Glasgow Institute of Architects had pointed the way forward for this legislation as early as 1882 by suggesting that divisions be made between the ordinances to do with policing, health and building. Instead, he continued, the city had concocted, "...a hodge-podge Bill, which they were induced to abandon". Honeyman’s views on the 1892 Act are unrecorded.
96 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 26 July 1894).
97 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Sub-Committee on North District Properties, 26 July 1894).
98 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 23 August 1894).
99 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 27 August 1894). Today, Graeme Street makes up part of Bell Street.
100 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Joint Meeting of Special Sub-Committees as to Value of Lands, etc. Transferred from Police Commissioners to Improvement Trustees, 7 September 1894).
The property consisted of 16,792 square yards in total, located at various steadings on Clyde Street in Anderston, Stobcross Street, Piccadilly Street, Cheapside Street, Warroch Street, Lancefield Street, Hill Square, Eldon Street, Park Avenue, Park Drive, Dobbie’s Loan, Glebe Street and Barony Street. It also included ground annuals for land on Eldon Street, Park Avenue, Park Drive, Garscube Road, Possil Road, Lancefield Street, Stobcross Street, Catherine Street, Hill Street, McIntyre Street and Anderston Cross. On 10 January 1895, two months after the transfer on 11 November 1894, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties ordered McDonald to prepare a collection of block plans for the various steadings in Anderston. These plans, together with others for Townhead and elsewhere, culminated in a variegated series of tenement blocks.

On 28 February 1895, the General Committee listened to a report listing the totals of City Improvement Trust-built dwellings as follows: 108 single-ends (average annual rent £7 11s. 6d.); 128 one-room and kitchen houses (average annual rent £10 12s.); 38 two-room and kitchen houses (average annual rent £18 3s. 8d.); ten houses of three rooms and a kitchen (average annual rent £26 3s.); one house with four rooms and a kitchen (average annual rent £42 10s.). According to another report, read by the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties on 21 October 1896, the City Improvement Department owned the numbers of tenements bracketed on the following streets: Parnie Street (11); King Street (2); Osborne Street (4); Chisholm Street (4); Trongate (3); Saltmarket (20); Steel Street (2). Reportedly, the 46 tenements listed in this report contained a total of 415 houses and 95 shops – figures making for modest reading at best. Indeed, they may even have helped prompt a more concerted building drive in the later years of the 1890s.

Ironically, the period after 1895 also witnessed a rather sudden upturn in the fortunes of the private house-building industry. Many interested parties felt, however, that private speculators deliberately ignored the needs of the poorer classes. With good reason, the same parties felt the City Improvement Department might reasonably be expected to do a better job of providing for these people. The Glasgow Improvement Act 1897 was designed, accordingly, with the poorer classes specifically in mind, its clauses making a number of provisions specifically for the erection of suitable accommodation. Even more importantly perhaps, the new legislation made it advantageous for the City Improvement Department to commission this work independently. It also rectified the ‘betterment’ blunder - a tax loophole allowing private landowners to increase the value of their stock on the back of improvements carried out in targeted areas.
lying adjacent. As a result of these changes, Glasgow saw an unprecedented rush of publicly funded house-building in the years around 1900.

In tried-and-tested fashion, the new legislation targeted seven areas of city centre slumland - six acres in all - for acquisition, clearance and reconstruction. Trustees working under the 1866 Act had found it inexpedient to build labourers’ houses in areas sited around commercially potent thoroughfares, so meagre were the returns when compared with business rentals. Section 12 of the 1897 Act side-stepped this difficulty, enabling the acquisition of 25 acres within or just outside the city limits, specifically for the poorer classes. This meant the City Improvement Department could concentrate on reconstructing and commercialising the Old Town, safe in the knowledge the displaced had somewhere else to go. Compulsory purchases sanctioned under the 1897 Act - worth £244,175 in total - were completed by 15 November 1900.

Earlier, on 8 February 1899, a Special Sub-Committee on Revaluation of Properties ordered the City Engineer to reassess the value of all properties still owned by the Corporation under the Act of 1866. Seven months later, on 8 September 1899, McDonald reported on how the eight years since 14 August 1891 - when the previous revaluation was done - had seen large areas covered with "...buildings for commercial and domestic occupation...all of which have been constructed in an exceptionally substantial manner...". In 1891, the City Improvement Trust’s land had consisted mainly of empty building sites. The market having been depressed for some time, the saleable value of these sites often languished well below the prices paid for them in the 1860s and 1870s. This shortfall was one of the main reasons lying behind the City Improvement Trust’s decision in 1886 to press ahead with an independent programme of building. The buildings that had been erected were now valued at £366,083, with a further £487,481 worth of ground still vacant. By 1902, though, the City Improvement Department had dealt in one way or another with all the lands acquired under the original legislation, erecting 1442 houses in the process.

Despite the financial success of these programmes, members did persist with a policy of encouragement towards private builders. On 8 January 1902, for instance, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties advertised the sale of ground on Lancefield Street, even though, initially, the plan had been to oversee the construction of new buildings independently. On the very same day, members postponed

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108 Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1895-6, pp.7-8). Originally, the City Improvement Trust had charged its rates to occupiers only. Samuel Chisholm anticipated a fairer system whereby levies were divided equally between landlords and tenants.

109 Glasgow Improvement Act 1897 (Section 6). See also Menzies (1917, pp.2-3). Menzies counted operations at the Bell o’ the Brae as two separate improvements. See page 191.

110 Glasgow Improvement Act 1897 (Section 12).

111 Menzies (1900, p.34).

112 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Sub-Committee on Revaluation of Properties, 8 February 1899).

113 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Sub-Committee on Revaluation of Properties, 8 September 1899).

114 Menzies (1905, p.8).

115 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 8 January 1902). Eventually the City Improvement Department did build its own tenements. See page 211.
preparations for new buildings at Adelphi, Muirhead and St. Ninian Streets, giving their full attention instead to an offer from the developers, McGrigor, Donald & Co. 116

On 15 January 1902, members of the City Improvement Department met with Health Department representatives to discuss ways of bettering the lot of those areas still suffering from the effects of high population densities and poor sanitation. 117 In a confident vindication of the methods adopted by the improvement scheme thus far, this assembly eventually appointed a special joint sub-committee to press the Government for legislation simplifying the business of compulsory purchase and reducing the costs involved. On 23 January 1902, in a related move, the General Committee recommended a petition be made to Parliament, appealing for the power to borrow more money and buy more land to house the people displaced by earlier operations. 118 Three weeks later, on 13 February 1902, the General Committee agreed to limit these requests to 50 acres of land and £750,000, with a levy of 1d. in the pound to be set upon the ratepayers. 119

The aforementioned special joint sub-committee had its first meeting on 29 January 1902, when Lord Provost Samuel Chisholm clarified his position as convenor of another quite separate special committee, formed with the very same remit during Glasgow’s Municipal Conference on Cheap Dwellings on 25 September 1901 [Fig. 16]. 120 The meeting decided, consequently, that Chisholm should confer with his colleagues on the other committee and decide if the two groups might work better as separate entities or in unison.

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116 Muirhead Street is known today as Inverkip Street. Here too, the City Improvement Department did eventually build its own tenements. See page 217.

117 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Joint Meeting of City Improvement and Health Committees, 15 January 1902).

118 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 23 January 1902).

119 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 13 February 1902).

120 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Joint Special Sub-Committee of City Improvements and Health Committees as to Obtaining Special Powers for Acquisition of Properties in Congested and Insanitary Areas, 29 January 1902).
Chapter Two - Displacement and Houses for the Working Classes.

On 3 September 1867, the General Committee met to consider its position as regards dwellings for the working classes.121 As yet, no such housing had been provided, even though the necessary powers were embodied within the Act of 1866.122 This inaction simply perpetuated a situation whereby most poor people had no option but to cram together in those districts – usually designated within the same legislation - where rents were cheapest and conditions most deleterious. Proceeding with its policy of acquiring all the property in the districts marked I, K, L, M, N, P, R, V, Y and Z on Carrick’s original map of targeted areas, the City Improvement Trust quickly found itself in the embarrassing position of being Glasgow’s biggest and most successful slum landlord, a state of affairs for which it was quite mercilessly lampooned.123

A public and demonstrably effective cure was needed. The General Committee suggested, consequently, that members be allowed to acquire some inexpensive land for feuing to private builders at attractive prices, on the condition these builders erected properly regulated dwellings for the working classes.124 By way of encouragement, the City Improvement Trust might also undertake to build some archetypal housing blocks, just to show potential developers what could be done. The General Committee recommended spending limits of £20,000 for the land and £30,000 for the buildings.

On 8 October 1867, the Special Sub-Committee proposed three plots of eminently suitable land in Oatlands, Bellfield in Dennistoun, between Duke Street and the Gallowgate, and Springburn.125 Each site was reasonably priced and conveniently close to large concentrations of industry, where - it was hoped - tenants might find gainful employment. On 3 December 1867, the General Committee approved moves to acquire the ground in Dennistoun.126 On New Year’s Eve, accordingly, the Special Sub-Committee reported its purchase of 10,844 square yards of ground between the Gallowgate and the south side of Duke Street.127 This land would be used for a scheme of “...smaller and cheaper classes of houses...”, though it seems fair to suggest the Special Sub-Committee actually hoped a private speculator might step in and take the work off its hands. Eventually, on 18 February 1868, after several weeks of avoiding any form of positive movement, members ordered the City Architect to supply the necessary designs.128 On 17 March 1868, he submitted drawings for three types of labourers’ houses: single-ends, houses with one room and a kitchen, and houses with two rooms and a kitchen.129 Two weeks later, on 31 March 1868, the General

121 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 3 September 1867).
122 Glasgow Improvement Act 1866 (Section 23): “...The Trustees may, on any lands acquired by them under this Act, erect and maintain such dwelling houses for mechanics, labourers and other persons of the working and poorer classes as the Trustees from time to time think expedient, and let the same when so erected and fitted up to such mechanics, labourers, and other persons of the working and poorer classes at such weekly or other rents, and upon such terms and conditions, as they from time to time think fit, or the Trustees may sell and dispose of the same”.
123 North British Daily Mail (18 December 1869, p.4): “Conspicuous amongst the worst class of dwellings on the South Side, as well as on the North, are the properties belonging to the Corporation”. See Appendix 3, page 256.
124 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 3 September 1867).
125 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 8 October 1867).
126 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 3 December 1867).
127 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 31 December 1867).
128 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 18 February 1868).
129 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 17 March 1868).
Committee approved an illustrative report Carrick had prepared for the attention of the Trustees. And on 17 June 1868, the specifications by then having been agreed upon and the tradesmen’s estimates sought, members reluctantly agreed to proceed with the erection of a block capable of housing two hundred people. The acceptance of these tenders was eventually reported on 28 September 1868, fixing the building’s predicted cost at £4625.

Given the spending limits set earlier, this must have seemed a good price. Behind the scenes, though, it appears alternative arrangements were being negotiated. On 3 November 1868, the Special Sub-Committee accepted an offer received from the City of Glasgow Union Railway Company for the designated ground. Predictably and a trifle flagrantly, Lord Provost Lumsden was the executive in charge of this particular railway company. Nevertheless, on 16 September 1869, the General Committee defended its turnaround, reporting on several housing projects recently begun by private builders, thus forestalling the need for such activity on the part of the City Improvement Trust. Members argued that “...the General Committee have all along felt the risk of becoming builders, and entering into competition with private parties, was much as if it were once understood that if the public’s money was to be applied to any large extent for such a purpose, private enterprise might be prevented, and the very serious undertaking of supplying such houses thrown entirely upon the public authorities. The great consideration in regard to small houses is to induce the poorer classes to leave the centre of the town, and occupy better and cheaper houses on the outlying suburbs...”. Though they concurred in this view with such influential philanthropists as the London-based Octavia Hill, their aims were hardly fair or even particularly achievable given the nature of working class demographics in later nineteenth century Glasgow. Most workmen preferred, with good reason, to stay close to their places of employment; and these were most often to be found near the city centre. Consequently, as a concession, members authorised the conversion of Bartholomew’s Mill at 37 Cumberland Street, Old Vennel, into accommodation for three hundred people. They also acknowledged the needs of “...the waifs and strays, too poor or too improvident to be able to rent houses” with plans for the first ‘model’ lodging house, designed to accommodate homeless, single men.

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130 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 31 March 1868).
131 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 17 June 1868).
132 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 28 September 1868).
133 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 3 November 1868).
134 Tweed (1883, p.259). Lumsden was also, since 1849, a director of the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company. He became Chairman of that particular company in 1871, the same year James Watson – another executive – became Lord Provost of Glasgow.
135 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 16 September 1869).
136 Nineteenth Century (December 1883, p.217). Octavia Hill argued that, “...the possibility of schemes supported or assisted by public money entirely postpones any extension of that healthy independent action on the part of those societies or individuals who have helped the working people by meeting their wants on a remunerative basis. It will be impossible for those who cannot risk the possibility of their capital being wholly lost to embark any more of it in undertakings which may be suddenly rendered unremunerative by being undersold by rate- or State-supported buildings”.
137 Donnison and Middleton (1987, p.21). Templeton’s carpet factory, winner of two gold medals at the Paris Exhibition of 1868, employed some of Europe’s most skilled craftsmen, many of them living in slums close to their place of work on Glasgow Green.
138 Anonymous (1875, p.17).
Some have suggested that lodging houses emerged as a result of the Parisian reconnaissance trip mentioned earlier.\textsuperscript{139} This is not actually true. Though the delegation did visit garniers while in Paris, they certainly did not copy the idea directly from France.\textsuperscript{140} As we have seen, lodging houses built specifically for the poorest classes were established in Glasgow by the likes of John Blackie and James Watson long before the improvement scheme itself was conceived, and it seems most likely the City Improvement Trust simply adapted an indigenous building type to suit a newly civic role.\textsuperscript{141} Nevertheless, this did involve a complete overhaul of the lodging house’s rather tarnished public image. In 1869, most ‘common’ lodging houses were privately-run and practically unregulated, and “…besides being hotbeds of vice and misery, were also centres for the propagation of disease…”\textsuperscript{142} The Drygate Model Lodging House – opened on 6 February 1871, during the final months of Lord Provost Arthur’s office - was most remarkable, then, for the fact it espoused policies of temperance, cleanliness, personal responsibility and general good practice.\textsuperscript{143} In so doing, it probably helped improve the reputation of lodging houses generally.

On 2 February 1870, the General Committee sanctioned the building of a second lodging house, this time for single women, on East Russell Street.\textsuperscript{144} For a while, both facilities proved popular with their clientele; on 11 April 1871, the General Committee reported the buildings packed to the rafters every night.\textsuperscript{145} Encouraged, members broached the expediency of erecting another lodging house, this time on Kent Street. The General Committee even took the liberty of ordering plans for such a building.\textsuperscript{146} The scheme was abandoned, however, amidst the furore surrounding an eye-witness account of everyday life in the lodging house for women.\textsuperscript{147} Lurid descriptions of drunkenness, fighting, soiled bedclothes and infestation did nothing to bolster the City Improvement Trust’s delicate reputation. An investigative committee hastily convened and, on 5 September 1871, the General Committee categorically denied any inference the building itself was to blame for its unhappy conditions.\textsuperscript{148} Apparently, each resident had 350 cubic feet of personal space, exclusive of passages. Members rather brazenly refuted responsibility for anything outside this basic provision. Even so, they learned to be more careful in their choice of superintendents. Disciplinarians - retired army officers, policemen and the like - came to be preferred and clerics were invited to conduct religious instruction. The scandal also ushered in a period of caution as regards building new lodging houses. It was fully three years before the City Improvement Trust felt confident enough to contemplate the erection of a third hostel, this time on Greendyke Street.\textsuperscript{149} Like the first two buildings, the third lodging house had stone walls some two feet thick.\textsuperscript{150} All three buildings had beams, joists and floors made from wood, however, and were subject to the fire risks inherent in that material.

\textsuperscript{139} Reed (1993, p.93). See pages 12, 15.
\textsuperscript{140} Anonymous (1866, p.6).
\textsuperscript{142} Corporation of Glasgow (1914, p.51).
\textsuperscript{143} See page 70.
\textsuperscript{144} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 2 February 1870). East Russell Street is today known as Stevenson Street. See page 74.
\textsuperscript{145} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 11 April 1871).
\textsuperscript{146} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 4 April 1871).
\textsuperscript{147} North British Daily Mail (29 August 1871, p.4).
\textsuperscript{148} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 5 September 1871).
\textsuperscript{149} See page 78.
\textsuperscript{150} Royal Institute of British Architects Transaction (1878-9, 1st series, vol.29, p.171).
The City Improvement Trust eventually built eight lodging houses, including a Family Home on St. Andrews Street offering sanctuary to homeless people with children. All eight lodging houses were "...stone buildings of three to five storeys in height, with flat concrete or slated roofs of the most substantial character...". And all but the first two were reported as having been "...built on the same model...". Specification details for the first seven were given as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Area (sq. yds.)</th>
<th>Site (£)</th>
<th>Building (£)</th>
<th>Furniture (£)</th>
<th>Total Cost (£)</th>
<th>Beds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drygate</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>8857</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>10,912</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moncur</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>2443</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>3324</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greendyke</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>2219</td>
<td>7947</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>11,061</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorbals</td>
<td>1010</td>
<td>4040</td>
<td>11,296</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>15,991</td>
<td>308</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1420</td>
<td>2466</td>
<td>11,492</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>14,641</td>
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<tr>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>3530</td>
<td>11,371</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>15,548</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderston</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>4475</td>
<td>9911</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>15,030</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lodging houses provided accommodation for only a few hundred people. Permanent, higher density housing was needed for the many thousands of people due to be displaced by slum clearances. On 16 April 1870, however, the renowned architect James Salmon was reported to have read a paper to the Glasgow Philosophical Society criticising his fellow Trustees' faith in the idea of high-density tenements for the industrial classes - the latest salvo in a protracted, rationalistic debate over the general effectiveness of the flatted system. Auguring twentieth century new towns and peripheral housing estates, Salmon advocated four or five villages for labourers, dotting the city's edge, each holding ten thousand people in an arrangement of one-storey cottages. Though the Trustees did remain faithful, for the time being, to four-storey tenements, they probably concurred entirely with Salmon's arguments for suburban housing. They certainly agreed with his desire to see the poorest classes shifted away from the city centre, even though this mostly contradicted the idea of keeping such people close to their places of work. Clearances and demolitions went ahead with gusto after the extension Act of 1871, though displacements were ongoing even before then. In the decade to Whitsunday 1876, 5075 houses were destroyed, displacing 25,375 people. Further improvements planned for the east side of Saltmarket, the Bell o' the Brae, Main Street in the Gorbals and Calton were likely to involve the removal of another 3590 inhabitants. Most

151 See page 108.
152 Corporation of Glasgow (1914, p.52).
153 The Lancet (15 February 1890, p.368).
154 The Lancet (8 February 1890, p.314). Bed numbers changed regularly throughout the lifetime of each of the City Improvement Trust's eight lodging houses. According to a transcript in Building News (28 April 1871, pp.316-8) of his lecture of 19 April 1871 to the Society of Arts, London, 'On the Economical Construction of Workmen's Dwellings, and Especially in Reference to Improving the Health and Habits of the Class', J.H. Stallard felt a perfectly adequate lodging house for more than two hundred people could be built for £9000.
155 Builder (16 April 1870, pp.309-10). According to an article said to be in the Glasgow Herald (19 March 1860), not found by this author, but cited by Edwards in Stamp and McKinstry (1994, p.137), Salmon originally preferred the idea of terraced housing in the city centre. Paradoxically, the Glaswegian Salmon's distaste for tenements was ridiculed in the aforementioned Builder article by a Londoner, Sir Sidney H. Waterlow, manufacturer of workers' tenements up to seven storeys high. Waterlow built his common stairs externally, overcoming the ventilation difficulties caused by internal closes.
156 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 13 August 1867). This meeting approved demolitions reducing the population in 'Areas I, K, L, M, N, P, R, V, Y and Z' from 21,433 to 7,553, or 240 people per acre. See Appendix 3, page 256.
157 Glasgow Herald (13 April 1877, p.4).
158 Main Street, Gorbals, is known today as Gorbals Street.
clearances took part in the five years to 1875, when 15,425 Glaswegians were displaced and 3085 houses demolished. 159

Though the effects of this mass uproot were undoubtedly profound, the Trustees remained utterly unrepentant. Indeed, Carrick rather boasted on 18 November 1874, when he talked of displacement's "...beneficial results, both from a sanitary and moral point of view". 160 Others believed the poor to be the most benefited of any class: "...so long as these hovels remained, they clung to them, although nothing could make homes of buildings, the walls of which were permeated with disease". 161 Many people were sceptical, however. On a visit from London to Glasgow in 1875, during the office of Lord Provost James Bain, the celebrated reformer and philanthropist Anthony Ashley Cooper, the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, asked rather bluntly if the Town Council was really prepared to "...mitigate the evils of displacement...". 162 One such evil was the sequence of downgrading that inevitably followed such drastic and unreplenished reductions in the stock of cheaper housing. 163 Adjacent to the cleared areas, previously sound accommodation quickly filled and became overcrowded with displaced slum-dwellers. 164 This usually led to decay and dereliction, meaning the City Improvement Trust actually helped establish new slums as quickly as it obliterated the old.

Replacement homes might have pre-empted this calamity, but the City Improvement Trust built only a very few. It seems a decision taken on 2 February 1870 to erect 'model' tenements for the working classes on Drygate and Kent Street met with such hostility as to determine the Trustees against continuing as independent builders. 165 Recalling the fate of John Blackie perhaps, they decided instead to re-establish their backing for private enterprise. On 28 April 1870, the General Committee reiterated its belief that private builders were erecting enough new houses to accommodate all the people displaced by demolitions. 166 Even so, members must have been glad to announce the purchase of 58,638 square yards of ground in Oatlands, half a mile south-east of Glasgow Cross, proposing this land be laid out with a grid of streets, and steadings sectioned off for private builders. In order to ensure a quick uptake and also to guarantee comparatively uncluttered living conditions for the new suburbanites, the General Committee recommended that feuing prices be kept low in return for the buyers accepting various conditions pertaining to the heights of buildings and the distances in between. On 10 May 1870, the Special Sub-

159 Anonymous (1875, p.23). According to Bell and Paton (1896, p.224), the figure was, confusingly, 15,425 in the three years to 1874.
160 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 18 November 1874).
161 Anonymous (1875, p.17).
162 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 6 October 1875). According to Tweed (1883, p.276), Shaftesbury had been given the freedom of the city on 29 August 1871, so his criticisms must have rankled. James Bain was knighted on 12 December 1877.
163 Rodger (1975, p.94). The overall number of houses in Glasgow actually rose, from 93,623 (1763 unoccupied) in 1866 to 113,886 (11,438 unoccupied) in 1879. The more expensive end of the market accounted for most of this rise, however.
164 North British Daily Mail (18 December 1869, p.4).
165 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 2 February 1870) and Anonymous (1877, p.9). See page 76.
166 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 28 April 1870). The General Committee may have been justified in this assumption. According to the Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 28 December 1871), the Dean of Guild's Court granted linings for 7428 houses within the municipal boundaries in the two years prior to 1 December 1871. Of these, 1728 were single-ends. Moreover, according to Rodger (1975, p.94), 2125 of Glasgow's 96,995 houses were unoccupied in 1870. The year before, there were 1602 empty houses from a total of 95,516.
Committee authorised the purchase of more ground, this time in Overnewton, two miles west of the city centre.\textsuperscript{167} Two weeks later, on 24 May 1870, Carrick was ordered to prepare plans.\textsuperscript{168} Once finished, prior to a public auction, these plans were to be advertised in the Glasgow Herald, the North British Daily Mail and the Evening Citizen. Carrick had produced his plans by 18 October 1870.\textsuperscript{169}

Once finished, the schemes at Oatlands and Overnewton eventually realised lucrative profits.\textsuperscript{170} Their success - stemming, as it did, from the popularity of the schemes as living spaces - depended largely upon the attractiveness and utility of Carrick's plans. Predictably, Paris provided the City Architect with a model, especially "...as regards the great care taken to preserve numerous open spaces at intervals in the midst of the masses of building".\textsuperscript{171} At Overnewton, steadings were laid out around a tree-lined place, within a system of wide avenues [Fig.17]. Like spokes from the centre of a bicycle wheel, the scheme's three main boulevards radiated away from the junction at Dumbarton Road and Kelvinhaugh Road, echoing more famous retreats from the Place de l'Etoile, while local children were educated at a school built in 1876 to a design by John Burnet on the respectfully monikered Lumsden Street.\textsuperscript{172} Though the twin estate at Oatlands was flattened in the 1960s, we do know that residents there benefited from a similar square, together with a riverside park. Clearly, Carrick's planning was influenced by the Parisian fashion for "...open spaces for wholesome enjoyment...".\textsuperscript{173}

Unfortunately, these schemes did little to help those people displaced from Glasgow's slums. Nor could the City Improvement Trust blame this lack of provision on private builders. On 27 December 1870, the General Committee confirmed a rule fixing the accommodation held within all the new houses to between two and four apartments.\textsuperscript{174} As a result, Oatlands and Overnewton were populated by relatively prosperous artisans, with the intended beneficiaries - labourers displaced by demolitions on Saltmarket - reverting to slums elsewhere.\textsuperscript{175} It seems that rents in the new estates were set far beyond the means of most impoverished people, many of whom went back to living in single-ends.\textsuperscript{176} Nevertheless, no one could

\begin{itemize}
\item Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 10 May 1870).
\item Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 24 May 1870).
\item Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 18 October 1870).
\item Anonymous (1877, p.10). The City Improvement Trust made a total profit of £19,995 on the 22 acres of land contained within these estates. According to Anonymous (1878, pp.8, 10, 12), the land at Overnewton cost £39,600 to buy and layout for feuing. Its new streets, sewers and culverts cost an extra £14,563. The ground at Oatlands cost £38,902.
\item Anonymous (1866, p.9).
\item The relevant parts of Dumbarton Road and Kelvinhaugh Road are now known as Argyle Street and Haugh Road.
\item Anonymous (1866, p.18).
\item Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 27 December 1870).
\item Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 19 March 1903).
\item Anonymous (1877, p.9). At no time did the Trustees stipulate a maximum rent for the houses in Oatlands, Overnewton or any other
\end{itemize}
refute the City Improvement Trust’s success in shifting population away from the city centre. James B. Russell [Fig.18], Gairdner’s successor as Chief Medical Officer, established that 60 per cent of families affected by improvements had moved to beyond a mile and a half from Glasgow Cross – a third more than in 1866. 177

Russell’s report was not entirely positive. For instance, he reiterated Salmon’s critical assault on tenements, stressing concerns over the common stairs found in this type of building. Even as he praised ventilation openings on the landings of the model tenements on Drygate, Russell lamented the continued adherence to flatted buildings in general. 178 General policy, however, and a concentration upon the targeted areas, meant the Trustees gave little thought to better modes of housing. Russell presented three stopgaps, consequently, suggesting these might be required of all common stairs: the stair, first of all, should touch open air at every floor; similarly, it should have constant access to natural light; thirdly, the stair should be ventilated at the top. Russell also condemned older tenements for their susceptibility to ‘making down’. Traditional buildings on Saltmarket, originally holding four or five houses, often accommodated as many as 30 families. Houses of six apartments were frequently sub-divided into festering warrens. An absence of preventative legislation meant "...however healthy and unobjectionable the houses may have been, no sooner is the mode of occupancy altered than the whole plan becomes disorganised". Scandalised, Russell called for the Dean of Guild’s Court to be conferred with effective powers of regulation.

On 13 April 1877, the City Improvement Trust presented the public with a flurry of positive statistics. The decade following 1866 saw 40,460 houses built in Glasgow, enough for 202,300 people. 179 Of these, 37,311 dwellings - enough for 186,555 individuals - were deemed suitable for the labouring and artisan classes. In total, 73,445 houses were rentable for under £10 a year. 180 On Whitsunday 1877, there were area of ground sold to speculative builders. According to the Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1873-5, pp.6-14), average rents rose by 20 per cent in the eight years after 1866. Adding to the debate a few years later in Nineteenth Century (December 1883, p.217), the influential Octavia Hill challenged widespread assumptions that single-ends were necessarily a bad thing, noting how, "...the two- and three-roomed tenements look hopelessly dear and unattainable to the labourer or costermonger; he never goes near them, but shrinks away into some back court or alley. But offer him one large room separable into compartments by curtains or screens, such as he has been accustomed to, with space for him to feel at ease and to gather in his friends, charge him the same rent as he has been used to pay, let him get at home there, and then, when first his boy or his girl, at about thirteen years old, goes to work, and he feels that a little more money is coming in weekly, urge him, as the very best thing he can do, to take a nice cheap little room next to his own and opening out of the same lobby, and you will find there is hardly one man out of twenty who will not take your advice, even if he has to give up a pot of beer or two, or give his children fewer pence for sweets on Sunday". 177 Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1873-5, pp.6-14). Russell’s figures were hotly disputed by Anonymous (1875, p.17): "...[the poorest classes] have also an aversion to live anywhere except in the centre of the city. Many thousands daily walk to the outskirts to their employment and return to the centre of the crowded city to sleep". 178 See page 76.

179 Glasgow Herald (13 April 1877, p.4).
180 British Architect (18 November 1881, pp.571-4). James Salmon confirmed the industrial classes were unable to pay more than £10 to £12 per annum.
2149 empty dwellings in Glasgow, enough for 10,745 people. The intended erection, over the following year, of 3673 houses promised room for another 18,365. By Whitsunday 1878, this would mean enough surplus accommodation for 23,317 people. Moreover, there would be room for 13,960 within half a mile of the municipal boundary. Given these figures, the Sheriff of Lanarkshire was happy to issue certificates every six months, confirming the ample existence of accommodation for the displaced.\(^{181}\)

Unfortunately, Glasgow’s building boom subsided from 1876 onwards in the face of economic meltdown, thus ensuring the City Improvement Trust’s failure in its earliest attempts to house the poor.\(^{182}\) The respected architect John Honeyman blamed this failure specifically on regulations limiting tenements to a maximum of four floors.\(^{183}\) Workmen, he argued, should "...be concentrated near the works or warehouses where they are engaged" in buildings upwards of five storeys. On expensive city centre steadings, the surplus of houses might then allow builders to charge less in rent.\(^{184}\) Given the restrictions, Honeyman predicted a complete absence of cheap accommodation on scheduled land, so long as it remained unobtainable for less than 30 shillings per square yard. As it happened, this prediction was optimistic.

Despite their stated desire to see poor people shifted to the city’s outskirts, the General Committee oversaw, on 1 October 1879, an immediate 20 per cent decrease in prices for its land.\(^{185}\) This having little effect, members sanctioned further decreases - 60 per cent in some cases - on 13 March 1880.\(^{186}\) In desperation, John Neil suggested the City Improvement Trust also build tenements "...with a view to selling when complete". This motion was quickly defeated.

The recession persisted until 2 January 1884, when at last the City Architect was directed to prepare plans for a block of model dwellings for artisans on Moncur Street.\(^ {187}\) Carrick later described designs for "...houses of two apartments, economy of structure being a special feature of the design. What is known as the balcony system was adopted".\(^ {188}\) On 13 February 1884, though, the General Committee abandoned operations in light of interest in the targeted steadings from an outside party.\(^ {189}\) Despite their non-fulfilment, the City Architect’s designs represented a complete change of tack, opening as they did a second phase of building activity on the part of the City Improvement Trust. On 11 June 1885, the Trustees ordered Carrick

\(^{181}\) Glasgow Improvement Act 1866 (Section 28): “The Trustees shall not eject or displace, within any period of six months, any number of the labouring classes exceeding five hundred, without a certificate from the Sheriff of Lanarkshire that other and suitable accommodation has been provided or exists within the city or in its immediate neighbourhood”.

\(^{182}\) Anonymous (circa 1886, p.2).

\(^{183}\) Royal Institute of British Architects Transactions (1878-9, 1st series, vol.29, pp.173-4). Honeyman condemned the Trustees’ unquestioning acceptance, since the Gairdner study, of a link between population density and mortality rates. See page 9.

\(^{184}\) Honeyman (1883, p.5). The City Improvement Trust disregarded these rules when building its own tenements at 73-101 High Street. See page 101.

\(^{185}\) Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 1 October 1879).

\(^{186}\) Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 13 March 1880).

\(^{187}\) Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 2 January 1884). Curiously, Royal Institute of British Architects Transactions (1878-9, 1st series, vol.29, pp.156-7) describes workmen’s tenements, "...erected by the Magistrates and Council...", on Warwick Street and Dalmarnock Road. The City Improvement Trust minutes make no mention of any such buildings, though Brian Edwards did cite the ones on Dalmarnock Road in Reed (1993, p.94).

\(^{188}\) Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 27 January 1886).

\(^{189}\) Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 13 February 1884).
to report on the feasibility of erecting, on land already standing vacant, houses suitable for the labouring and artisan classes. Those for artisans were to have one, two or three apartments and be similar in design to the subsidised houses provided after 1851 for the working classes of London by representatives of the great American philanthropist and former investment banker, George Peabody. The labourers’ dwellings, meanwhile, were to be based on weekly rents not exceeding 1s. 3d. per room.

The City Architect eventually submitted his report on 27 January 1886. It seems he had spent many of the preceding seven months wrestling with the problem of how to raise suitably spacious and sanitary houses for lease at such a lowly rate, whilst at the same time ensuring the City Improvement Trust quickly recouped its expenditure and conformed to a variety of recent Sanitary Acts. Carrick’s report conceded defeat on this first question, suggesting rents at a minimum of twice those proposed.

Though he also inspected houses erected for workers in London by philanthropists such as Sir Sydney H. Waterlow and Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts, granddaughter of a wealthy banker, Carrick probably reached this opinion after a trip to see the Victoria Buildings, raised in Nashgrove by the Corporation of Liverpool [Fig. 19]. As early as 1864, Liverpool had concluded that the only cost-effective way of building houses for labourers was to have them positioned them on main roads, above shops. In this way, the high rents gathered from the merchants trading on the ground floor might then be used to supplement the relative pittance made from the cheaper accommodation above. Carrick seems to have concurred entirely with this supposition, putting him rather at odds with trustees of the Peabody Donations Fund in London and their stubborn resistance to business premises. Indeed, the City Architect refused to dwell for any longer on the matter of houses for labourers, so meagre were the expected returns. Instead, his report proposed the devotion of large tracts of City Improvement Trust land to profitable tenements with shops, suitable only for the housing of artisans. In particular, he highlighted some vacant ground on the east side of Saltmarket, north of Steel Street - land that had been cleared in 1875.

Financially speaking, the City Architect’s suggestions were both prudent and opportunistic, but they met at first with caution. On 10 February 1886, the General Committee decided that, before the City Improvement Trust committed itself to becoming a fully fledged house-builder, Carrick should first prepare plans and

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190 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 11 June 1885).
191 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 27 January 1886).
193 Nineteenth Century (December 1883, p.217). As late as 1883, Octavia Hill was able to note, "...the Peabody Trustees have thought it well to build no shops". According to Worsdall (1979, p.19), Carrick developed his liking for shops over a good number of years, having originally been opposed. This supposition is borne out by records such as the Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 27 December 1870), where reference is made to how Carrick’s feuing conditions severely restricted the number of business premises in Overnewton.
194 Glasgow Herald (1 September 1887, p.3).
secure estimates for a hypothetical block of ‘model’ dwellings for artisans or labourers; in theory at least, it
seems houses were still being considered for the poorer classes.\textsuperscript{195} Officially, the matter was still
unresolved some seven months later, though it is likely the progressives held sway by this time. On 22
September 1886, in expectation of the inevitable, the General Committee ordered a report clarifying the
position of the Trustees under various Acts of Parliament with regard the erection of buildings on
designated land.\textsuperscript{196}

Despite this readiness for action, entrepreneurs were still being given every inducement to purchase City
Improvement Trust land and advertisements appeared regularly in the local newspapers. Demand remained
next to non-existent, however. On 10 December 1886, to clinch matters, Solicitor General J.P.B. Robertson
- acting as disinterested counsel - advised the City Improvement Trust to proceed with its building plans.\textsuperscript{197}
Two weeks later, on 23 December 1886, the Trustees reluctantly agreed to erect Carrick’s tenements on
Saltmarket.\textsuperscript{198} The development, once finished, was much feted, especially by the Trustees themselves. On
31 August 1887, James Paton claimed the tenements would be "...a great boon for the poorer classes".\textsuperscript{199}
He insisted, rather optimistically, reasonable rents would ensure that people of lesser means occupied a
number of the houses. Significantly, Paton also promised further City Improvement Trust-sponsored
construction work, depending upon the success of this inaugural experiment. His pledge soon became a
matter of compulsion rather than choice. The Saltmarket tenements stimulated the market only negligibly,
despite their undoubted popularity with dwellers.\textsuperscript{200} As builders stayed cautiously idle, Paton put forward a
motion suggesting the completion of the Saltmarket row between Steel Street and St. Andrews Street. The
Trustees were as wary as the builders, however. On 21 June 1888, their cards closely guarded, they
commissioned a report estimating the yield of the houses just built as rentable and saleable assets.\textsuperscript{201}
Eventually, with these figures in hand, they decided discreetly to execute Paton’s proposals. The Dunlop
Buildings - tenements of houses for artisans - were erected on the corner of Saltmarket and St. Andrews
Street.\textsuperscript{202}

Still, though, the primary objective was to encourage private enterprise to buy and build upon the City
Improvement Trust’s scheduled land. On 20 December 1888, accordingly, Carrick was instructed to report
on all vacant steadings in the city centre, in readiness for a public sale.\textsuperscript{203} Many, it seems, were alarmed by
the conspicuous shift in policy represented by rate-funded building work on Saltmarket. Honeyman, for
instance, felt the City Improvement Trust’s ease in raising remunerative buildings would lead inevitably to
monopolisation.\textsuperscript{204} This in turn would mean fewer dwellings for the poorer classes, as private speculators

\textsuperscript{195} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 10 February 1886).
\textsuperscript{196} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 22 September 1886).
\textsuperscript{197} Anonymous (circa 1886, p.5).
\textsuperscript{198} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 23 December 1886). See page 88.
\textsuperscript{199} Glasgow Herald (1 September 1887, p.3).
\textsuperscript{200} Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1888-9, pp.33-4): "There was no difficulty in designing or building
dwellings quite equal to these in every respect, but the plain fact is that no sane builder would do anything so foolish, even if in the
lucky position of being able to borrow money at three and a half per cent".
\textsuperscript{201} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 21 June 1888).
\textsuperscript{202} See page 90.
\textsuperscript{203} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 20 December 1888).
\textsuperscript{204} Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1888-9, p.35).
left the field completely. Others embraced the new approach, however, seeing it as an opportunity to obliterate the slums. The City Improvement Trust's property south of Trongate counted amongst the worst of these districts, with a series of reports, produced in 1886 by the Health Committee of the city's Police Authorities, calling for its immediate destruction. On 26 January 1887, consequently, the Trustees were urged to consider replacing buildings at the corner of Trongate and Saltmarket, should a buyer for this property not be found.\textsuperscript{205} The Trustees acted on this proposal on 17 March 1887 - an acceptance that resulted eventually in more houses for artisans, this time at 3-39 Trongate.\textsuperscript{206} In terms of authorship, these tenements marked the intersection between the incumbencies of Carrick and McDonald. It is interesting to note, then, that they were one of the last of the City Improvement Trust's domestic developments to keep to flat windows, as opposed to integrating these with increasingly fashionable bays.\textsuperscript{207} The buildings also maintained a steady evenness of window spacing. Only with the later tenement at 4-12 Graeme Street would this classically repetitive, Carrick-conscious approach to fenestration be challenged.\textsuperscript{208}

Sparkling new buildings for artisans and shopkeepers did little to alleviate the misery of people too poor to escape from their tumbledown houses. Mindful of this, the City Improvement Trust erected three brick-faced tenements at Robb's Close, off a rapidly improving Saltmarket.\textsuperscript{209} Their planning utilitarian and their internal fittings rudimentary, these houses provided modest accommodation for 36 of the working class families displaced by slum clearances - a rather inconsequential amount when compared with the numbers re-housed by the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company.\textsuperscript{210} Relations with the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company - a philanthropic, non-profit-making organisation formed \textit{circa} 1890 with the express intention of supplying sanitary accommodation for the working classes - were prickly at best. On 14 September 1892, the General Committee appointed a special sub-committee to consider uses for ground on Weaver Street, Mason Street, Collins Street and McLeod Street; this despite the fact the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company had expressed an interest in buying the very same land just a little earlier.\textsuperscript{211} For most private builders it was a relatively straightforward business purchasing ground in proximity with the old Townhead Gas Works, land acquired for the improvement scheme \textit{circa} 1875 at the behest of Lord Provost James Bain.\textsuperscript{212} For those builders intent on stealing the City Improvement Trust's thunder, it proved a little more difficult.

Nevertheless, the Trustees were fully capable of taking lessons on board, especially in the period after McDonald replaced Carrick. Architecturally, this new willingness to experiment manifested itself in a

\textsuperscript{205} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 26 January 1887).
\textsuperscript{206} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 17 March 1887). See page 92.
\textsuperscript{207} Glendinning, MacInnes and MacKechnie (1996, pp.259-60, 273-4, 321). The use of bay windows for middle class housing became widespread in Scotland in the 1870s, and had spread to tenements for the poorer classes by the 1890s.
\textsuperscript{208} See page 99.
\textsuperscript{209} See page 96.
\textsuperscript{210} Checkland (1980, p.293). By the time the City Improvement Trust built Robb's Close, the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company had already erected 408 houses for the working classes.
\textsuperscript{211} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee 14 September 1892). Mason Street today makes up the part of Cathedral Street lying east of Weaver Street.
\textsuperscript{212} Tweed (1883, p.319). According to Carrick (1881, p.1), it was not until the early 1880s that the City Improvement Trust began disposing of this land.
general openness to contemporary notions on the rights of the working man to an ‘artistic house’. More specifically it led to an adoption, for the first time, of tenement designs incorporating bay windows, as seen for instance at 120-146 Saltmarket. But the City Improvement Trust was also willing to learn from its rivals. The Glasgow Workmen’s Dwellings Company’s scheme at Cathedral Court on Rottenrow - designed by J.J. Burnet and built in 1892 - involved tenements with balconies, thus replacing dark closes with open stairs, exposed to the bracing, purifying winds [Fig.20]. Perhaps in imitation, or perhaps in response to the Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892 - which offered legislative encouragement towards buildings laid out according to the balcony system - the City Improvement Trust quickly developed a similar preference for tenements with balconies, as seen at Morrin Square and elsewhere.

It would be wrong, however, to say that balconies were universally praised. Peter Fyfe, the Chief Sanitary Inspector, pointed out the interference they caused to direct sunlight at 45 St. James Road, especially on the ground floor [Fig.21]. Profit margins being tight at the best of times, Fyfe’s suggestion that the balcony paving be made of toughened glass instead of concrete was vetoed as economically unrealistic; at the time, glass cost 61s 3d per balcony floor as opposed to 8s 2d for concrete. Indeed, balconies were regarded as so expendable that they were often omitted altogether, as in the labourers’ dwellings at Haghill. Haghill did, nevertheless, signal a renewed interest in the use of caretakers to superintend improvement scheme buildings. Interest in this idea dated from the original Parisian visit and was supported in London by the likes of Octavia Hill. In Glasgow, however, it had

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213 Glendinning, MacInnes and MacKechnie (1996, p.348). In discussing this subject, the authors identify the City Improvement Department’s tenements at the Bell o’ the Brae as a rare Glaswegian example. See page 191.
214 See page 103.
215 Worsdall (1981, pp.76-7). A second development, Greenhead Court, was built along similar lines on McKeith Street in 1897-9. It was demolished in the late 1960s or early 1970s.
216 Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892 (Section 37). This limited the number of houses within a tenement to sixteen, whenever that tenement was entered through a closed stair. Builders using balconies could increase this number to 24. See page 117.
217 Fyfe (1899, pp.27-9). See page 134.
218 See page 186.
219 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Sub-Committee as to System of Caretakers, 7 June 1899).
220 Nineteenth Century (December 1883, p.217). Octavia Hill noted that, "...sanitary aid visitors, if they have tact and judgment, will be very useful, but they will find themselves in a much weaker position than those working in houses where they represent the landlord, who, therefore, can not only remonstrate with the tenant, or incite the vestry to action so far as the law allows it, but can in the last resort dismiss the tenant if his habits are persistently dirty or destructive—a power which rarely need be exercised, but is
been acted upon only occasionally since the inception of the City Improvement Trust—the first Saltmarket
tenements, for instance, were monitored by a live-in concierge.\textsuperscript{221} Haghill, though, represented a rather less
prestigious development than the City Improvement Trust’s first attempt at ‘model’ tenements. For this
reason, it seems likely the city’s sudden need to be seen to be appointing caretakers had more than a little to
do with the fact the Glasgow Workmen’s Dwellings Company provided this service as a matter of course.

The City Improvement Trust built ten housing schemes
between 1890 and 1895, but only one of these was aimed
specifically at the poorer classes. On 18 October 1894, perhaps
guiltily, the Trustees finally conceded the need for smaller,
cheaper flats in the districts around Townhead.\textsuperscript{222} In the same
year, William Crawford Menzies—the recently appointed
Manager—admitted the City Improvement Trust had been
negligent for many years, though he did try to offer two
excuses for this neglect [Fig.22].\textsuperscript{223} Firstly, the high prices
originally placed on scheduled sites by opportunistic owners
meant the City Improvement Trust had no choice but to erect
buildings capable of recouping the initial outlay. Secondly, the
City Improvement Trust was obliged to build undeniably
substantial constructions “...worthy of being exhibited as the
work of a great Corporation”. Menzies hinted at the
pragmatism of a less stringent approach, once the need for self-advertisement was satisfied. He warmly
applauded the Trustees’ contemporaneous decision to set aside less valuable ground for cheaper, simpler
tenements, suitable for the poorer classes.\textsuperscript{224} This decision led eventually to the scheme at Morrin
Square.\textsuperscript{225}

Others were quick to take up the theme. On 24 January 1895, at a meeting of the General Committee,
Councillor James Henderson Martin suggested “...the Manager be instructed to prepare and submit a

\textsuperscript{221} See page 88.
\textsuperscript{222} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 18 October 1894).
\textsuperscript{223} Menzies (1894, p.8). In March 1892, after years of controversy surrounding self-employed Town Clerks’ exorbitant charges for
personal services and office expenses, Menzies, a factor from Govanhill, was appointed Manager for the City Improvement Trust’s
operations. On 1 June 1896, according to the Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 14 May 1896), his
annual salary increased from £300 to £350. According to Willox (circa 1911, p.110), “Clear-headed, practical and shrewd is Menzies
in a business mood, without pretentious manners rude he wins his way, whilst watching o’er the Common Good frue day to day. His
charge is nae gilt-edged affair that ane may keep wi’ jaunty air, it calls. for tact and judgement rare to manage weel, and these he has
wi’ some to spare richt off the reel. Weel versed in auld hypothec laws affecting landlords and their cause, he spots at once the legal
flaws in lease or let, and o’er their slippery furrows draws a saving net. Endowed wi’ rooth o’ common sense, he neither has nor
mak’s pretence to ony gift o’ eloquence on meeting days, plain facts o’ income and expense he best displays. He’s trusted aye without
reserve, as weel his work and worth deserve, wi’ guumption, grit, and lots o’ nerve to carry through whatever schemes our interest
serve baith auld and new”.
\textsuperscript{224} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 18 October 1894).
\textsuperscript{225} See page 117.
return showing (1) the rental and number of houses of one, two or more apartments erected by the Trustees during the last ten years; and (2) the number...of employers, professional and commercial servants, and mechanics, labourers, and persons of the working and poorer classes, presently occupying said houses". 226

Significantly, the wording of this motion’s second part directly quoted from Section 23 of the 1866 Act, suggesting at least one councillor was still conscious of his duties according to the original legislation. 227

The more pointed section of Martin’s request failed to pass a show of hands, though the General Committee did agree to a special meeting to consider ways of ensuring affordable housing. This meeting took place on 6 February 1895, when members decided the City Improvement Trust should aim to build single-ends available for rent at £5 annually, or £8 for houses with two apartments. 228 These prices necessitated tenements of the most basic sort, however, which in turn meant recourse to Section 41 of the Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892. 229 Conveniently, Chief Medical Officer James B. Russell was in attendance and he immediately agreed to work with the City Engineer, preparing plans for several blocks of labourers’ dwellings. The General Committee agreed, meanwhile, to have all such buildings supervised by caretakers, in order to discourage vandalism and ensure the punctual payment of rent. On 14 February 1895, McDonald returned with sketch plans for two blocks of housing, each designed to accommodate the poorer classes. He suggested these blocks be built at Kirk Street, Calton, and Dobbie’s Loan, Townhead. 230

The General Committee approved the proposals, delegating each drawing to the relevant sub-committee. In an unprecedented move, members also gave the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties power to decide on whether or not, as a cost-cutting measure, the building on Kirk Street might be fronted with brick. The sub-committee eventually plumped for the more traditional facing of sandstone - hardly surprising given that, by the end of the century, the relative cost for the preparation of high-quality, ashlar masonry was lower than at any time previously. 231

Martin was keen to build upon his breakthrough. He gave notice on 21 February 1895 of another motion, this time asking for the formation of a special sub-committee to concentrate exclusively on Section 23 of the 1866 Act. 232 Seven days later, Martin argued this sub-committee might also be commissioned to look into the alleged overpricing of City Improvement Trust properties. 233 Disappointingly, given the motion’s

226 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 24 January 1895).

227 See page 25, footnote 122.

228 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 6 February 1895).

229 Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892 (Section 41). Assuming the standing Chief Medical Officer and the Master of Works both approved, this clause allowed blocks of labourers’ dwellings containing more than 24 separate houses to be exempted from the various bye-laws relating to building control.

230 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 14 February 1895). Kirk Street, Calton, makes up part of the road known today as Stevenson Street. The described part of Dobbie’s Loan is known today as St. James Road, between Stirling Road and Castle Street. See page 132.

231 Glendinning, MacInnes and MacKechnie (1996, pp.259, 271 and 308). The increasing cost-effectiveness of stone was aided by individuals such as James Gowans of Edinburgh, master of the biggest quarrying business in Scotland and a pioneer of rock-drilling by machines. Nevertheless, the City Improvement Trust did feel justified in using the cheaper facing of harling for its tenements at 45 St. James Road, this material’s unfavourable associations with industrial and rural architecture having long since abated, according to Glendinning, MacInnes and MacKechnie (1996, p.341). See page 134.

232 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 21 February 1895).

233 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 28 February 1895). At the time, City Improvement Trust houses often cost 50 per cent more to rent than the figure deemed affordable for the working classes.
undoubted merit, Martin later decided to withdraw his proposals. On 27 June 1895, however, he tried another tack. Seconded by Councillor William Davidson, Martin suggested "...a special sub-committee be appointed to consider and report as to the advisability of the Trustees acquiring ground outside the limits of the compulsory areas described in the Improvement Trust Acts, with a view of erecting thereon dwelling houses for the poorer classes." This time the motion foundered on the quite reasonable assertion by some at the meeting that the City Improvement Trust should concentrate on the substantial tracts of vacant ground already within its control. Nevertheless, an undaunted Martin put the same proposition before the Trustees on 18 July 1895. Two months later, on 19 September 1895, they remitted it straight back to the General Committee. Eventually, on 13 February 1896, these members vetoed the proposal for the second and last time.

The future Lord Provost Samuel Chisholm was the next to try. On 10 June 1896, the General Committee acknowledged a letter sent by the Second Municipal Ward Committee urging the City Improvement Department to expand its activities in the east end of Glasgow and to lobby Parliament for the right to do so if necessary. In answer to this request, members made known their decision to defer to a motion already brought by Chisholm to the effect "...that, in view of the congested and insanitary condition of large portions of the city, a committee be appointed to prepare and submit for the approval of the Corporation a Bill to be promoted in Parliament for the purpose of conferring on the Corporation power to acquire, by private contract or compulsory, land, with or without buildings thereon, to exercise the rights of proprietors in connection therewith, and specially to erect in suitable localities houses for the accommodation of the humbler classes". Remarkably, given its obstinacy before, the Corporation resoundingly approved this proposal on 18 June 1896. A month later, on 16 July 1896, a special committee was appointed to compose the bill for submission to Parliament.

On 29 July 1896, the special committee decided to frame its application along the very lines of Chisholm's initial proposal. It also resolved to apply for leave to target entirely new areas, in order to cater for the displacement of people moved from the districts already reconstructed. McDonald and Russell left the meeting with orders to report on those areas most in need of improvement. Two months later, on 29 September 1896, the same special committee appointed a sub-committee - with members including Martin and Chisholm - to prepare Parliamentary plans, books of reference and a draft of the bill. These things had been done by 22 October 1896, when the special committee remitted a rough copy of the bill to the Corporation's Parliamentary Bills Committee. Discussions were ongoing, meanwhile, regarding the

234 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 27 June 1895).
235 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 18 July 1895).
236 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 19 September 1895).
237 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 13 February 1896).
238 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 10 June 1896).
239 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 18 June 1896).
240 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 16 July 1896).
241 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Committee on Proposed New City Improvements, etc., Bill, 29 July 1896).
242 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Committee on Proposed New City Improvements, etc., Bill, 29 September 1896).
243 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Committee on Proposed New City Improvements, etc., Bill, 22 October 1896).
precise whereabouts of the areas to be scheduled. On 27 October 1896, following advice from Russell and the Corporation's Health Committee, Sub-Committee on Proposed New City Improvements, etc., Bill pinpointed seven particular zones.\textsuperscript{244} A finished draft of the bill was ready by 11 November 1896.\textsuperscript{245} Before presenting it to Parliament, though, the Corporation met on 9 December 1896 to mull over its finer details.\textsuperscript{246} Clauses 1 to 17 were approved at once. These included: "General powers to deal with unhealthy areas..." (Clause 10); "Power to take lands by agreement..." (Clause 14); "Power to take down buildings..." (Clause 15); "Power to erect new buildings..." (Clause 16); and "Restriction as to houses of labouring classes... three hundred..." (Clause 17). Two days later, the Corporation approved Clauses 18 and 19, each of them to do with the financial workings of the new bill.\textsuperscript{247} And on 15 December 1896, members passed all of the Clauses from 20 to 46 - mainly legal formalities - except Clause 23, the "Provision for extinction of obligations under Acts of 1866 and 1894...".\textsuperscript{248} A number of the areas scheduled under the original Act of 1866 areas remained, as yet, unimproved, and it seems even the Corporation felt duty-bound occasionally.

Not everybody was in favour of the proposed bill. On 18 February 1897, the Corporation examined the first of what turned out to be sixteen petitions urging reconsideration, from "...ratepayers, owners and occupiers of land and heritages in the city...".\textsuperscript{249} Two weeks later, on 4 March 1897, members decided to postpone any such debate until after the Committee on Parliamentary Bills had properly considered a raft of observations made by the Officer of the Secretary of State for Scotland.\textsuperscript{250} This had been done by 8 April 1897, when the Corporation once more considered each clause in isolation.\textsuperscript{251} Again the members approved just about everything, including: "Power to make works and acquire lands..." (Clause 6); "Period for compulsory purchase of lands..." (Clause 7); "Power to stop up streets and vesting of solum in Corporation..." (Clause 8); "Extinction of rights-of-way and other casements..." (Clause 11); "Power to Corporation to enter on and value lands..." (Clause 12). Even so, there were a few changes. Clause 9, for instance, the aforementioned "General powers to deal with unhealthy areas..." was replaced with "Application of certain sections of the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892 to this Act...", while the new Clause 10, "Special provisions and modifications or variations of Lands Clauses Acts in reference to lands acquired under this Act..." was removed altogether.

Clauses 14 and 15, meanwhile, were combined to form one new improved clause reading "...the Corporation may take down the whole or any part of the buildings situated on any part of the lands acquired by them under the authority of this part of this Act, or under the authority of any sections of any Act the provisions of which are applied to this part of this Act, and sell and dispose of the material thereof;
they may lay out such lands in such manner as they deem expedient, and may sell or dispose of the same or any portion thereof, either for a price absolutely or in consideration of a feu-duty or ground annual; they may lay out and maintain such portions of the land as they think proper for the purpose of providing open spaces or places of recreation; they may lease lands on such terms and subject to such conditions as they may fix; or they may themselves erect and maintain thereon buildings, and specially such dwelling-houses (including model lodging-houses) for mechanics, labourers, and other persons of the working and poorer classes as they from time to time think expedient, and they may let the same when so erected at such weekly or other rents, and upon such terms and conditions as they from time to time think fit, or they may sell and dispose of the same; and generally, they may deal with the lands acquired by them as aforesaid as absolute proprietors thereof’. Such was the all-embracing nature of this new provision that it allowed for the total deletion of Clauses 16 and 17: “Restriction as to houses of the labouring classes...” and “Further provision as to labouring classes...”.

On 13 August 1897, the Committee on Parliamentary Bills read a copy of the Glasgow Corporation (Improvements and General Powers) Act, 1897. By this time, the Bill had received Royal Assent, subject to four adjustments. Two of these were particularly significant. Firstly, there were to be fewer scheduled areas, with most of the area around Bridgegate being left to the contrivances of the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company. North Albion Street, meanwhile, was to be ignored altogether. Secondly, the clause allowing the City Improvement Department “...to purchase...land within or without the city for the erection of houses for the poor...” was approved, but with a restriction limiting new ground outwith the city to just 25 acres and no more than half a mile from the boundary.

Despite provisions in the Act of 1897, some felt the very poor were still being overlooked. On 22 September 1897, for example, the General Committee read a letter from the 21st Ward Committee asking that further consideration be given to the needs of people earning less than £1 per week. Chastised, perhaps, the City Improvement Department quickly set about acquiring land suitable for the purposes of Section 12. On 9 December 1897, the General Committee learned of the Police Department’s desire to sell steadings on Parliamentary Road, Haghill and Baltic Street. The matter was immediately sent for consideration to the Sub-Committee on the Glasgow Corporation (Improvements and General Powers) Act, 1897 for consideration. This sub-committee visited the plots sometime after 24 December 1897. On 14 January 1898, it decided to barter. It finally resolved, on 9 February 1898, to buy the land on Haghill and Baltic Street.
Haghill soon came to be used as a site for dwellings for the poorest classes, in accordance to Section 12 of the 1897 Act.\textsuperscript{260} Strangely though, as it was buying this land, the General Committee simultaneously jettisoned 3480 square yards of perfectly good development land on Collins Street, Mason Street and McLeod Street, close to the newly erected Morrin Square.\textsuperscript{261} The land was bought by the Royal Infirmary as a site for its new Ophthalmic Institution.

On 9 November 1898, the General Committee appointed a special sub-committee charged solely with finding real estate outside the city centre, in accordance with Section 12.\textsuperscript{262} Using powers contained within the original legislation, the Sub-Committee on Dwellings for the Poorest Classes soon targeted Alexandra Park as a reserve of cheap and available land.\textsuperscript{263} On 12 January 1899, the same sub-committee approached the park’s current owners: the Parks Department.\textsuperscript{264} A few weeks later, on 1 February 1899, members resolved to take over 72,963 square yards of ground on the park’s east side, together with 6229 square yards to the west.\textsuperscript{265} On the smaller plot, they proposed to build blocks of two-apartment dwelling-houses with ashlar fronts “...in reasonable conformity with the buildings already erected [by private speculators] on the adjoining ground”. These proposals having been taken into account by a Joint-Meeting of Sub-Committees of Parks and City Improvement Departments as to Ground at Alexandra Park, the plots were duly transferred soon after 8 March 1899.\textsuperscript{266}

As speculators built fewer and fewer working class homes, moves towards council provision came as a relief to many.\textsuperscript{267} Peter Fyfe, for instance, admitted that the closure of six hundred insanitary houses over the preceding nine years had left 1500 people homeless. “Latterly”, he said, “the task has been a painful one, in the face of the appeals of the poor people, and their sad anxiety born of the growing difficulty to find a new house at a rent low enough for their means”. Fyfe also noted the way in which favourable borrowing powers meant the tenements at Robb’s Close, 74 Kirk Street and 45 St. James Road were no more expensive to erect and maintain than comparable developments raised by private builders.\textsuperscript{268} Rents in the improvement houses were cheaper, however, implying an advantageous starting position. With Honeyman’s warnings about monopolisation ringing in his ears, Fyfe suggested the onus now laid with the city to provide cheaper housing.

\textsuperscript{260} See page 23.

\textsuperscript{261} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 10 March 1898, p.346). See page 117.

\textsuperscript{262} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 9 November 1898). See page 23.

\textsuperscript{263} Glasgow Improvement Act 1866 (Section 25): “Power to set apart a Portion [of the City Improvement Trust-built public park] thereof for Building”. See page 14.

\textsuperscript{264} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Dwellings for the Poorest Classes, 12 January 1899).

\textsuperscript{265} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Joint Meeting of the Sub-Committees on Acquisition of Ground for Dwellings for the Poorest Classes and Eastern District Properties, 1 February 1899).

\textsuperscript{266} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Joint-Meeting of Sub-Committees of Parks and City Improvement Departments as to Ground at Alexandra Park, 8 March 1899).

\textsuperscript{267} Fyfe (1899, pp.13, 17-18). Fyfe uneasily listed the difficulties faced by private enterprise when building replacement homes. A speculator had first to set aside money for ground rent, interest, management, owner’s taxes, fire insurance and repairs. He then needed to establish a sinking fund to cover losses from depreciation. Only then might he talk of profits.

\textsuperscript{268} Kirk Street, Calton, makes up part of the road known today as Stevenson Street. See pages 96, 132 and 136.
The City Improvement Department, however, was keen to commit its prime, city centre land to more lucrative purposes.\(^{269}\) On 12 January 1899, for instance, members of the Special Sub-Committee as to Scheme for Reconstruction of King Street Area resolved to devote their entire remit to the accommodation of businesses.\(^{270}\) A month later, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties did the same thing with ground on Low Green Street.\(^{271}\) Bidding to justify this sort of exclusiveness, William C. Menzies later claimed it stemmed in the first place from the constrictively high prices paid for the two pieces of land and their old buildings.\(^{272}\)

Domestic developments were restricted to the outlying areas. On 15 June 1899, the Corporation read the City Engineer's description of four plots near Alexandra Park - worth £3027, £1296, £1307 and £1373 respectively – to be passed from the Parks Department to the one dealing with city improvements.\(^{273}\) The first plot comprised 72,640 square yards of ground, stretching 799 feet along the north-west side of Cumbernauld Road. The second, third and fourth plots held 6229 square yards of ground in total, all to the west and north-west of Alexandra Parade. The first plot, at Kennyhill in Dennistoun, was eventually used to accommodate a scheme of houses for the working classes.\(^{274}\)

On 27 April 1899, the General Committee alerted its Sub-Committee on the Acquisition of Ground for the Poorest Classes to ground for sale near Possil Cross.\(^{275}\) As it happened, this particular enquiry went no further. On 25 January 1900, however, the General Committee learned of six acres of ground, available this time to the east of Springburn Park.\(^{276}\) A little later, on 8 March 1900, the aforementioned sub-committee reported an agreement with the Parks Department, transferring this ground to the City Improvement Department for the building of houses in deference to Section 12 of the 1897 Act.\(^{277}\) According to the City Engineer, reporting to the Corporation on 20 September 1900, the ground consisted of 30,159 square yards and was worth £1558.\(^{278}\)

On 15 November 1900, Menzies presented a list of the local authority dwellings by then erected, describing 467 out of a total of 1375 as distinctively suitable for the poorer classes.\(^{279}\) Nevertheless, many felt that more could and should be done. On 21 February 1901, Councillor James Gray felt compelled to suggest “that, as the proper and adequate housing of the poor in our city is a question of the first importance, it is desirable to know whether the supply of houses of one, two or three apartments is keeping pace with the increase of

\(^{269}\) Glasgow Improvement Act 1897 (Section 6). See page 23.
\(^{270}\) Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Sub-Committee as to Scheme for Reconstruction of King Street Area, 12 January 1899). See page 177.
\(^{271}\) Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 8 February 1899). Low Green Street is now known as Turnbull Street.
\(^{272}\) Menzies (1900, pp.5, 33).
\(^{273}\) Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 15 June 1899).
\(^{274}\) See page 223.
\(^{275}\) Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 27 April 1899).
\(^{276}\) Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 25 January 1900).
\(^{277}\) Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Acquisition of Ground for Dwellings for the Poorest Classes, 8 March 1900). See page 23.
\(^{278}\) Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 20 September 1900). Despite being transferred, this land appears never to have been used for working class housing, at least not before 1910.
\(^{279}\) Menzies (1900, p.32).
population; that a return be prepared showing the number of such houses now in existence as compared with
1891-2, the year the city was extended, with the average rental for the same in each of these years - said
return also to show the rental of houses occupied by similar classes of the population in a limited number of
large towns in England and Scotland". Though it not clear if this report was ever prepared, it is evident that
the City Improvement Department was finally giving adequate attention to the matter. On 12 June 1901, the
Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties ordered McDonald to prepare block plans for the areas on the
Clyde’s south side acquired under the Act of 1897. Members were determined, at last, to see these districts
rebuilt.

The debate was further complicated, though, by questions raised at the International Congress on Cheap
Dwellings for the Poorer Classes, which opened in Glasgow on 24 September 1901. The City Engineer
used this forum to present a hypothetical scheme of three-storey tenements with balconies, each holding 30
houses, one, two and three apartments in size. These buildings would be faced in brick, with lintels, sills,
jambs and stairways of concrete. The walls would be unplastered and the carpentry would be functional at
best, or non-existent in the case of skirtings and window facings. There would be no tiles and ‘‘...the ceiling
of each room [would] consist of the underside of the flooring boards of the room above...’’. McDonald
promised austere but profitable buildings, with houses for rent at a shilling a week. Annual yield would top
£78 per tenement, after an initial outlay of £1100 for construction. The City Engineer also advocated sites
well away from industrial centres, where land cost less than ten shillings per square yard.

The City Improvement Department may have been a little wary of encouraging Glasgow’s less fortunate
citizens into such an ascetic brand of accommodation, because on 27 March 1902, the General Committee
read a report on housing erected for the poorer classes in Manchester and Liverpool, following exploratory
visits to these cities by Gray and Councillor James Steele. Ready to countenance different approaches,
Gray and Steele recommended a closer analysis of the terraced system adopted in Liverpool. Menzies,
however, later summed up the delegation’s findings by noting a distinct lack of relevance to the situation in
Glasgow, ‘‘...the habits of the citizens and their household arrangements [being] so diverse...as to demand
an entirely different character in their domestic architecture’’. His opinions must have been fairly
representative, because Glasgow stayed faithful to the tenement system of housing for at least another
seven years, until the Finance Act 1909 finally made this fidelity comparatively uneconomical.

On 5 September 1902, Menzies reported that 1697 houses had been erected in connection with the
improvement scheme. Of these, 28 per cent were built for the poorer classes. Three months later, on 26
December 1902, the General Committee appointed yet another special sub-committee, again devoted to

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280 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 21 February 1901).
281 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 12 June 1901). See page 217.
282 Anonymous (1901, pp.8-9).
283 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 27 March 1902).
284 Gray and Steele (1902, p.3).
285 Menzies (1902, p.7).
286 Finance Act 1909 (Part 1, Clause 1): ‘‘...there shall be charged, levied and paid on the increment value of any land a duty, called
increment value duty, at the rate of one pound for every full five pounds of that value...’’.
287 Menzies (1902, pp.35-6).
finding land suitable for Section 12.288 This added firepower helped two months later, when the Special Sub-Committee as to Acquisition of Sites for Dwellings for the Poorest Classes conferred with the city’s Police Department regarding ground in north-east Glasgow.289 In addition to houses, the City Improvement Department felt this land might easily accommodate large, ventilating, open spaces. Meanwhile, the aforementioned ground to the west of Alexandra Park next came under consideration on 13 February 1903, when the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties ordered McDonald to design dwellings for the poorer classes.290 The General Committee, however, postponed this remit until the whole question of utilisation was further discussed.291

On 19 March 1903, the Corporation read a letter from David Murray, lawyer and former President of the Archaeological Society of Glasgow, suggesting a private company be set up to build houses similar to those at Haghill and Baltic Street.292 This company would require some legislative leeway. “One of the difficulties experienced by the ordinary builder in the erection of houses of this type is that the back walls of brick and other expedients used in construction for the purpose of reducing cost render such buildings unsaleable, except at a depreciated rate, and also prevent a loan being obtained on the ordinary terms...In building such houses, the Corporation has the advantage in that they do not require to sell, and they are able to borrow the whole of the cost at a moderate rate of interest...”. A company retaining its property, once erected, and managing it as a landlord, might easily bypass the first difficulty. To overcome the second, though, the company would need two thirds of the property’s value in advance from the Corporation, lent at an interest rate similar to that enjoyed by the City Improvement Department. Otherwise, the private builder remained economically compelled to erect dwellings beyond the financial means of the poorer classes. Murray’s arguments were summarily rejected.293

Operations pushed on at Alexandra Park, and on 3 August 1903, a special sub-committee resolved to go ahead with the scheme by McDonald, aforementioned.294 Members petitioned, therefore, for the relaxation of conditions imposed by the Parks Department, prohibiting single-ends. Nine days later, negotiators returned with permission to build half the scheme’s 180 houses as single rooms with sculleries.295 But the Corporation was unimpressed and refused to sanction this. Following such an immediate rebuff, the General Committee rather petulantly resolved to transfer the land back to the Parks Department.296 By 1905, the only buildings raised according to Section 12 were those at Haghill and Baltic Street, though tenements at Kennyhill in Dennistoun and Howard Street in Bridgeton were also in the course of erection.297 The occupation of these buildings was closely monitored. Every person applying for

288 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 26 December 1902). See page 23.
289 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 26 February 1903).
290 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 13 February 1903).
291 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 12 March 1903).
292 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 19 March 1903). See pages 186 and 206.
293 Minutes of the Finance Department (Committee on Finance, 18 September 1903).
294 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Sub-Committee as to Erection of Houses for Poorest Classes on Ground West Side of Alexandra Park, 3 August 1903).
295 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Sub-Committee as to Erection of Houses for Poorest Classes on Ground West Side of Alexandra Park, 12 August 1903).
296 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 24 September 1903).
297 Menzies (1905, p.6). Howard Street, Bridgeton, is now known as Finnart Street. See page 23. See also pages 186, 206, 223 and
accommodation at Haghill and Baltic Street, for instance, had to produce an employer’s certificate verifying a suitably humble wage. In this way, the City Improvement Department ensured an intake of 72 tenants with average weekly incomes ranging between 22s. 9d. and 24s. 4d., plus eleven widows and a caretaker.

On 7 September 1904, Menzies produced an inventory of houses built for the poorer classes, incorporating those erected according to Section 12. Including children, 2234 people were accommodated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>One-Apartment Houses</th>
<th>Houses</th>
<th>Two-Apartment Houses</th>
<th>Houses</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>130 Saltmarket</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>74 Kirk Street</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>74 Kirk Street</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>45 William Street</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>45 William Street</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>94-100 Cumberland Street</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>94-100 Cumberland Street</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>91 Cumberland Street</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>91 Cumberland Street</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>105 Cumberland Street</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>105 Cumberland Street</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24 St. James Road</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 St. James Road</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45 St. James Road</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 St. James Road</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7 Piccadilly Street</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Piccadilly Street</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Haghill</td>
<td>69</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haghill</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Baltic Street</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltic Street</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.30 Adults per House on Average)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(3.76 Adults per House on Average)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three-Apartment Houses</th>
<th>Houses</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>94-100 Cumberland Street</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 St. James Road</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.37 Adults per House on Average)</td>
<td></td>
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Menzies supplied an updated list in October 1906:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>One Apartment</th>
<th>Two Apartments</th>
<th>Three Apartments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haghill</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltic Street</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennyhill</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard Street</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Ninian Street</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866 Act</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rather than ashlar frontages or fashionable bay windows, both of which featured as standard on most of the developments Menzies listed, the things that defined working class tenements in relation to their middle class cousins were the layout, dimensions and facilities available to the houses within. By the 1880s, the use of different styles of drapery and upholstery as a way of backing up differentiations in room function was a trait common to most middle class households in Scotland. Subtleties of this sort were in stark contrast to utilitarian nature of the working class house, where one or two rooms per family was still the norm. Although indoor bathrooms and WCs were beginning to be regarded as less of a luxury, the City Improvement Department had deemed them necessary for only some of the houses in the working class.

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228. Menzies (1905, p.7).
299 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 7 September 1904).
300 Menzies (1906, p.5).
Tenements at 45 St. James Road and 24-38 St. James Road. Most tenements had their WCs placed on the landings outside the houses, where they were used by at least two families and often more, depending on the number of houses per floor – the first phase of 3-39 Trongate, a development for artisans, had a ratio of two dwellings for every floor, while the tenements for the poorer classes at Robb's Close had four houses per floor. Artisans were also better served for indoor conveniences, with WCs included within many of the houses at the Dunlop Buildings, 3-39 Trongate, 120-146 Saltmarket, 8-26 Saltmarket, 133-155 Stockwell Street and elsewhere. The distinction is best illustrated by a mixed-occupancy tenement development in the Gorbals, where the artisans' dwellings at 18-28 Adelphi Street and 7-11 Muirhead Street were fitted with indoor toilets, while the people living at 10-22 St. Ninian Street had to make do with outdoor privies.

Washing facilities were also kept separate from the houses, though their precise placement seems to have been a matter with which Carrick was keen to experiment. Each of the five tenements at 107-143 Saltmarket had a laundry on its attic floor, while they were moved to the basement of the Dunlop Buildings and into an out-building at Robb's Close. McDonald eventually settled on this last option as his method of choice, and most City Improvement Department tenements built after 1890 were served by a separate washing house. Back inside the tenements, be they for artisans or the poorer classes, the interiors of City Improvement Department houses were never more than basic. Fittings included galvanised iron bedsteads partitioned off with corrugated iron in recesses in the single-ends at 107-143 Saltmarket, the Dunlop Buildings and elsewhere, or in the kitchens in the case of two-apartment houses. The bedsteads were often supplied with spring mattresses, as at Morrin Square and 168-182 Saltmarket, while the kitchens themselves were served by ranges and iron or enamelled sinks, as seen at 4-12 Graeme Street and 24-38 St. James Road. Houses large enough to incorporate designated living rooms were usually supplied with mantel registers, as found at 2-42 Osborne Street and 8-28 Saltmarket.

302 Glendinning, Machinnes and MacKechnie (1996, p.242). As late as 1842, indoor WCs were still only available to society's elite, for instance Queen Victoria at Balmoral. See pages 134 and 174.
303 See pages 96.
304 See pages 90, 92, 103, 123, 220.
305 See page 217.
306 See pages 90 and 96.
307 See pages 88 and 90.
308 See pages 99, 117, 174 and 214.
309 See pages 112 and 123.
Chapter Three - Relations with Architects and Builders.

Architects had lobbied for large-scale improvements since long before the initiation of Glasgow’s scheme. On 27 February 1851, for instance, James Salmon stressed the interdependent relationship between sanitary improvement and material amelioration, anticipating by fifteen years the City Improvement Trust’s forked strategy. As a councillor as well as a respected architect, Salmon enjoyed considerable standing in local government circles and we may assume his influence on the emergent John Carrick. Prophetically, Salmon’s 1851 speech was among the first locally to coin the term and the idea of the ‘city architect’.

On 11 December 1851, the architects Charles Wilson, J.T. Rochead and John Herbertson offered some practical pointers for Glasgow’s improvement. “For houses built in flats the width of the street should be determined by the height of the buildings. For instance, three square storeys...should have a street not less than 60 feet in width...Houses of this class should be a uniform height in each street”. Carrick, at that time a Superintendent of Streets, must have been taking notes. Wilson was on the brink of his most successful and influential project: a rationally planned Woodlands Hill on ground promoted and feuded by the Town Council. Rochead, meanwhile, was responsible for many of the majestic classical terraces, beautifying a newly laid out Great Western Road. As well as working so prominently in an area recently speculated by Carrick’s most trusted assistant, Thomas Gildard, Rochead happened to be a close personal friend. Given the brilliance and proximity of these prototypes and the fact that Herbertson was Carrick’s former master, it seems hardly surprising to find the future City Architect profoundly indebted – via the Glasgow Police Act 1866, his approach to the city’s housing problem was identical in spirit, if not in measurement. Incidentally, the 1851 paper also suggested the community’s physical and moral health required that “...squares, circuses, and other large vacancies should be secured to the city, and that proper encouragement should be given to the securing of lands for the formation of public parks”. Suddenly, Paris’s influence on improvements in Glasgow seems less direct.

Despite the eminence of Carrick’s mentors, the support of the city’s architectural community could not be guaranteed. Shortly after the City Improvement Trust’s inception, at the annual dinner of the Glasgow Architectural Society, John Honeyman set a long-running tone of hostility, bitterly remarking on the lack of employment opportunities likely to be offered by the scheme to the city’s private architects. James Salmon attended this dinner and would no doubt have reported Honeyman’s displeasure to his colleagues in the Town Council. At a later meeting of the same society, John James Stevenson roundly condemned the “...dreariness with stagnant air...” brought about firstly by Carrick’s planning and secondly by the city’s recent insistence on a proportionate relationship between building heights and the width of the street in front. Likening such regimentation to the planning of Manchester, Stevenson called on Glasgow to

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311 Architectural Institute of Scotland Transactions (1851-2, pp.41-64).
312 Gildard (circa 1894, p.29). See Appendix 1, page 240.
313 See pages 10, 11 and 15.
314 North British Daily Mail (16 October 1866, p.2). In fact, Salmon fanned the fires of discontent by commenting to other dinner-goers that Glasgow architects would not see one shilling of the million and a quarter sterling set aside for improvements. Quite apart from being disloyal to the efforts of his fellow councillors, this comment was patently untrue.
315 Glasgow Herald (22 January 1868, p.6). Interestingly, according the Gomme and Walker (1987, pp.282-3), Stevenson was a pupil for
embrace ‘variety’, citing the local pedigree of this particular quality. Slender, winding thoroughfares with openings into wider spaces had the contingent benefit of encouraging air circulation, due to the lively differences in temperature these features promoted. Stevenson’s arguments were immediately latched on to by fellow members of the Glasgow Architectural Society, especially John Honeyman and David Cousland. Many Glasgow architects, it seems, were keen to undermine Carrick, offended by the City Improvement Trust’s total confidence in the planning of just one designer.

On 10 March 1868, possibly as an olive branch, the General Committee finally made moves to consult expert opinion from outside the Town Council. Six of Glasgow’s most respected architects - John Burnet, Clarke & Bell, J.T. Rochead, Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson, David Thomson and, significantly, John Honeyman - were invited to prepare block plans, each for a different lettered district from Carrick’s original map of targeted areas “...with a view to an efficient and remunerative realisation of some of the blocks where the property had been nearly or altogether acquired”. Nothing concrete arose from these consultations, though we may speculate as to the extent of their ulterior influences. On 18 November 1874, for instance, Carrick submitted a plan for the transformation of 14,100 square yards of convolution about Glasgow Cross into one immense weather-proof veranda. The City Architect claimed inspiration from time spent “…during the last winter among the old cities of Europe”. His idea, however, directly mirrored designs presented six years earlier by Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson.

Economic expediency put paid to Carrick’s more daring plans. Even so, many resented what they saw as budgetary extravagance on his part. William Collins, for instance, a future Lord Provost and Chairman of the City Improvement Trust, condemned the scheme for its truck with unprofitable planning policies, complaining bitterly of having to pay for “…the straightening of crooked streets, however desirable in an architectural point of view”. In most ways, though, the City Improvement Trust was the very model of prudence and restraint. On 16 September 1869, for instance, the General Committee described its conviction that “…the risk of becoming builders, and entering into competition with private parties, was much as if it were once understood that if the public’s money was to be applied to any large extent for such a purpose, private enterprise might be prevented, and the very serious undertaking of supplying such...
houses thrown entirely upon the public authorities". This reluctance was voiced despite the City Improvement Trust's proven ability to build better houses with lower rents.

Discretion of this nature helped ensure reasonably productive relations with architects and builders. On 28 June 1872, accordingly, the General Committee was able to report a host of fine buildings raised on former City Improvement Trust steadings at Bridgeton Cross, James Street, Charles Street and London Road. Similar plots had been sold at Bridgegate, Ingram Street and to William Anderson, a wine merchant, on the north side of the Gallowgate, between Glasgow Cross and Spoutsmouth. This particular speculation led to a range of shops, offices and workshops at 69-99 Gallowgate (1873-4, demolished 1969) designed in all probability by John Burnet. The architect James Thomson was especially active around Bridgeton Cross, meanwhile, designing all the cream sandstone tenements overlooking the 'Umbrella' [Figs.23, 24 and 25] - a pleasantly eccentric folly-cum-bandstand designed by Carrick and built by George Smith & Co. according to at least one group of commentators. By 1874, the City Improvement Trust's policy of encouragement towards private enterprise had seen 77 acres of scheduled land sold for rebuilding.

On 17 December 1874, James B. Russell added to an ongoing debate on the merits of the tenement format. Comparing the common stair unfavourably with the 'English court', he described the former as "...a dark noisome tunnel buried in the centre of the tenement, and impervious to both light and air...". Russell's disparagement contrasted starkly with the romantic idealism of Scotland's fledgling conservationist lobby. Dating from the 1810s, this movement revolved mainly around Edinburgh. The capital's improvement legislation of 1827 contained - upon the instigation of influential architects such as Thomas Hamilton and

323 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 16 September 1869).
324 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 31 March 1868). Members described proposed houses at Bellfield as, "...much better and far more airy accommodation...than could be obtained at present...the rents will be less than what is now paid for inferior accommodation".
325 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 28 June 1872). According to the Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 17 May 1870), Carrick had set out his contingencies just two years earlier for those speculators wishing to buy steadings at the newly laid out Bridgeton Cross.
326 Worsdall (1981, pp.119,121).
327 Williamson, Riches and Higgs (1990, p.466).
328 Bell and Paton (1896, p.223).
329 Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1873-5, p.11).
William Burn - clauses designed to protect the character of the Old Town. Similarly, in 1860, a committee of artisans praised the city's old tenements, claiming "...Edinburgh architecture - also substantially that of Paris - is based upon a far higher principal in social philosophy than we are accustomed to believe. The proverb that 'an Englishman's home is his castle' contains a very selfish, if not impracticable idea...". Members suggested the best tenements be preserved as prime examples of traditional Scottish housing. This attitude was understandable, given that Edinburgh provided the setting for the earliest experiments in this particular mode of street architecture. Flatted buildings linked together by uniform cornices, ashlar facings and repetitive fenestration were established in the capital as early as the mid-to-late-seventeenth century, with Robert Mylne's Mylne Square on the High Street setting the standard. Tenements were being built in Glasgow at this time too, as we shall see, but it was only with the career of David Hamilton that architects in the west started modifying and improving the form to suit the expanded needs of an increasingly refined mercantile class. Almost simultaneously, the suburban villa began to emerge as the middle class gentileperson's residence of choice. With this, the reputation of the Glasgow tenement went into the sort of long, drawn-out but inexorable decline that made Russell's condemnation inevitable.

Things were slightly different in the capital. Even where the slums proved irredeemable, Edinburgh's improvement legislation of 1867 replaced them with buildings in a sympathetic, Baronial style: for instance, the tenements on St. Mary's Street designed by David Cousin and John Lessels. Glasgow, by contrast, preferred to build anew, though it did - at first - keep the tenement format as standard. Edinburgh carefully maintained its system of wynds and closes, while Glasgow tended to remove these features altogether. This is not to say the Second City was without its conservationists. Many architects supported J.J. Stevenson - a founder member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings - in his loathing for the monotony of Carrick's grid. These sentiments cut no ice with Glasgow's facilitators, however. Russell - while relating a well-informed history of the common stair, from turnpike to cantilever - left readers in no doubt as to the inadequacies of the conventional tenement.

The City Architect's views on old buildings were more ambivalent. Carrick was a long-standing member of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, with an encyclopaedic understanding of the city's socio-architectural
Nevertheless, he was also an aggressive reformer, saddened by, but resolutely committed to the annihilation of Glasgow's medieval streetscape. This combination of sentimental yearning and stoical ruthlessness - so typical of the ardent idealist - is most stark in a memorandum read by the General Committee on 18 November 1874, detailing Carrick's plans for three of the scheduled areas denoted in the original Parliamentary plans. The report contains much wistful reflection on the City Improvement Trust's role in hastening old Glasgow's demise, yet it positively insists on the removal of many ancient landmarks "...and the substitution in their stead of streets and buildings adapted to the changed circumstances of the city".

Carrick's plans for the Bell o' the Brae - between Burrell's Lane to the south and Drygate to the north - involved the obliteration of Kirk Street, location of the old Alms House, "...the bell of which used to toll as the departed citizens passed to their last resting place in the High Church burying ground...". Between Drygate and the new line of High Street, Carrick planned a magnificent new concourse, affording unimpeded views of Glasgow's duomo from John Knox Street. Significantly, as it became gradually more monument-studded, Cathedral Square, as it was later known, offered a salve for one of mentor John Blackie's greatest civic regrets: "...in Glasgow, a man may walk from the Royal Infirmary...to the Toll on the Paisley Road...without encountering...so much free space as would serve to give a reasonably good site for an obelisk or a statue".

The City Architect's plans for 'Area N' - between High Street to the east, Bell Street to the south, Albion Street to the west and Stirling Street to the north - signalled the demise of such infamous old lanes as Fiddlers' Close [Fig.26] and Pipe-House Close, with Bell Street being widened to 60 feet and a new thoroughfare, Walls Street, being formed between Bell Street and Stirling Street. His plans, meanwhile, for 'Area R' - encompassing a chunk of ramshackle cityscape between Trongate to the north, King Street to the west, Saltmarket to the east and a new roadway running from Saltmarket to King Street - proposed the widening of several streets, together with an 'improved' aspect for the Tron Steeple, demolishing its contingent sixteenth century surround [Fig.27]. The Tron Kirk - rebuilt circa 1793

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336 Gildard (circa 1894, pp.14-5).
337 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 18 November 1874).
338 Drygate no longer meets directly with the High Street, except by way of a very steep flight of stairs.
339 Anonymous (1866, p.17). Following a petition to the City Improvement Trust by Dr. J.A. Campbell M.P., John Mossman's statue of the Reverend Dr. Norman McLeod - unveiled in 1881 - was the first to be erected in Cathedral Square, according to McKenzie (2002, p.72). Ironically, McLeod's former stamping ground, the eighteenth Old Barony Church designed by James Adam, was one of the many local buildings crushed under the wheels of Carrick's masterplan.
340 Stirling Street is known today as Blackfriars Street.
341 The new thoroughfare running between Saltmarket and King Street came to be known as Osborne Street, probably in tribute to Councillor Osborne who died on 23 February 1900, aged 80.
after a fire destroyed the original late sixteenth century Laigh Kirk - was another of the ancient landmarks condemned to destruction.\textsuperscript{342} In return, a widened Trongate would provide a more prominent, less obstructive site for the city's important eighteenth century equestrian statue of King William III, at that time situated directly in front of the contemporaneous former Tontine Coffee Rooms and Hotel on Trongate.\textsuperscript{343}

Despite the severity of Carrick's plans, the City Improvement Trust made regular attempts to appease the conservationists, and relations with outside architects were never truly awful. On 4 December 1876, to illustrate this point, Carrick was put forward as a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects by prominent designer-historicists such as Charles Barry, John Macvicar Anderson and, most surprisingly, John Honeyman.\textsuperscript{344} Though there was probably nothing reciprocal in his actions, Carrick made the almost simultaneous decision, around March 1877, to patronise the Baronial leanings of one of his more trend-conscious assistants in the Office of Public Works.\textsuperscript{345} This decision led to the attachment of spectacular ogee roofs and Dutch gables to the City Architect's otherwise sober plans for the Calton Model Lodging House.\textsuperscript{346} On 16 January 1879, furthermore, the Trustees genuinely considered commissioning a sensitive restoration of the 'piazza' (today we would call this a loggia) they had earlier ordered removed from the

\textsuperscript{342} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Committee on Tron Steeple, 10 October 1894). The City Improvement Trust eventually decided not to interfere with this structure, in accordance with a petition from the Glasgow Architectural Association, reported in the Builder (16 March 1895, p.203). Today, the building provides accommodation for the Tron Theatre.

\textsuperscript{343} McKenzie (2002, pp.69-70). In October 1897, the statue was moved to a site beside the Caledonian Railway Company's newly built station, on an island at the centre of Trongate. It stood here until 1923, when it was removed to Cathedral Square Gardens. For further discussion of the redevelopment of Trongate, and the opening of the train station, see page 92.

\textsuperscript{344} Felshead, Franklin and Pinfield (1993, p.263).

\textsuperscript{345} See Appendix 1, page 236.

\textsuperscript{346} See page 80.
front of the aforementioned Tontine Hotel. Moreover, the City Improvement Trust often required those purchasing its land to erect buildings in conformity with Scots Baronial types.

Generally speaking, though, the City Architect’s plans were as regimented as they were sweeping, and they caused a good deal of antiquarian outrage. In 1885, consequently, the Regality Club established itself to preserve a record of old Glasgow buildings and relics. Prominent members included Honeyman and, most intriguingly, A.B. McDonald, Carrick’s personal assistant. Joining general indignation at the City Improvement Trust’s “...many sins to answer for...”, the future City Engineer specifically condemned the removal of a house - built in 1687 by the noted Quaker, George Swan - near Elphinstone Mansions in the Gorbals. He also joined others in lamenting the loss of Dowhill’s Land at 14-24 Saltmarket [Fig.28], a tenement built circa 1677 by John Anderson, former Lord Provost of Glasgow. This building was described as “...an excellent specimen of a Scottish Burgh Land of two hundred years ago. The style was evidently brought from the Netherlands, and anyone who has been in Bruges must have seen hundreds of houses exact counterparts of this”.

These sorts of objections had the effect, eventually, of persuading the City Improvement Trust to tread more daintily when it came to altering or removing Glasgow’s more famous architectural landmarks. On 25 January 1894, for instance, the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties ordered the City Engineer to prepare plans for tenements immediately to the west of the Tron Steeple, only to see the Glasgow Architectural Association petition for and eventually win a concession whereby the buildings flanking this structure would be left untouched. On 12 March 1896, furthermore, in an almost obsequious act of sensitivity, the General Committee set its Sub-Committee on Repairs the task of considering what could be done to render the new joiner’s workshop – on the corner of Chisholm Street and Parnie Street, on ground today occupied by the Tron Theatre - as unobjectionable as possible. The offending workshop was eventually fronted by a one-storey shop building.

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347 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 16 January 1879).
348 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 5 April 1870). Most notably, this happened during the feuing of certain parts of Ingram Street, straightened, lengthened and widened by the City Improvement Trust in 1870. The next 20 years, however, saw the specificity of these requirements gradually relaxed to the point where the City Improvement Trust was often happy simply to retain the right to insist on a sensitive design, as can be seen in the Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 22 November 1894), where the Police Commissioners were sold a piece of ground at the corner of Watson Street and Graeme Street - today part of Bell Street - on the condition that the new buildings to be erected there were, “...in keeping with those in the immediate neighbourhood”. Even then, according to Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 22 May 1895), the Trustees eventually secured a clause ensuring their prerogative to veto any proposals as they saw fit. The building - designed by an engineer, A.W. Wheatley, and completed in 1898 – today plays host to the city’s Cleansing Department Depot.
349 The Regality Club (1889, pp.6, 73).
350 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 25 January 1894). See pages 21, 52 and 125.
351 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 12 March 1896).
352 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Repairs, 24 March 1896).
In the meantime, on a more proactive note, the City Improvement Trust erected a block of tenements claimed to represent "...the resuscitation of the classic Saltmarket". This remark has so many ramifications that it warrants closer analysis. Undoubtedly, James Gray was referring here to the re-establishment of Saltmarket as a major thoroughfare after twelve years, effectively, as a gap site. He was also alluding, probably, to the new buildings' traditionalist decoration, designed to be in keeping with an area where the Campbells of Blythswood had once held residence and where Oliver Cromwell based himself while holding the city in 1650. We must also ask, however, why Gray should choose the term 'classic' in relation to buildings so liberally crowned with crowsteps. Only then do we fully appreciate the way in which the gables over each tenement's central bay actually seem to contradict an overall composition that is basically classical. It looks almost as if Carrick introduced the gables and their decoration as an afterthought, in wistful reference to the seventeenth century Saltmarket tenements the City Improvement Trust had seen fit to demolish. Final costs exceeded Carrick's original estimate by more than £700. This increase was explained as being for extra mason work, done under private instruction. Some have supposed the strapwork ornament and carved panels of Baronial design account for this extra work, and it is true that not all these things featured in the architect's original drawings. Carrick's own words on the matter were unspecific, however, and the price seems excessive when we consider that fifteen years later, the City Improvement Department paid less than half this amount for sculpted decoration on its buildings at 2-58 Albion Street, including life-size figures in the semi-round.

During the City Improvement Trust's earliest years, despite Honeyman's bitter scepticism, good relations with architects were maintained simply by the fact that the rebuilding programme helped ensure a steady stream of employment for many local designers. Controversy arose, however, when the city started erecting its own buildings. On 5 December 1888, Honeyman ridiculed operations on Saltmarket. "Some of our Town Councillors seem to think that by the erection of these buildings they have done the ignorant architects and builders of Glasgow a good turn by showing them how to get up dwellings for the poor". This ill feeling coincided with the death of Carrick, and McDonald's appointment on 6 October 1890 as City Engineer and Surveyor, taking "...charge of architectural work so far as that may not at any time be ordered to be entrusted to outside architects". Many in the architectural profession were perturbed by the City Engineer's lack of articles; the tactful precision of his title and the willingness to consider the work of private practitioners did nothing to alleviate concern over Glasgow's willingness to give high-profile architectural commissions to a man so unconventionally qualified. Anticipating his critics' jibes, McDonald contended that "...though I do not profess a complete knowledge of architecture, I am

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353 Glasgow Herald (1 September 1887, p.3). See page 88.
354 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 5 September 1888).
355 Reed (1993, p.97).
356 See page 203.
357 Minutes of the Town Council (Joint-Meeting of Special Committees on Offices of City Architect and Master of Works, 6 October 1890).
358 Builder (7 September 1895, p.173). Even after the City Engineer had been in place for five years, Alexander N. Paterson, President of the Glasgow Architectural Association, was still publicly indicating, "...the action of the Corporation in entrusting the designing of public buildings to a section of a department primarily concerned in works of a purely utilitarian character, as a matter demanding immediate action".

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thoroughly versed in the principles and practice of building construction, and it was the daily habit of Mr. Carrick to confer with me on all the work that passed through his hands...". Nevertheless, the City Improvement Trust decided it would be prudent to start practising a little diplomacy. Councillors James McPhun, William Fleming Anderson, Daniel Macaulay Stevenson, plus the aforementioned James Gray and James Steele initiated this policy, forming a majority in the first vote on whether or not to invite drawings from outside architects for specific buildings. On 20 April 1893, consequently, John McKissack won a competition to design tenements on King, Osborne and Parnie Streets.

Outside architects brought with them a willingness to try out newer and increasingly more economical techniques of building construction. For instance, McKissack’s design represented the first time the City Improvement Trust made use of partial steel framing, commissioned in this case from R.A. Stoffert. High-quality, load-bearing stone construction was also dropping in price, and though cast and wrought iron had been used in the construction of the model lodging houses at Drygate and Greendyke Street, and the Family Home at St. Andrews Street, the incoming City Engineer seems to have had no particular desire to adopt such a new-fangled material as steel. He did hire Webster, Walker & Webster for the partial steel framing of 74-98 Saltmarket, possibly in response to McKissack’s innovation, but the only other City Improvement Trust buildings to make use of steel were designed by architects brought in from outside the department: office blocks on the west side of King Street by John McKissack; tenements at Haghill and the Bell o’ the Brae by Frank Burnett; office blocks at 2-58 Albion Street and 26-36 Bell Street by Thomson & Sandilands; and more tenements at 64-80 Lancefield Street, again by McKissack. The contractor John Bennie supplied many of these buildings with electric passenger lifts, a technical advance that grew in popularity after the opening of a huge power station at Port Dundas in 1897. Lines of communication between private architects and tradesmen may have been aided by freemasonry, but it seems likelier that incoming designers were simply more open to new possibilities. With the Clyde leading the world for shipping construction, the Glasgow area was served by immense numbers of craftsmen providing cutting-edge technical expertise, and a good many of the sorts of firms that might more often be found working on boats were able to secure building work with the City Improvement Trust: for example, P. & W. MacLellan, John B. McCallum, W.J. Fleming, P. & R. Fleming, Redpath, Brown & Co., William Little & Sons and, most famous of all, Elder & Co. of Govan.

The relationship between outside architects and the City Improvement Trust took other forms too. On 27 December 1894, in connection with operations near King Street, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties ordered McDonald to assist the Caledonian Railway Company’s architect in ensuring that a screen wall be built to cover a ventilation opening for a railway tunnel on the corner of Trongate and Chisholm Street, and that it did proper aesthetic justice to its immediate surroundings. After much

360 Minutes of the Town Council (Sub-Committee on Offices of City Architect and Master of Works, 31 July 1890).
361 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 20 January 1893).
362 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 20 April 1893). See page 82. Also see Appendix 1, page 248.
364 See pages 177, 186, 191, 198, 208 and 211. Also see Appendix 1, page 236.
367 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 27 December 1894).
procrastination on the part of the railway company, the City Improvement Department eventually forced the erection, \textit{circa} 1899-1900, of a fine Baroque structure designed by J.J. Burnet. Similarly, on 10 December 1896, the General Committee discussed the Caledonian Railway Company's tardiness in erecting buildings at the corner of London Road and Saltmarket, in direct violation of a deal struck by the railway company when acquiring this land some years earlier.\textsuperscript{368} Only with a threat of legal action did the City Improvement Department secure the erection, \textit{circa} 1899-1900, of 15-27 Saltmarket – a block of indigenously styled tenements, also designed by Burnet.\textsuperscript{369}

All the while, McDonald was developing the confidence and versatility necessary to succeed as a designer in his own right. This is best illustrated by the series of tenements he designed for land secured from the Police Commissioners in 1894.\textsuperscript{370} The land was in Anderston, in the immediate vicinity of the Stobcross area originally laid out in 1849 by the chastely classical Alexander Kirkland, an early contemporary of Carrick.\textsuperscript{371} That McDonald was prepared to break with the traditions represented by Kirkland's monumental terrace at St. Vincent Crescent, using the Anderston tenements as an opportunity to experiment with the variegated massing so popular in his own day, speaks volumes for the City Engineer's desire to move away from the sort of architecture Carrick had institutionalised.\textsuperscript{372} Despite the relatively small amount of space given to McDonald in most accounts, this change in approach on the part of the city's chief designer had a massive effect on the development of street architecture in Glasgow, dovetailing – as it did – with a general shift by private architects away from strict classicism and towards \textit{laissez-faire} eclecticism.\textsuperscript{373}

As relationships with outside architects developed, those with contractors rather deteriorated in light of a run of disputes over timekeeping. As early as 16 November 1893, the Trustees had approved a relatively enlightened system ensuring that all tradesmen carrying out work for the city were paid a level of wages at least in keeping with the minimum standard set for contract work by 'the Glasgow scale'.\textsuperscript{374} By 10 December 1896, however, the General Committee had obviously been so let down by contractors that members now deemed it necessary to instate a procedure whereby contracts became dependent upon the punctuality of a workman's previous dealings with the Corporation.\textsuperscript{375} As a further measure, on 14 January 1897, members proposed that "...all specifications for work to be issued to contractors shall, previously to being so issued, be certified as having been examined and found accurate and up to date by the City Engineer, or by some responsible member of staff; and, further, that a model specification be kept in the City Engineer's office, upon which any suggestions with reference to materials or improved methods of work shall from time to time be entered".\textsuperscript{376} Surprisingly, the Corporation rejected this motion.\textsuperscript{377} On 10

\textsuperscript{368} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 10 December 1896).
\textsuperscript{369} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 13 July 1899). See Appendix 1, page 248.
\textsuperscript{370} See pages 21-22.
\textsuperscript{371} Glendinning, MacInnes and MacKechnie (1996, p.259).
\textsuperscript{372} See pages 152, 155, 163, 166 and 172.
\textsuperscript{373} See Appendix 1, page 245.
\textsuperscript{374} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 16 November 1893).
\textsuperscript{375} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 10 December 1896).
\textsuperscript{376} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 14 January 1897).
\textsuperscript{377} Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 21 January 1897).
February 1897, consequently, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties was forced to meet with individual contractors for buildings then being erected on Stirling Road and Barony Street, to ensure the work was carried out promptly.378

Exasperated, the General Committee then ordered its various sub-committees to take whatever steps necessary to ensure the rapid completion of several operations ongoing.379 The City Engineer was simultaneously authorised to have contracts fitted with a clause whereby payment proceeded in instalments, subject to the accomplishment of agreed stages of work. Despite these measures, according to a statement of accounts read by the General Committee on 11 August 1897, the City Improvement Department incurred hefty losses through forfeited rents, due mainly to tardy workmanship.380 Its teeth blunted by the Corporation's dithering, the General Committee could do little more than despatch a clerk to plead with the culpable parties.381 On 25 November 1897, however, it did appoint a sub-committee to draw up a model specification for application to all subsequent contracts.382 This order was repealed on 26 May 1898.383

It seems many tradesmen were able simply to negotiate terms to suit themselves. On 10 February 1898, for example, Hugh McTaggart, the joiner for some tenements on Bain Street and the Gallowgate, successfully applied, "...in lieu of personal security, to leave ten per cent of the contract price (over and above the retained fund) in the hands of the Corporation until the completion of the contract...".384 The Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties struck a similarly grudging deal on 27 December 1900 with John Cochrane, joiner for tenements on the corner of High Street and George Street.385 Cochrane was granted the option of either completing £1000 worth of his £11,921 contract before payment of his first instalment, or of having 20 per cent deducted from each such instalment as a retained fund, to be paid upon completion. There can be little doubt that many in the City Improvement Department felt the balance had tipped too far in favour of the tradesmen, hence their regular attempts to enforce some sort of change. Their failure in these attempts can only have worsened the sense of injustice.

By contrast, the Act of 1897 signalled even closer links with architects. On 12 May 1898, the General Committee resolved to hire private firms for certain forthcoming projects, thus alleviating the burden placed on the City Engineer by Section 6.386 On 1 June 1898, accordingly, the Special Sub-Committee on Reconstruction of King Street Area proposed an architectural competition, the winning entrant to be

378 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 10 February 1897). Barony Street was obliterated circa 1964 to make way for the entrance to the M8 motorway. See page 157.
379 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 25 March 1897).
380 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 11 August 1897).
381 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 18 August 1904). After the turn of the century, the Corporation adopted a more aggressive stance. On 18 August 1904, for instance, members warned striking masons of their liability, under contract, for penalties in the event of City Improvement Department buildings not being finished on time.
382 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 25 November 1897).
383 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 25 May 1898).
384 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 10 February 1898). See pages 139 and 160.
385 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 December 1900). See page 191.
386 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 12 May 1898). See page 23.
employed at three per cent of the project’s total cost, plus £100 for the successful design.\textsuperscript{387} Two days later, the special sub-committee studied a draft press release.\textsuperscript{388}

On 8 September 1898, the General Committee appointed Frank Burnet as a consultant on the 24 sets of plans by then received.\textsuperscript{389} Six days later, Burnet met with members to discuss the submissions, these having been closely examined over the previous three days.\textsuperscript{390} Together they chose three designs: ‘Red Cross’, ‘Melior’ and ‘Comfort and Economy’. The General Committee then set its measurer to work calculating the cost of each scheme. William C. Menzies, meanwhile, was asked to predict likely revenues from rent. These estimates arrived back on 5 October 1898, when the General Committee plumped for ‘Comfort and Economy’, establishing McKissack for the second time as the City Improvement Department’s private architect of choice.\textsuperscript{391} His proposals were cheaper, it seems, and the revenues more lucrative than what could be expected from the designs entered by Dykes & Robertson and Robert W. Horn.\textsuperscript{392} Proclaiming their decision, members opened all three designs to the scrutiny of the city’s architectural profession. Burnet’s reward, meanwhile, was more than monetary. On 12 October 1898, the General Committee voted by six to five to assign an outside architect to dwellings for the poorer classes proposed to be built on ground recently acquired at Haghill.\textsuperscript{393} Ten weeks later, on 22 December 1898, members agreed to appoint the firm Burnet ran in partnership with William J. Boston.\textsuperscript{394}

The commissioning of outside architects was soon established as regular practice, private firms being hired for improvement buildings at the Bell o’ the Brae, Albion Street, Bell Street, Baltic Street and Lancefield Street.\textsuperscript{395} Burnet and McKissack were the most frequent beneficiaries, though John Thomson and Robert Douglas Sandilands also received two commissions as partners.\textsuperscript{396} In between times, however, McDonald did most of the designing, sometimes in spite of legitimate competition. On 21 June 1899, for instance, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties decided to commission three private architects - Burnet, McKissack and John Gordon - to produce competitive designs for the utilisation of some ground on Cumberland Street, Calton.\textsuperscript{397} The General Committee, however, perhaps feeling enough of a gesture had been made, rejected this proposal and ordered plans from the City Engineer instead.\textsuperscript{398} Similarly, on 18 December 1902, the Corporation disregarded winning plans by Horn, submitted as blueprints for operations at Kennyhill.\textsuperscript{399} McDonald eventually designed these tenements, though Horn probably had some

\textsuperscript{387} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Sub-Committee on Reconstruction of King Street Area, 1 June 1898). See page 177.
\textsuperscript{388} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Sub-Committee on Reconstruction of King Street Area, 3 June 1898).
\textsuperscript{389} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 8 September 1898). See Appendix 1, page 236.
\textsuperscript{390} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 14 September 1898).
\textsuperscript{391} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 5 October 1898). See Appendix 1, page 248.
\textsuperscript{392} See Appendix 1, page 242.
\textsuperscript{393} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 12 October 1898). See page 186.
\textsuperscript{394} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 22 December 1898). Appendix 1, page 236.
\textsuperscript{395} See pages 191, 198, 206, 208 and 211.
\textsuperscript{396} See Appendix 1, pages 250 and 252.
\textsuperscript{397} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 21 June 1899). Cumberland Street is known today as Arcadia Street. See page 168.
\textsuperscript{398} Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 22 June 1899).
\textsuperscript{399} Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 18 December 1902). See page 223.
involvement in the finished drawings, having become established as an assistant in the City Engineer's office by the time the tenements were actually built. 400

It seems the City Improvement Department, though more open with its commissions, was prepared only to rely on a very select group of outside architects. Frustrated with limited competitions, some local designers tried a different tack. Watson & Salmond, for instance, sent a speculative letter pleading for the opportunity to submit competitive designs. The General Committee pointedly refused, on 23 August 1900, even to countenance such an approach. 401 It retained its frosty stance in the face of similar enquiries over the following months from Andrew Balfour, Charles M.L. McDonald and Andrew Stewart. 402 Despite the discriminatory stance of its officials, Glasgow was regarded for a time as a haven of enlightened patronage. 403 On 6 September 1900, for instance, the Corporation heard of the Royal Institute of British Architects' intention to hold its annual dinner in Glasgow, some time in the month of October 1901. 404 Two weeks later, on 20 September 1900, the Magistrates agreed to host an official reception. 405 Gradually, though, members of the City Improvement Department grew to feel they had conceded enough. On 22 August 1901, tellingly, the General Committee voted by a slim majority to adopt plans by McDonald for new tenements at Muirhead, Adelphi and St. Ninian Streets. 406 A minority of members had wanted to throw the design of this project open to competition. These sorts of invitations grew steadily less frequent, ending altogether on 21 January 1904, when the Corporation agreed "...that in all city improvement and housing schemes, the plans of new buildings be prepared, and the work carried out by the City Engineer's department". 407 Private architects were horrified. On 1 December 1904, the Corporation read a letter from the Royal Institute of British Architects, complaining bitterly at the number of commissions given to a workaday engineer. 408 This grievance fell on deaf ears, however, delegated blithely to a committee of accountants. 409

400 See Appendix 1, page 242.
401 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 23 August 1900).
402 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 12 December 1900; General Committee, 25 April 1901; General Committee, 27 June 1901).
403 Glasgow Herald (4 October 1901, p.10): "...amongst those responsible for its various municipal and private schemes there was a growing conviction that such schemes would remain as monuments not only of our commercial and industrial enterprise, but would be looked upon as indicating our state of culture at that time".
404 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 6 September 1900).
405 Minutes of the Town Council (Magistrates, 20 September 1900).
406 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 22 August 1901). Muirhead Street is known today as Inverkip Street. See page 217.
407 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 21 January 1904).
408 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 1 December 1904).
409 Minutes of the Finance Department (Committee on Finance, etc., 9 December 1904).
Glasgow’s improvement scheme was “...by far the largest and most comprehensive single undertaking of this kind in the nineteenth century.” In the 30 years following 1866, deaths from typhus fell from 1400 per million to less than 50. The City Improvement Department, in all its manifestations, co-ordinated the reconstruction of five score acres of slumland, bringing sense to the roads and light to the backlands. Independently, its members built more than 2124 houses. They opened 480 shops and business premises. They also helped establish the city’s penchant for periodic, wholesale reinvention, a habit today seen by many as fundamental to what makes Glasgow Glasgow.

Self-advertisement being a policy the Second City embraced early, Glasgow’s improvements were disseminated, studied and eventually imitated in many parts of Europe, America and even the Sub-Continent. In March 1877, for instance, John Grant of the Metropolitan Board of Works, London, arrived in Glasgow to inspect houses built for the labouring classes. As a direct consequence of this visit, the Metropolitan Street Improvements Bill 1877 contained clauses copying Sections 22 and 23 of Glasgow’s 1866 Act verbatim. London even extended City Improvement Trust measures, acquiring and selling lands specifically as sites for labourers’ dwellings. Houses were eventually built in this way at Tottenham Court Road, Charing Cross, Mint Street, Gray’s Inn Road, Tooley Street, Kentish Town Road, Camberwell, Great Eastern Street and Liquorpond Street.
The City Improvement Trust became a straightforward department in November 1895, its actions subject to approval from the Corporation. This change coincided with a rather sudden globalisation of the Trustees' reputation. On 28 September 1899, for instance, following a request from the Charity Organisation of New York, Menzies sent plans of workmen's dwellings and lodging houses for exhibition in that city. On the very same day, the General Committee agreed to send photographs of its buildings to Dr. W.H. Tolman, Special Agent in the Department of Education and Social Economy for the United States Commission to the hugely influential, Art Nouveau-infused Paris Exhibition of 1900. These photographs were to be given "...the widest circulation among colleges, churches, women's clubs, public officials, and wherever possible...". In this way, the City Improvement Department hoped to publicise its contribution to Glasgow's own forthcoming International Exhibition, due to open at Kelvingrove Park on 2 May 1901. Meanwhile, closer to home, the General Committee decided on 28 June 1900 to send Samuel Chisholm, James Henderson Martin and the City Engineer to a Conference on the Housing of the Working Classes, scheduled to be held late the following month at the Sanitary Institute in London.

Despite their extensive circulation, the city's initiatives were not so widely appreciated as they might have been. In June 1900, during a three day visit to Paris for the International Congress on Cheap Dwellings for the Poorer Classes, D.M. Stevenson was affronted to hear one speaker lecture glowingly on the model lodging houses - Maison Garnies Collectives - recently erected in London by the philanthropist and former politician, Montagu William Lowry-Corry, the first Baron Rowton, where beds were available to single men at 6d. per night. Sir Sydney H. Waterlow - former Lord Mayor of London, Chairman of the Industrial Dwellings Company and donor of Waterlow Park to the city of London - then accepted the floor's congratulations for similar schemes carried out by London County Council, and promised the imminent erection of a lodging house for women. After much back-slapping, Stevenson "...had the honour of explaining, to the manifest surprise of the Congress, that whereas Lord Rowton's lodging houses had only been recently erected and were for men alone, the Corporation of Glasgow had built separate lodging houses for men and women thirty years ago, in which the nightly rent was from 3d...[and] a family home had been erected by the Corporation five years ago for the accommodation of widows and widowers with children dependent upon them... ".

Reminiscing several years later, Lord Provost Stevenson applauded his own city's radicalism. "In the course of the discussion, the impracticality of housing being undertaken by municipalities was emphasised by various speakers. When I pointed out that, so far from being unpracticable, it had actually been carried out in Glasgow to an ever-increasing extent, for 29 years, and that the Corporation also supplied water, gas, electricity and tramways, the delegates said that this was nothing short of rank socialism. In Britain it is usually called 'municipal trading'; perhaps 'civic co-operation' would be a better term. It evokes considerable hostility, even in this country, and much has been said and written on the need for placing...

417 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 28 September 1899).
418 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 28 June 1900).
419 Minutes of the Town Council (Magistrates, 23 July 1900). Rowton built a total of six hostels in London, providing accommodation for five thousand working men. Although his motives were entirely philanthropic, Rowton's houses are said to have made handsome profits.
420 Corporation of Glasgow (1914, pp.2-3).
limits on it. To my mind the only limit should be the point at which the community ceases to find an adequate supply of disinterested representatives able and willing to carry on public enterprises for the common benefit”.

Interestingly, Stevenson’s ‘socialism’ seems to have evolved out of a consensus of radical religious evangelism established in Glasgow politics – as we have seen - more than 40 years previously. In 1884, the well-known American socialist Henry George was invited to speak in Glasgow City Hall, where he used his rarefied surroundings to launch a bristling condemnation of the, “...full-fed, comfortable people, who eat hearty dinners every day, professors of universities with good salaries, gentlemen with nice steady incomes and pensions, [who] say: ‘Oh, everything is going right; the working classes are getting better off’; and they deny most bitterly the assertion that poverty is keeping pace with progress”. George criticised the paucity of action then being taken by the City Improvement Trust: “...you have taxed the masses of the people only to foster corruption; to put large sums into the pockets of speculators and landlords; to improve the property of other landowners; and you have not a whit relieved overcrowding or destitution”. Perhaps surprisingly, these sorts of censures may have had some effect, for by the 1890s, a new and radical faction was firmly entrenched within local government. In stark contrast with the administrative powers of most British cities, ‘The Stalwarts’ of Glasgow were a modernising party, dedicated - like their bourgeois predecessors - to society’s general improvement. But whereas John Blackie’s generation had based its good works on the ‘them-and-us’ notion of philanthropic intervention, the new councillor-socialists were keen to enfranchise the massed ranks of working people, and they helped establish such novel ideas as public ownership and the minimum wage.

These ideas received wide currency both in Britain and abroad due to Glasgow’s prominence on the conference circuit. In return, travelling councillors helped import continental European thinking on the benefits of low-density garden suburbs. As we have seen, disillusionment with the tenement system had been accumulating since Salmon’s condemnation some 30 years earlier, and the City Improvement Trust’s support for cottages seems to have grown almost simultaneously. On 9 November 1892, for instance, this type of accommodation was considered for some ground at Oatland Ferry, between Rutherglen Road and the Clyde. Around the same time, the city’s Parks Department was in the process of purchasing a further 40 acres of land in Easter Kennyhill from Walter Stewart of Haghill to add to its grounds around Alexandra

421 See page 10.
422 George (1884, p.44).
423 Economic History Review (December 1965, pp.608-9). In London, for instance, the influential philanthropist, Octavia Hill was using a near contemporaneous article in Nineteenth Century (December 1883, p.217) to note that, “...a Government or municipality can pay for nothing except by levying taxes. The question therefore resolves itself into one of how [dwellings for the poor] will be best and most cheaply done. Almost all public bodies do things expensively; neither do they seem fitted to supply the various wants of numbers of people in a perceptive and economical way”. From 1864 onwards, Octavia Hill - with early financial help from the likes of John Ruskin - began purchasing, converting and maintaining a number of housing estates in London for the very poor. As her business grew, well-meaning individuals placed large sums of money in her hands for the purchase or building of more houses. As well as being a staunch and influential supporter of the Artisans’ Dwellings Act of 1875, Hill lobbied successfully to have Parliament Hill and various other open spaces pressed into public service.
425 See pages 28 and 31.
426 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 9 November 1892). In the end, this consideration came to nothing.
Park. Even as this acquisition was going through, the terrain was being eyed by the Superintendent of Parks as good feuing ground for an estate of small, self-contained houses with gardens "...such as those recently erected near the Victoria Park, Partick, and in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh and Leith, especially the class of houses built in the vicinity of Leith Links". On 12 January 1899, accordingly, the City Improvement Department’s Sub-Committee on Dwellings for the Poorest Classes resolved to approach the Parks Department with a specific enquiry concerning the land around Alexandra Park. A large chunk of this ground having been summarily transferred on 8 March 1899, a Joint-Meeting of Sub-Committees of Parks and City Improvement Departments as to Ground at Alexandra Park approved a feuing plan envisaging a scheme of two-storey detached houses with gardens.

Stevenson heard lectures in Paris on "...cottage homes - Maison Individuelles - and the best means for enabling workmen and artisans to become owners of these...". He also inspected specially designed workmen’s gardens, listening to "...abundant testimony...borne to the healthful and moralising influences of such gardens, especially when connected with the houses". Much impressed, Stevenson petitioned for experimental cottages to be built in Glasgow. On 10 October 1900, accordingly, in relation to the powers held within Section 12 of the 1897 Act, the Sub-Committee on Eastern Properties agreed to recommend that the General Committee should visit and examine workmen’s cottages erected at Corkerhill in 1897 by the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company. As it happened, it was not until after the City Improvement Department had been all but wound up that Glasgow finally began erecting cottages, first at Riddrie, then at Mosspark.

On 2 August 1900, meanwhile, the Corporation agreed to invite the International Congress on Cheap Dwellings for the Poorer Classes to organise a meeting in Glasgow for the following year. Preparations commenced a little before 9 May 1901, when the General Committee suggested proceedings be directed by the City Improvement Department. The conference opened on 24 September 1901 with calls for a

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427 McLellan (1894, pp.91-2). The indirect influence of Gordon Oswald’s 1885 development of Whiteinch and Scotstoun into residential areas for his employees – including rows of workers’ cottages designed by Alexander Petrie – is touched upon further in the biographies of John McKissock and Robert Douglas Sandilands - see Appendix 1, pages 250 and 252. According to Williamson, Riches and Higgs (1990, pp.377,384), Oswald sold further land to the burgh of Partick in 1886 for the laying out of Victoria Park and a residential area of villas and superior tenements at Broomhill.

428 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Dwellings for the Poorest Classes, 12 January 1899).

429 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Joint-Meeting of Sub-Committees of Parks and City Improvement Departments as to Ground at Alexandra Park, 8 March 1899). As with the consideration of cottages at Oatland Ferry, this feuing plan to build cottages on the east side of Alexandra Park eventually foundered following a decision recorded in the Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 20 October 1899). See page 223.

430 Stevenson reported himself to be most impressed by ‘Sunlight Cottage’, a workman’s house – or Maison Ouvrieres - exhibited by the Lever Bros. The cottage’s £500 price tag, however, inclined him towards cheaper versions from Germany and Belgium as the best example to follow when erecting similar houses in Glasgow.

431 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 10 October 1900). According to Worsdall (1981, p.78), Glasgow Corporation compulsorily purchased then demolished the Corkerhill Railway Village in 1970 to make way for a motorway that was never built.

432 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 10 October 1900).

433 Minutes of the Town Council (Magistrates, 23 July 1900).

434 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 9 May 1901).
different approach to the question of labourers’ houses, emphasising the need for cheaper construction. Setting the tone, McDonald’s opening address referred to the need for “...simple structures of a special type, wherein everything is reduced to the simplest form, and everything that is not absolutely indispensable must be discarded. A weather proof shelter, with ample space, water supply and sanitary accommodation, but little more...” 436 Menzies later described the event as an “…interchange of opinion on different phases of the housing question. Following that conference and throughout the winter, public interest was stirred by lectures and discussions of the theme”.437

On 25 March 1902, in response to suggestions made a month earlier by William Smart, the University of Glasgow’s Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy, the City Improvement Department established a municipal commission to pinpoint the causes of overcrowding and poor sanitation, and to find solutions leading to the clearance of the areas so afflicted.438 To man this municipal commission, the General Committee later selected Samuel Chisholm from the Corporation, together with Councillors Alexander Murray, W.F. Anderson, John Battersby, William Bilsland, Charles J. Cleland, James Gray, James Henderson Martin and James Steele.439 From the public it chose William Smart; the Rev. Dr. Robert Howie of the United Free St. Mary’s Church, Govan; Robert Crawford, a merchant; John Inglis, a shipbuilder; Dr. John Glaister, Professor of Forensic Medicine and Public Health at the University of Glasgow; and James Goldie, builder and contractor.440

As well as focusing thoughts at home, Glasgow’s initiatives helped increase outside awareness. Professional visitors arrived from far and wide, while outgoing junkets to foreign lands tailed off significantly. On 27 August 1903, for instance, the General Committee agreed to conduct a deputation from the Working Men’s Benefit Institution on a tour of tenements and model lodging houses when it visited Glasgow the following autumn.441 Similarly, on 21 February 1908, the General Committee sent plans for tenements recently erected at Kennyhill and Winning Row to the Committee on Congestion of Population in New York.442 In between times, the Corporation pointedly ignored calls to send delegates to an International Housing Conference in Liege.443

On 31 August 1905, the Corporation discussed findings submitted a year earlier by the Glasgow Municipal Commission on the Housing of the Poor.444 Many recommendations were immediately ratified, leading to some important policy changes. The maximum size of house the Corporation could ‘ticket’ rose to 2600

436 Anonymous (1901, pp.8-9).
437 Menzies (1902, p.7).
438 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Special Sub-Committee as to Appointment of Municipal Commission on Housing of the Poor in Glasgow, 25 March 1902).
439 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 3 June 1902).
440 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 17 July 1902). On 17 July 1902, the Corporation replaced Inglis with James Brand, former Chairman of the Glasgow Parish Council. It ignored requests to join the commission from the Scottish Christian Social Union, the Irish Municipal Committee, the Housing Reform Council of the West of Scotland, the Glasgow Landlords’ Association, the Mile-End Municipal Ward Committee and the Scottish Single Tax League.
441 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 27 August 1903).
442 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 21 February 1908). See pages 223 and 230.
443 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 27 July 1905).
444 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 31 August 1905).
cubic feet. As a concession, where satisfied with sleeping arrangements, the Health Department would forego its dreaded night visits. Any house with two convictions, however, was liable to closure within six months. The powers, meanwhile, to deal with insanitary houses - under the Building Regulations Act 1900 and the Housing of the Working Classes Act 1890 - would be rigorously enforced. Backlands, also, would be eradicated using the existing enablement. Stringent powers would be obtained to eject any destructive or neglectful tenant. To prevent such vandalism, caretakers would be appointed to any property with houses rented at less than £10 per annum. To offset the inevitable displacements, the commission recommended more one and two-apartment houses be built for the poorer classes. The Corporation was advised to relax its regulations, to allow for houses "...of the plainest construction...capable of being quickly and efficiently built and let". The commission also suggested special buildings be constructed for those unable to obtain a factor's line. These recommendations met with the Corporation's approval on 14 September 1905.

Meanwhile, support for cottages continued to grow. Gray and Steele's influential report on contemporary housing in Manchester confirmed "...the feeling was found to be so strong against the erection of...high tenements that the Corporation reverted to the usual English style of three-storey buildings of the cottage type". On 31 August 1903, furthermore, the Corporation read a petition from the Glasgow Branch of the Independent Labour Party, demanding cottages be erected on the ground near Alexandra Park already set aside for buildings with single-ends. Councillor Joseph Burgess, a socialist, immediately commandeered the cause, advancing a winning motion in opposition to the tenement proposals. On 24 August 1905, Burgess helped overturn an earlier decision not to send a delegate to the Cheap Cottage Exhibition in Letchworth. Robert W. Horn eventually took this journey, submitting his report on 20 October 1905. Horn was particularly struck by suggestions, made by one delegate, that cities should be supplied with two sets of bye-laws, "...one for the central and higher buildings where greater strength and security from fire were essential; and another for the suburbs, giving certain relaxations where parties intending to erect houses were to surround the same with gardens, in the expectation that cheaper buildings compensate for the larger area of site required". In common with many delegates, he was not so impressed by an accompanying exhibition of 80 purpose-built cottages. Stressing

445 See page 10.
446 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 14 September 1905).
447 Gray and Steele (1902, p.1).
448 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 31 August 1903).
450 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 24 August 1905).
451 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 20 October 1905). See Appendix I, page 242.
their lack of boundary walls and adequate drainage, as well as their oppressively low ceilings and cramped stairwells, Horn doubted the cottages' ability to pass even Glasgow's most basic building regulations. He also disputed the notional £150 per cottage asking price, remarking on how the builder's profit, the architect's and measurer's fees, not to mention the carriage of materials to the building site, added at least another £115 to this amount. Taking the winning design of Percy Houfton as his model, Horn estimated a minimum cost of £250 per cottage, were such buildings ever to be built by the Corporation in Glasgow [Fig.29].

Significantly, Glasgow's first, tentative contribution to the trend for garden city architecture arrived on 12 February 1906, soon after Horn's report, when McDonald - possibly with the aid of Horn - put together feuing arrangements for the erection of tenements and villas at Riddrie. These plans, though not directly relevant in terms of this particular investigation, had discernible roots in the improvement operations at Overnewton and elsewhere. In 1913, the Town Clerk noted, "...in view of the growing opinion that the time has come to mark a departure from the tenement system of housing, and to evolve a house of the cottage type for the working class, I think it right to say that there is nothing in the Acts to debar the erection of such...if they can be erected with due regard to economy." By this time, improvement operations had eased to a trickle. As works associated with the 1897 Act approached completion, the City Improvement Department withdrew from its house-building role. As early as 6 April 1906, emphasising this point, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties remitted to rival departments an offer from speculative builders for land on London Street. Contemporaneously, the Statute Labour Department's tenement development at 307-33 Hope Street - designed by John Keppie of Honeyman, Keppie & Mackintosh - illustrated the architectural competence of other municipal bureaux. The Finance Act of 1909 "...made it uneconomical for private builders to continue building houses for rent and the erection of tenements virtually ceased." Nevertheless, the City Improvement Department did make a stab at completing its operations around Glasgow Cross, including an extension - at 16-44 Trongate

452 Gaskeil (1986, p.70). £150 was deemed to be the maximum amount a landowner could afford to spend on a house, given that the average labourer was unlikely to pay more than 3s. a week - £8 a year - on rent.
453 Minutes of the Finance Department (Special Sub-Committee on Ground at Riddrie, etc., 12 February 1906).
454 See page 30.
455 Lindsay (1913, p.135).
456 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 6 April 1906).
457 Minutes of the Statute Labour Department (Sub-Committee on Improvement of Hope Street, 17 November 1905). These buildings - on the corner of Hope Street and Cowcaddens Road - are often mistakenly attributed to the City Improvement Department, despite the fact the plans passed by the Dean of Guild's Court on 17 May 1906 (see Glasgow City Archives, 2/1234) make no mention of that particular division. St. George's Mansions, seven tenements with shops on the corner of St. George's Road and Woodlands Road, were also built by the Statute Labour Department, despite similarly mistaken assumptions as to the City Improvement Department's involvement - see the Minutes of the Statute Labour Department (Committee on Statute Labour, 20 February 1905). This second misunderstanding may stem from the use of a design by Burnet & Boston, and the fact the buildings - erected at a cost of £36,000, reputedly - were lumped together with City Improvement Department work in a leaflet by Arthur Kay published in 1902 - see Bibliography. The mistake was compounded further by Worsdall (1979, pp.44-5, 110) and several others since, despite the fact the Dean of Guild's Court plans (see Glasgow City Archives 1/7688,1/8982) again make no explicit mention of the City Improvement Department. Gomme and Walker (1987, p.261) attribute the buildings to the Police Board.
458 Worsdall (1979, p.11).
- to the offices built eight years before at 2-58 Albion Street. Two old tenements on Rutherglen Road and Thistle Street were also rebuilt. Nevertheless, except for a smattering of postscript buildings finished after the First World War, 21-59 High Street was the last of the new-build office blocks the City Improvement Department completed. Its last new-build scheme of housing was at 16-24 Winning Row, finished four years earlier in 1907.

The life and work of the City Improvement Department can thus be seen coming to a conclusion, effectively, by the end of the Edwardian era, though it did remain involved in the reconstruction of Glasgow Cross. Operations picked up there after the First World War, its rebuilding having been originally commissioned from Honeyman & Keppie in 1914, following an initial layout plan by McDonald. The task was taken on circa 1922-8 by A. Graham Henderson, who eventually designed a concave linking quadrant to one side of Glasgow Cross, and the Mercat Building to the other. Elsewhere, Frank Burnet of Burnet & Boston was hired in 1923 to design a gigantic red sandstone warehouse on the corners of Trongate, Stockwell Street and Osborne Street, as part of the City Improvement Department’s belated operations to widen Stockwell Street.

Activity on the housing front was even more subdued. According to drawings made up in 1917 by Thomas Nisbet, McDonald’s successor as City Engineer, the City Improvement Department did plan to build two tenements on the corner of the Gallowgate and Charlotte Street, containing fourteen houses for the poorer classes, but this was the only residential project under discussion at that time. This is not to say the city’s housing problems had been solved or even particularly alleviated. On the contrary, in 1917, the same year as Nisbet’s alleged drawings, the Glasgow-based architectural and engineering trade journal Building Industries ran a series entitled ‘Glasgow in Gloom’, detailing the depressed state of affairs for the city’s building trade and noting with bitter irony the still-pressing need to replace slums with new houses. At this time, the City Improvement Department retained more than sixteen acres of unimproved land bought using Section 12 of the 1897 Act: thirteen acres at Kennyhill, three at St. Rollox Mill and the rest on Petershill Road, Springburn. Only four of the 21 acres originally acquired had been filled, as planned, with houses for the poorer classes.

A new era of state intervention in housing provision was heralded by the influential Royal Commission report (‘the Ballantyne Report’) of 1917. Glasgow had a new Director of Housing by 1919. His name was Peter Fyfe – the very same Peter Fyfe who, 20 years earlier, while working as Chief Sanitary Inspector, had provided reports and analysis of the City Improvement Trust’s tenements for the working classes at

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459 Worsdall (1981, p.41). This extension was built circa 1912 to a design by McDonald, following the destruction by fire of the mid-eighteenth century Tontine Buildings. For a full citation list of the minutes relevant to the building of this extension, see the inventory entry on page 198 detailing the construction of offices at 2-58 Albion Street.
460 See page 233.
461 See page 231.
462 See Appendix 1, page 236.
463 Menzies (1917, pp.2-4). It is not even certain these tenements were ever completed. The Dean of Guild’s Court Collection at Glasgow City Archives contains no record of Nisbet’s drawings.
464 See page 23.
Robb's Close, 74 Kirk Street and 45 St. James Road. Fyfe's Chief Architect was Robert W. Horn, a former assistant to McDonald, and much of the land upon which Glasgow's post-1919 housing was built was transferred directly from the 17 acres held in reserve by City Improvement Department. So it was that the improvement scheme initiated by an 1866 Act of Parliament, and reinvigorated by the important Act of 1897, was able to exert an influence on the development of municipal housing in Glasgow long after the City Improvement Department itself had ceased to operate.

See pages 36, 42, 96, 132 and 134.
**Inventory**

DRYGATE MODEL LODGING HOUSE, 77 DRYGATE (1869-70)

*Demolished circa 1964*

**Architect:** John Carrick.

**Measurer:** Henry Herbertson.

**Mason:** William Neilson or William Steven.

**Joiner:** George Munro.

**Ironworkers:** Allison Bros.

**Plumber:** John Rattray.

**Slater:** John McQuat.

**Gasfitter:** J. McHoffie & Co.

**Ironmongers:** Chalmers & Tosh.

On 16 September 1869, the General Committee sanctioned a report urging the Trustees to take a more active role in the provision of accommodation for people displaced by slum clearances over the previous three years. A large floating population was reported to be finding shelter illegally, at nightly rates, on the floors of old City Improvement Trust-owned property. This practice of ‘making down’ quickly reduced areas of adequate housing to the status of slums. Hitherto, the City Improvement Trust had relied on speculative builders to provide new housing for the working classes, preferably in areas away from the centre of town. The General Committee’s report admitted this policy had failed. Higher levels of rent in freshly built dwellings forced the majority of poor people to remain in the Old Town, with ongoing demolitions seeing to it that their space there dwindled year by year. Having reported thus, the General Committee immediately and rather summarily approved proposals for a lodging house; plans and estimates, it seems, were already being drawn up for just such a building. Designed to allow for a quick conversion into tenements, should the need arise, the new building would accommodate homeless single males, providing them with the shared use of washing and cooking facilities, all for a price later reported as starting at a modest 2d. per night.

On 4 October 1869, the Special Sub-Committee pinpointed some City Improvement Trust land on Drygate, deeming it eminently suitable for the new project. Two months later, on 7 December 1869, the General

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467 The Lancet (8 February 1890, p.313). According to a transcript in Building News (28 April 1871, pp.316-8), I.H. Stallard felt that 4d. per night or 2s. per week was within reach of the poorest working man, and that lodging houses should therefore charge no less than this. In support of this conclusion, Stallard cited a model lodging house opened in Liverpool by the Rev. Cecil Wray. Indeed, Stallard argued that lodging houses in the central areas of London were quite capable of obtaining at least 6d. per night from their tenants. In response to this assertion, a consultant surveyor for the Peabody Trust – a certain Mr. Vigers – insisted that lodging houses charging this much could only be afforded by people earning more than 25s. a week. This made it necessary for charitable organisations such as the Peabody Trust to take up the slack, building non-profitmaking accommodation for all the people earning less. However, Mr. Allen – a builder for Sir Sidney H. Waterlow – argued that his company found it perfectly possible to build profitable accommodation for the poorest classes, even though these buildings were let at a rent lower than that set by the Peabody Trust.
Committee approved plans by the City Architect, John Carrick, for a lodging house designed to accommodate 144 men, each with a small booth for his bed, secluded from other residents. Dry closet lavatories and a day room for use by the lodgers were also to be provided. Carrick put the cost for this building at £2600, including the value of ground and furnishings. Contracts for building work were approved by the Special Sub-Committee on 11 January 1870. Two estimates for masonry were sent back, however, having been found to be identically priced. The City Improvement Trust minutes carry no record of an eventual decision on this matter; hence the continued uncertainty as to a contractor for the building’s masonry.

A report to the Trustees, dated 27 September 1870, indicated the lodging house was due to be ready for occupancy before the end of that year. This prediction was all but borne out on 5 January 1871, when a further report confirmed the building’s completion. The Drygate Model Lodging House opened for business on 6 February 1871. A contemporary report described the new building as consisting of “...four stories [sic], the upper three of which are to be used as sleeping wards, while on the street flat are, on one side, the superintendent’s quarters, and on the other the dining hall with a kitchen and scullery in the rear, hot-plate and heating apparatus. On each side of the three upper flats, there is accommodation for forty-eight lodgers. Each flat is divided by a middle passage or lobby into two wards, with two doors to each ward, opening respectively on apartments having bunks for twelve persons. The bunks are of wood, with the exception of those in one of the wards on the second floor, which are of galvanised sheet iron, and will probably be set apart for casual visitors. At the further end of each passage conveniences are placed, and half a dozen cast-iron lavatories are provided for each flat in the recesses off the staircases” 468.

Each of the City Improvement Trust’s eight lodging houses were modified and extended many times - especially during the 1890s - to cope with growing numbers and upgraded domiciliary standards.469

Additions to the building on Drygate were particularly substantial. Six months after the building’s completion, for instance, the General Committee approved plans by Carrick for a half-tenement extension. Similarly, on 6 September 1893, the Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses studied plans by the City Engineer, A.B. McDonald, showing a General Washing House proposed for erection next to the original building. Costing £1000, this facility would deal with washing from all of the City Improvement Trust’s lodging houses. The General Committee approved McDonald’s plans on 15 September 1893, but saw its decision overturned six days later. Instead, the Trustees remitted matters back to the sub-committee together with the Police Commissioner’s Committee on Public Baths and Washing Houses. A meeting took place on 27 September 1893, concluding in arrangements whereby, for the next year or so, washing from the City Improvement Trust’s lodging houses was sent to public baths run by the Police Commissioners in Townhead. This settlement ended before 5 December 1894, allowing the sub-committee to re-open its consideration of McDonald’s designs. Members eventually approved an amended version of the General Washing House, a lack of vacant ground meaning the extension was facilitated by alterations to the back of the City Improvement Trust’s tenement at 71 Drygate.470 The City Engineer saw his plans passed on 13

468 Building News (28 April 1871, p.333).
469 Corporation of Glasgow (1914, p.53). Additions to the lodging houses on Drygate, East Russell Street and Portugal Street cost upwards of £25,094. See pages 74 and 82.
470 Menzies (1894, p.5). See page 76.
December 1894. Including the price of machinery, the new building cost £2027. It was finished sometime before 11 June 1895.

Glasgow City Archives' collection of architectural drawings passed by the Dean of Guild's Court goes back only as far as 1885, making plans for the earliest City Improvement Trust buildings practically impossible to locate. Fortunately, there are at least two photographs of the lodging house on Drygate [Figs. 30 and 31]. These show a plain four-storey box of five bays, faced in stone. Carrick's original building was handsome despite its restraint, and it certainly confirmed his ability to satisfy concerns both aesthetic and utilitarian. Regular proportions and generous windows, whilst ensuring an open and respectable elegance on the outside, simultaneously served important functional purposes within; large openings and high ceilings helped increase ventilation in what was to be a densely populated dwelling.

Inevitably, the practicality of these features diminished as the years passed. By the 1950s, rather than the advantages, council officials tended more often to point out the problems created by the spaciousness of City Improvement Trust-built lodging houses; in particular, great expanses of wall meant the buildings were difficult to keep clean and painted. They were also very expensive to heat. Three of the model lodging houses - at Gorbals, Anderston and Greendyke Street - had already been demolished by 1962, when Thomas McIntyre, manager of the lodging houses under the Factor's Department of the Corporation, was forced to admit that "...the working man today doesn't want our type of accommodation...it's not good enough for him. It's been a slow process, but the models have had it now". The Drygate Model Lodging House was demolished not long after McIntyre's disclosure, presumably to make way for the concrete housing development covering most of the road today.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 16 September 1869; Special Sub-Committee, 4 October 1869; General Committee, 7 December 1869; Special Sub-Committee, 11 January 1870; General Committee, 2 February 1870; Special Sub-Committee, 16 August 1870; General Committee, 27 September 1870; General Committee, 15 November 1870; General Committee, 5 January 1871; General Committee, 17 January 1871; General Committee, 4 April 1871; General Committee, 20 June 1871; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 6 September 1893; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 15 September 1893; General Committee, 15 September 1893; Trustees, 21 September 1893; Joint Meeting of the Baths and Wash Houses Committee and the Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 27 September 1893; General Committee, 4 October 1893; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 5 December 1894; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 13 December 1894; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 14 February 1895; Sub-

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471 Corporation of Glasgow (1914, pp.50-1).
472 Laidlaw (1956, p.56).
473 Glasgow Herald (10 August 1962, p.5).
474 Post Office Directories (1963-4).
Committee on Lodging Houses, 11 June 1895); Worsdall Collection (1894 addition, see Glasgow City Archives TD 1309/B/094).
EAST RUSSELL STREET MODEL LODGING HOUSE FOR FEMALES,
13-15 EAST RUSSELL STREET/MONCUR STREET (1870-1)
Demolished circa 1979

Architect: John Carrick.
Measurer: Henry Herbertson.
Mason: William Neilson.
Joiner: Alexander Craig.
Plumber: Robert Mason.
Slater: William Davie.
Plasterers: Morrison & Davidson.
Gasfitters: Chalmers & Tosh.
Ironmongers: Chalmers & Tosh.

Transient, single men having been accommodated, the City Improvement Trust next turned its attention to Glasgow's homeless women. On 7 December 1869, the General Committee recommended a lodging house for single females, ordering the Special Sub-Committee to find a site and get plans. Two weeks later, Carrick proposed the lodging house be built facing East Russell Street. The Special Sub-Committee agreed in turn to recommend a building similar in size to the lodging house on Drygate, but one storey shorter. This having been decided, Carrick was ordered to prepare plans. On 11 January 1870, his designs met with General Committee approval; the Special Sub-Committee was authorised to get estimates and proceed with the construction. A General Committee report to the Trustees, dated 2 February 1870, described the proposed building as similar to the lodging house for men – at £2500, the estimated cost was practically identical – but accommodating only 96 people. On 16 August 1870, the Special Sub-Committee directed Carrick to get estimates. One week later, these were returned and opened, then sent to the measurer for inspection. Work commenced soon after, and on 5 January 1871, the General Committee described the building as "...fast approaching completion". Just under six weeks later, on 14 February 1871, the Special Sub-Committee received instructions to arrange for its opening.

The building was a palazzo, seven bays wide and three storeys high, with a rusticated ground floor, a first floor of large windows with bracketed cornices and a balustrade above the cornice. The main entrance was flanked by pilasters and topped by a powerful pediment. The Dean of Guild's Court Collection holds several drawings for later additions to the East Russell Street Model Lodging House. These indicate the plan of the original building consisted of a simple block, 50 feet by 40. To its rear, a stairwell projected some 25 feet. This was reached by way of a corridor, bisecting the building from the front entrance to the back. Dormitories were laid out on the upper floors, to each side of this central passage. In terms of

475 East Russell Street is known today as Stevenson Street.
476 See page 70.
477 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 8 November 1895). From 1895 onwards, the building was known as the Moncur Street Home.
construction, the building had stone walls at least two feet thick.\textsuperscript{478} The interior beams, joists and floors, however, were made of wood.

According to one eye-witness account, written soon after the building opened, the outward aspect was “...thoroughly respectable - clean looking, commodious, and even inviting...”\textsuperscript{479} The common hall, meanwhile, was “...a spacious apartment, with two windows at the upper end. It has two fire places...The centre of the hall is furnished with long narrow tables...At the lower end, a part is portioned off for a kitchen, with hotplate or stove, and water...I was somewhat puzzled at first with the arrangement of the dormitories, but certainly nothing could be more ingenious than the manner in which the space allotted for sleeping accommodation has been utilised to the utmost. Each landing has a passage or lobby, with two doors on each side. These doors lead into another passage much narrower, and running up each side is a high wooden partition, open at the top. In this partition there are twelve doors, six on either side. Each dormitory somewhat resembles a long sentry box. They are about seven feet long, and not quite so wide I think. The bed stretches from end to end and leaves just sufficient space for one person to enter at the door. This narrow enclosure is provided with a seat, a wooden stool, and overhead is a clothes pin. The bed is furnished with a mattress and pillow. The bed clothes consist of a sheet, a pair of blankets, and woollen bed mat. By an ingenious arrangement, each lodger has her own compartment. Thus, in mine the bed was almost level with the floor and roofed over by the bed belonging to the next compartment. The upper bed was placed midway between the floor and the top of the partition. A certain amount of privacy is obtained by this arrangement, but the discomfort of being boxed in upon every side in an air-impeding case hardly atones for the luxury of a private apartment. Allowing twelve beds to each division, of which as I have stated there are four, it will be seen there is pretty close packing up here, but in addition to the 48 'bed holders' on my flat, a number of lodgers were accommodated in the passages with 'shake downs’. I was told that some nights the lodgers number considerably over a hundred”.

Despite the austerity of its interiors – and it is reasonable to assume facilities were similar in each of the eight such hostels the City Improvement Trust eventually completed - the building on East Russell Street and Moncur Street was amongst the most enduring of the model lodging houses, escaping demolition until as late as 1979.\textsuperscript{480} Its site is covered today by ugly but functional mid-1980s housing, erected by the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal project.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 7 December 1869; Special Sub-Committee, 14 December 1869; Special Sub-Committee, 21 December 1869; General Committee, 11 January 1870; General Committee, 2 February 1870; Special Sub-Committee, 16 August 1870; Special Sub-Committee, 23 August 1870; General Committee, 15 November 1870; General Committee, 5 January 1871; General Committee, 14 February 1871; General Committee, 5 September 1871; General Committee, 3 October 1871; General Committee, 28 November 1871; General Committee, 17 July 1872); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1890 addition, see Glasgow City Archives 1/1031).

\textsuperscript{478} Royal Institute of British Architects Transactions (1878-9, 1st series, vol.29, p.171).

\textsuperscript{479} North British Daily Mail (29 August 1871, p.4).

\textsuperscript{480} Post Office Directories (1978-9).
65-71 DRYGATE (1870-1)

Two tenements, demolished circa 1964

Architect: John Carrick.
Measurer: Henry Herbertson.
Masons: Smith & Salmond.
Joiner: James Mahew.
Plumber: Robert Mason.
Slaters: John MacQuat & Sons.
Plasterers: Hutcheson & MacLean.
Gasfitters: Chalmers & Tosh.

On 14 December 1869, the Special Sub-Committee read a list of the dwelling-houses granted linings by the Dean of Guild's Court during the previous two months. These numbers were deemed too low, presumably, for one week later, members recommended the erection of specimen blocks of tradesmen’s dwellings on Drygate, Kent Street and an unspecified site on the city’s south side.

On 2 February 1870, the General Committee described these houses to the Trustees. According to plans already completed, the sites on Drygate and Kent Street were each suitable for two double tenements, both with nine dwellings - six dwellings of two apartments and three single-ends. Cost was estimated at £2000 per double tenement, exclusive of the price for building ground. Six days later, on 8 February 1870, the Special Sub-Committee resolved to have WCs placed outside the houses, on the landings, according to something called 'Hoey's Principle'. Members also ruled the tenements be limited to three storeys. Estimates for the block on Drygate were accepted on 20 September 1870. Mysteriously, though, the minutes made no further mention of plans to build on Kent Street and the south side.

On 28 December 1871, the General Committee reported the Drygate tenements completed and fully occupied. Details of what they looked like are sketchy, however. James B. Russell, Chief Medical Officer, described their common stairs as having large ventilation openings on each landing. A statement of account from 1878 gives their final cost as being £3426. And on 27 January 1886, Carrick described the tenements as "...simple and economical...". Such vagueness would be prohibitive were it not for the fact that we know the tenements at 65-71 Drygate were substantially altered by the construction of the General Washing House in 1894. As a result, it seems likely the tenements are the same as those figuring in the foreground of a photograph of the Drygate Model Lodging House taken in 1902 [Fig.31]. Conclusively, a contemporary tag-line explaining this photograph notes how the tenements in question were backed by a building known then as the Drygate Laundry.

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481 Reed (1993, p.94). Notwithstanding Brian Edwards' assertion to the contrary, the Kent Street tenements were never built.
482 Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow (1873-5, p.12).
483 Anonymous (1878, p.16n).
484 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 27 January 1886).
485 Menzies (1894, p.5). See page 71.
486 Kay (1902, p.21). See page 72.
Given their close proximity, it seems entirely probable the City Improvement Trust's tenements on Drygate made way for the same housing scheme that had put paid to the Drygate Model Lodging House, *circa* 1964.487

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 14 December 1869; Special Sub-Committee, 21 December 1869; General Committee, 2 February 1870; Special Sub-Committee, 8 February 1870; Special Sub-Committee, 20 September 1870; General Committee, 28 December 1871).

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487 Post Office Directories (1963-4).
Greendyke Street Model Lodging House, 45-49 Greendyke Street (1874-6)
Demolished circa 1962

Architect: John Carrick.
Mason: Robert Gilchrist.
Joiner: James R. Harvey.
Plasterer: Alexander Campbell.
Ironfounders: Robertson & Thomson.
Gasfitter: Peter McBryde.
Plumbers: Fulton & Walker.

On 16 December 1874, the General Committee read a memorandum by Carrick describing his plans for a lodging house on Greendyke Street at a site then belonging to the Model Lodging House Association. Thirteen days later, on 29 December 1874, members considered a statement as to the probable cost of such an erection and the annual return which might be expected were it built. The ground on Greendyke Street, containing 838 square yards, was valued at £3 10s. per square yard. Persuaded by this figure, the General Committee ordered the land’s acquisition. The City Architect was given leave, accordingly, to seek estimates.

Though contracts were finalised as early as 21 April 1875, the lodging house did not open until a little after 1 November 1876. The General Committee had dawdled for three months, from 9 August 1875 onwards, over the tasks of supplying furniture for the new building and appointing a superintendent to oversee its upkeep. Proceedings were delayed further by a dispute with the contracted plasterer. On 17 May 1876, Alexander Campbell was ordered to redo his work following complaints that the initial job was unsatisfactory. An independent arbiter was appointed on 31 May 1876 and the General Committee was still discussing Campbell’s competence as late as 31 October 1877.

Like its forerunners on Drygate and East Russell Street, the Greendyke Street Model Lodging House was classical in design [Fig.33]. It stood four storeys high and five bays wide, with a rusticated ground floor and large windows with cornices on the first floor. The second and third floors were punched through with plainer, progressively smaller windows, while the roofline was announced by dint of a massive overhanging cornice, and topped by a balustrade with urns. In terms of construction, the building on...
Greendyke Street had stone walls some two feet thick, though its beams, joists and floors were made of wood.⁴⁸⁸ Its occurrence in the Post Office Directories of 1961-2 and complete absence from the Post Office Directories of 1962-3 suggests it was probably demolished circa 1962.⁴⁸⁹

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 16 December 1874; General Committee, 29 December 1874; General Committee, 21 April 1875; General Committee, 19 May 1875; General Committee, 30 June 1875; General Committee, 9 February 1876; General Committee, 8 March 1876; General Committee, 3 May 1876; General Committee, 17 May 1876; General Committee, 31 May 1876; General Committee, 14 June 1876; General Committee, 9 August 1876; General Committee, 4 October 1876; General Committee, 18 October 1876; General Committee, 1 November 1876; General Committee, 31 October 1877); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1910 addition, see Glasgow City Archives 2/3148).

⁴⁸⁸ Royal Institute of British Architects Transactions (1878-9, 1st series, vol. 29, p. 171).
CALTON MODEL LODGING HOUSE, 60 CLYDE STREET (1876-8)
Demolished circa 1982

Architect: John Carrick.

On 24 November 1875, the General Committee appointed a special sub-committee to find ground for a lodging house in Calton. This party returned on 1 December 1875, reporting the existence of nothing suitable amongst extant stocks of land. Instead, members suggested the purchase of some vacant ground on Clyde Street, for sale from the Tramway Company at 35s. per square yard. Two weeks later, the General Committee approved this site's acquisition for £2410. Carrick was then ordered to prepare plans. These were submitted on 21 March 1877. Passing them, the General Committee ordered Carrick to send specifications to an approved list of tradesmen. Regrettably, the City Improvement Trust minutes fail to name any of the successful contractors.

On 5 September 1877, the City Architect informed members of the previously unforeseen need to rebuild a gable then standing at the northern boundary of the targeted plot. Perturbed by the prospect of a hike in price, the General Committee suggested Carrick's plans be modified so as not to interfere with the extant structure.

Work then continued apace until 15 October 1878, when the Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses considered internal fittings. On 21 November 1878, members discussed the appointment of a superintendent, needed in time for the building's proposed opening date: New Year's Day 1879. This opening was later postponed until 10 January 1879.

A few years after this, in 1890, the Calton Model Lodging House was described as having "...an imposing architectural appearance, and...a sense of roominess about the place that is most pleasant. The stone and

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490 Clyde Street, Calton, is now known as Abercromby Street.
fireproof staircases...are approached by a wide lobby. The street door is surmounted by a noble archway, 16ft. high. The passages are 11 ft. to 12 ft. wide. The recreation hall measures 74 ft. by 32 ft., and the dining hall is also very large...In most of the dormitories the bunk system of beds has been adopted...By bunk beds is meant a system of wooden partitions which form small cabins. There is just room to enter and undress, sitting on a small stool which is provided. The bed is like a berth in a ship's cabin. There is an upper berth and a lower berth, each giving on to its own cabin, but walled off from the neighbouring cabin. Thus one lodger sleeps above the other without seeing his neighbour. Though the space allotted to each is not more than 400 cubic feet, complete privacy is secured. " [Fig.36]. Elsewhere, ventilation and sunlight were primary concerns, and "...as far as possible, windows face each other, so that a through draught can be established and the maximum amount of light secured...".

It terms of detail and style, the building was unconventional amongst model lodging houses designed by Carrick for the City Improvement Trust, and it seems entirely possible the City Architect was influenced by the hand of a relatively untired assistant in the Office of Public Works [Fig.35]. The main body was four storeys high and seven bays wide. Its elevation was surmounted by two enormous crowstepped gables, both with high, jutting chimney-stacks. On each side of this central section, towering, square-sided wings extended deep into the street. At ground level, these towers held the building's main entrances, each decorated with vigorous wrought-iron work. At the parapet, the towers were crowned by a pair of extraordinary ogee roofs. When surveyed just prior to the building's demolition, circa 1982, these features prompted one commentator to term the style Scottish Domestic. The interiors were said to contain offices, a common room and kitchens on the ground floor, with dormitories on the three floors above. Even at this late stage, the Calton Model Lodging House provided accommodation for 272 men, each with his own cubicle.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 24 November 1875; General Committee, 1 December 1875; General Committee, 15 December 1875; General Committee, 21 March 1877; General Committee, 5 September 1877; General Committee, 20 March 1878; General Committee, 2 April 1878; General Committee, 29 May 1878; General Committee, 24 July 1878; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 15 October 1878; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 21 October 1878; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 21 November 1878; General Committee, 11 December 1878; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 23 December 1878).

491 The Lancet (15 February 1890, pp.368-9).
492 See Appendix 1, page 236.
493 Worsdall (1982, p.84). Worsdall gave the building's address as 324 Abercromby Street.
GORBALS MODEL LODGING HOUSE, 57 PORTUGAL STREET (1876-8)
Demolished circa 1953

Architect: John Carrick.

On 12 January 1876, the General Committee approved moves to use City Improvement Trust land on Portugal Street as recommended by a sub-committee appointed to find space for a lodging house on the city’s south side. The City Architect submitted drawings on 3 May 1876, the General Committee then ordering him to obtain measurements and estimates. On 28 June 1876, the building’s measurers were asked to issue schedules for estimates by then received. Regrettably, the City Improvement Trust minutes neglect to give any of these contractors’ names.

As early as 28 November 1877, the General Committee discussed the lodging house’s internal fittings, which suggests the building was probably close to completion. On 17 April 1878, the Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses was instructed to organise furnishings. Two weeks later, on 1 May 1878, members considered the matter of a superintendent. They eventually appointed one on 7 August 1878, a fortnight before the General Committee abandoned WCs in favour of dry closets as its recommended form of lavatory for the new building.

On 4 September 1878, the General Committee appointed a sub-committee to arrange for the building’s opening, and on 7 October 1878, the Gorbals Model Lodging House accepted its first residents. A journalist’s report from 1890 talks of “...an immense recreation hall, with a platform at one end for theatrical performances and concerts, and religious services on the Sunday...There are also newspapers and a small library...Another hall nearly as large is devoted to cooking and eating...Instead of the traditional open coke fire there is a large kitchen range, on which some hundred pots and pans may be stood...The dormitories are of course upstairs, and to these no access is allowed in the daytime. But on the ground floor, near the staircase, there is a lavatory with a constant supply of hot and cold water, and there are some small cabinets where lodgers may, in the daytime, retire

94 Portugal Street was obliterated circa 1953 to make way for the Comprehensive Redevelopment of the Gorbals.
to change their clothes. Outside in a small back yard we found the day
closets and urinals. The former were on the dry-pail system, and we
must say we do not like the Scotch system of a row of seats without
division or privacy... .495 Photographs taken in 1902 and 1914 [Figs.37
and 39] show an austere, classical four-storey block, with another storey
below ground level. The building was nine bays wide, its arched
doorway topped by a rather sickly triangular pediment at the centre of a
ground floor of channelled ashlar. A second photograph - taken by T. &
R. Annan circa 1906 - confirms that the building’s washing and
lavatory facilities were every bit as unprepossessing as the exteriors
[Fig.38].

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 24 November 1875; General
Committee, 12 January 1876; General Committee, 3 May 1876; General Committee, 28 June 1876; General
Committee, 9 August 1876; Trustees, 21 March 1877; General Committee, 28 November 1877; General
Committee, 26 December 1877; General Committee, 23 January 1878; General Committee, 17 April 1878;
Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 1 May 1878; General Committee, 1 May 1878; Sub-Committee on
Lodging Houses, 15 May 1878; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 29 May 1878; Sub-Committee on
Lodging Houses, 12 June 1878; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 26 June 1878; Sub-Committee on
Lodging Houses, 1 August 1878; General Committee, 7 August 1878; General Committee, 21 August
1878; General Committee, 4 September 1878); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1892 addition, see
Glasgow City Archives 1/2311).

495 The Lancet (15 February 1890, p.368).
NORTH WOODSIDE MODEL LODGING HOUSE, 51 NORTH WOODSIDE ROAD (1876-9)
Demolished *circa* 1976

Architect: John Carrick.
Masons: Bell Hornsby & Co.
Plasterers: MacKellar & Matheson.
Plumber: Peter MacBride.
Slaters: John McQuat & Son.
Ironmonger: Andrew Shaw.
Painter: James Kelly.
Gasfitters: Chalmers & Tosh.

On 12 January 1876, the General Committee appointed a sub-committee to find ground for a lodging house in Cowcaddens. This sub-committee returned a fortnight later with news of suitable land belonging to David Clow & Co. on North Woodside Road, available for £6000. By 9 February 1876, the site had been purchased. The City Architect submitted his designs on 21 March 1877. Passing these, the General Committee ordered Carrick to send specifications to an approved list of tradesmen. Despite the measurements not being ready until 19 September 1877, estimates arrived with comparative sharpness on 31 October 1877. Two weeks later, on 14 November 1877, the General Committee minuted its acceptance of offers by those tradesmen listed above. In total, the construction work was forecast to cost £9338. Operations were well under way by 11 December 1878, when the General Committee looked into providing asphalt for a basement storey, and on 8 January 1879, members discussed the new building’s furniture.
The North Woodside Model Lodging House opened on 13 April 1879. A decade or so later, it was described as "...a magnificent Gothic building. The recreation hall measures 77 ft. by 47 ft., and has handsome lofty Gothic windows on each side. The dining hall has a fine roof and excellent light, but the urinal outside, draining off into a gully placed in the middle of the yard, is a slovenly, dirty contrivance, and should at once be altered". Setting aside the other suggestions made in this article, Scotch Baronial would surely have been a more accurate stylistic term to use than Gothic. Together with the Calton Model Lodging House, designed almost simultaneously, the building announced a striking diversion from the classical vocabulary employed by Carrick for the lodging houses he produced earlier and later. It seems entirely likely the City Architect was working in cahoots with an eager and inventive young assistant. This sense of novelty is borne out by a photograph taken in 1902, showing formidable, cliff-like elevations, thrusting up towards a jagged, crowstepped skyline [Fig. 40]. Two more photographs, taken circa 1972, testify to a vast structure - at least six storeys high - irregularly surmounted by towers and gables [Figs. 41 and 42]. A two-storey extension juts brashly from the building's main body, linked to the rest only by its use of hoodmoulds over the ground floor windows.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 12 January 1876; General Committee, 26 January 1876; General Committee, 9 February 1876; General Committee, 21 March 1877; General Committee, 19 September 1877; General Committee, 31 October 1877; General Committee, 14 November 1877; General Committee, 20 March 1878; General Committee, 2 April 1878; General Committee, 29 May 1878; General Committee, 4 September 1878; General Committee, 30 October 1878; General Committee, 11 December 1879; General Committee, 8 January 1879; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 22 January 1879; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 5 March 1879; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 12 March 1879; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 19 March 1879); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1890 addition, see Glasgow City Archives 1/1283A).

496 The Lancet (15 February 1890, p.368).
497 See page 80.
498 See Appendix 1, page 236.
ANDERSTON MODEL LODGING HOUSE, 119 HYDEPARK STREET (1876-9)
Demolished circa 1960

Architect: John Carrick.
Mason: James Findlay.
Joiner: Alexander Craig.
Plasterer: William Granger.
Plumber: John Rattray.
Slaters: John Morrison & Son.
Gasfitter: R.C. Murray.
Ironmonger: Andrew Shaw.

On 13 June 1877, the General Committee heard from a sub-committee appointed to find ground to the city’s west for the erection of a lodging house. Initially, this sub-committee advised the acquisition of land and buildings owned by Crawford & Bain on Finnieston Street. Reconsidering, however, it recommended the erection of an entirely new building, on land owned by William McAdam on Hydepark Street. The General Committee approved this plot’s acquisition at £5 per square yard. One week later, on 20 June 1877, the sub-committee submitted a descriptive report. The land consisted of 1200 square yards, stretching 72 feet along Hydepark Street and extending back about 150 feet from the same road. On 27 June 1877, the General Committee read a letter from McAdam accepting the City Improvement Trust’s offer.

On 3 October 1877, Carrick furnished the General Committee with his plans for a lodging house on Hydepark Street. After an inspection and some amendments, these designs achieved approval two weeks later on 17 October 1877. Carrick was then given leave to prepare more detailed plans. On 6 March 1878, he returned with the measurer’s specifications, ready to be sent to an approved list of contractors. The successful tenders were accepted on 17 April 1877 and 1 May 1877. These put the total cost of building work at a little over £8347.

On 6 May 1879, and for a good many weeks following, the Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses discussed the provision of dry closets, furniture and a superintendent. These matters dealt with, the Anderston Model Lodging House opened on 27 August 1879.499 According to a photograph taken in 1902, the building stood five storeys high, its main elevation withdrawn behind a pair of flanking bays, in a manner similar to James Sellars’ contemporaneous building at 69 Milton Street (1878, demolished 1978) for the Glasgow School Board, though Carrick’s winged composition also had a precursor in the Calton Model Lodging House,

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499 Tweed (1883, p.337). According to this particular author, and at odds with the City Improvement Trust minutes, the building opened on 25 August 1879.
completed a year or so before [Fig.43]. The Calton building had incorporated Baronial elements, however, whereas the Anderston Model Lodging House was ruggedly Roman in character, marking a return to the restrained classicism of Carrick’s lodging houses prior to 1877. This was especially apparent in the rustication of the ground floor, the simple punched-out arch of the main doorway and the sunken basement floor, which probably contained the building’s washrooms.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 13 June 1877; General Committee, 20 June 1877; General Committee, 27 June 1877; General Committee, 3 October 1877; General Committee, 17 October 1877; General Committee, 6 March 1878; General Committee, 2 April 1878; General Committee, 17 April 1878; General Committee, 1 May 1878; General Committee, 11 December 1879; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 30 April 1879; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 6 May 1879; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 15 May 1879; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 28 May 1879; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 11 June 1879; General Committee, 9 July 1879; General Committee, 23 July 1879; General Committee, 6 August 1879); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1904 addition, see Glasgow City Archives 2/524).

500 See page 80.
501 See Appendix 1, page 238.
Five tenements with shops

Architect: John Carrick.
Measurer: George Smellie.
Masons: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Joiner: Matthew Henderson.
Slater: A. Bryden.
Tiler: James Winton Mackie.

On 23 December 1886, the Trustees grudgingly agreed to build a row of Carrick’s ‘model’ tenements with shops, designed much earlier for the east side of Saltmarket. Six days later, the General Committee instructed the City Architect to prepare updated plans, conforming to his initial predictions of a £9000 cost limit. The Trustees approved these revised plans on 17 March 1887. Tenders had been decided upon by the beginning of June and the tenements’ foundation stone was laid on 31 August 1887, the culmination of an eccentric public ceremony. In the midst of a massive thunderstorm, magistrates, councillors and numerous invited guests watched as a great bedrock was lowered into place. Within this boulder’s cavity, officials placed the daily newspapers, an Oliver & Boyd Almanac and miscellaneous documents relating to the City Improvement Trust’s work. Councillor James Gray claimed the new Saltmarket tenements would bring life and business to an area a dozen years deprived of its population. In so doing, he hoped the buildings might also realise a tidy return on ground for so long unprofitable.

On 25 November 1887, the Special Committee on Saltmarket Tenements read a report describing the buildings as fast approaching completion. Ten months later, on 5 September 1888, the General Committee perused a description by Carrick. The row consisted of five four-storey tenements, four facing Saltmarket, one with its elevation to Steel Street. Originally, the ground floor on Saltmarket held twelve single and double shop units, the three upper storeys containing houses for artisans. As a whole, the buildings held 48 such dwellings, one, two and three apartments in size. Every landing had two WCs, one for each sex, with a laundry and washing house on the attic floor of each tenement. Carrick put the building’s final cost at £9723 13s. 9d.

According to a report from 1890, each single-end within the block had a recess equipped with a galvanised-iron bedstead. There was also a partition made from corrugated iron and fitted with another bed. The two and three-room houses had similar provision, though the partitions in these dwellings were replaced by a bed in the kitchen [Fig.45]. Confusingly, this

502 Glasgow Herald (1 September 1887, p.3).
503 Anonymous (1890, p.2).
later description also reported a WC in every house, contradicting the account given by Carrick two years earlier.

The block – which stands to this day, making it the oldest City Improvement Trust building still extant - is faced in blond sandstone ashlar, with white glazed brick employed on the stairwells to the rear [Figs.44 and 46]. Its basically classical lines are upset somewhat by crowstepped gables over the central bay of each tenement, introduced perhaps as a reminder of the seventeenth century Saltmarket buildings the City Improvement Trust had destroyed.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 5 February 1879; Trustees, 11 June 1885; General Committee, 27 January 1886; General Committee, 10 February 1886; Trustees, 15 July 1886; Trustees, 16 September 1886; Trustees, 22 September 1886; General Committee, 22 September 1886; Trustees, 14 October 1886; General Committee, 20 October 1886; General Committee, 25 October 1886; General Committee, 27 October 1886; Trustees, 17 November 1886; General Committee, 25 November 1886; General Committee, 15 December 1886; Trustees, 23 December 1886; General Committee, 29 December 1886; General Committee, 12 January 1887; General Committee, 14 March 1887; Trustees, 17 March 1887; General Committee, 23 March 1887; General Committee, 18 May 1887; General Committee, 1 June 1887; General Committee, 13 July 1887; General Committee, 27 July 1887; Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements, 25 November 1887; General Committee, 11 January 1888; Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements, 18 January 1888; General Committee, 4 April 1888; General Committee, 5 September 1888; General Committee, 19 September 1888); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1887, see Glasgow City Archives TD1309/A/074).
In the wake of the first Saltmarket experiment, moves were soon afoot to build more City Improvement Trust tenements. On 21 June 1888, the Trustees discussed a motion suggesting plans be prepared and tenders secured for the completion of the Saltmarket row as far as St. Andrews Street. This motion was withdrawn, however, in favour of an agreement ordering the General Committee to submit an estimate of the yield from the tenements just built as rentable and saleable assets. These figures might then be used as counsel on whether or not to erect more buildings in the city’s central areas.

On 19 September 1888, the General Committee read a report by Carrick. The City Architect’s observations focused entirely upon vacant ground to the east of Saltmarket, south of St. Andrews Street. Having already discussed the matter privately with various officials, Carrick made public his belief that five tenements for artisans might yield rents even more substantial than the first development on Saltmarket, without necessarily costing much more to build. On 18 October 1888, accordingly, the Trustees ordered plans and estimates. These having been completed by 26 June 1889, the measurer was instructed to prepare schedules and advertise for tenders. The most competitive of these achieved provisional acceptance on or before 3 September 1889. Carrick’s plans safely negotiated the Dean of Guild’s Court on 12 September 1889 [Fig.48]. They showed a row of five tenements, four storeys high, facing Saltmarket. The most northerly tenement boasted a side elevation to St. Andrews Street and a narrow oblique corner facade emphasised with rustication. Today, this corner sports a bronze plaque bearing the name of the buildings. The blond sandstone elevations are exceptionally plain, cornices over the first floor windows being the
only concessions to ornament, together with pediments doubling as chimney-stacks. The middle tenement's pediment is slightly larger and more ornate than the others. In this way, the basic symmetry of the facade to Saltmarket is emphasised. The rusticated northern corner is the only element challenging this balance, together with a cart entrance to the south.

Necessarily, the City Architect's interiors had more to do with pragmatism than classical symmetry. Carrick devoted his corner tenement to a more moneyed class of tenant, cleverly overcoming the planning difficulties caused by an awkward site. The plan for the upper floors shows that, whereas the four tenements facing Saltmarket each held nine houses for artisans - six two-apartment houses and three single-ends - the one at the corner accommodated only six. Of these, three were three-apartment houses with indoor WCs - something of a luxury in nineteenth century Glasgow - and, consequently, more expensive to rent. Thus Carrick ensured the northern tenement reaped commensurate revenue, despite its limitations in size and shape. The two-roomed houses were described as each having kitchens measuring fifteen feet by thirteen, with a bed recess of six by four. The sitting rooms were similarly sized, though with slightly smaller recesses. The single-ends, meanwhile, were fitted with partitions. All the recesses held wire spring mattresses, supplied by the City Improvement Trust. The buildings had two WCs on every landing, plus basement storeys fitted with washing houses and drying rooms. The ground floors were given over to local trade, with fourteen single and double shop units. Having been made ready for occupancy by late 1890, the buildings were probably named after Councillor Archibald Dunlop following his retirement on 15 October 1891.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 25 May 1888; Trustees, 21 June 1888; General Committee, 27 June 1888; General Committee, 5 September 1888; Trustees, 13 September 1888; General Committee, 19 September 1888; Trustees, 18 October 1888; General Committee, 12 December 1888; Trustees, 20 December 1888; General Committee, 26 June 1889; General Committee, 7 August 1889; Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements, 26 August 1889; Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements, 3 September 1889; Trustees, 5 September 1889; General Committee, 2 October 1889; Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc. 20 August 1890; Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc. 17 September 1890); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1889, see Glasgow City Archives 1/965).

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504 Anonymous (1890, p.2).
505 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 15 October 1891).
3-39 TRONGATE/2-6 SALTMARKET/5 CHISHOLM STREET (1890-2)

Five tenements with shops

FIRST PHASE (two tenements on Trongate and Saltmarket):

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: Henry Herbertson & Co.
Mason: Robert Murdoch.
Joiner: Duncan Buchanan.
Slater: James Cuthbertson.
Painter: Charles Paton.
Marbler: James Winton Mackie.
Tiler: James Winton Mackie.
Plasterer: James McMillan.
Plumbers: Stalker & Daye.
Gasfitter: Archibald Ferguson.

SECOND PHASE (three tenements on Trongate and Chisholm Street):

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: Henry Herbertson & Co.
Masons: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Joiner: Duncan Buchanan.
Slaters: McInnes & Co.
Painter: W.D. Horne.
Marbler: James Winton Mackie.
Tiler: James Winton Mackie.
Plasterer: John Beltram.
Plumbers: Renfrew Bros.
Gasfitters: Chalmers & Son.

Following a series of damning reports by the Health Committee of the city’s Police Authorities, two particularly unwholesome blocks of City Improvement Trust-owned slumland - bounded by Saltmarket to the east, King Street to the west and bisected in the middle by Princes Street - were being eyed for comprehensive redevelopment earlier even than the land south of St. Andrews Street just discussed [Fig.51]. On 26 January 1887, the Trustees heard a motion urging members to target a plot on the corner of Trongate and Saltmarket for reconstruction, in the event of no buyer being found. This proposal was accepted on 17 March 1887, but Trustees then waited two years to see the development of operations on Trongate by the Caledonian Railway Company. These plans envisaged a widened Trongate, together with a train station at Glasgow Cross.

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506 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 15 December 1892). Princes Street was renamed Parnie Street in 1893, in honour of Councillor James Parnie. See page 90.
On 20 February 1889, the General Committee considered a block plan by the City Architect dealing with the northern half of the targeted land, south of Trongate and north of Princes Street. Carrick felt the City Improvement Trust might achieve a number of sanitary improvements simply by concentrating on the street modifications required by the Caledonian Railway Company. Carrick also proposed a row of tenements with shops along Trongate’s new line. The General Committee duly approved these proposals, ordering the City Architect to prepare drawings and estimates.

Operations slowed somewhat following a meeting between Trustees and representatives of the Caledonian Railway Company, held on 18 March 1889 to establish a modus operandi for demolitions. The causes of this dormancy are unclear, though they may have had something to do with Carrick’s long illness and eventual death on 2 May 1890. Moreover, on 13 September 1888, tenants from the south side of Trongate submitted a petition asking that their buildings be left untouched until Whitsunday 1890. As early as 3 October 1888, Carrick had advocated a guarded sympathy towards this request. Not before 2 June 1890, then, did the Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements report further discussions with the Caledonian Railway Company. Members recommended Carrick’s two most easterly tenements be erected forthwith. Their reasoning - much influenced, seemingly, by the tenants’ petition - held that limited operations might be carried out without disturbing other buildings facing Trongate. The coneries to the back, however, were earmarked for immediate obliteration.

On 17 June 1890, A.B. McDonald of the Master of Works’ Office furnished the General Committee with revised drawings. These designs were approved two days later, going before the Dean of Guild’s Court on 12 October 1890. The court’s response was unfavourable, it seems, for on 24 October 1890, McDonald presented the special sub-committee with amended designs. These were immediately sanctioned, allowing tenders to be sought for the building of a basement storey. On 26 November 1890, the General Committee accepted an offer by Robert Murdoch for the completion of the development’s masonry. The rest of the tenders were accepted on 13 May 1891.

The Dean of Guild’s Court saw McDonald’s amended designs in the first month of 1891 [Fig.49]. These correspond with the cream sandstone buildings still standing on the corner of Trongate and Saltmarket: two tenements, French Renaissance in style. The first floor is rusticated, with carved lintels over irregularly spaced single, bipartite and tripartite windows. The second and third floors are plain, in deference to an undulating attic storey of pedimented dormers, linked by a balustrade and adorned with beefily carved festoons and City Arms. The corner bay overlooks Glasgow Cross, its prominent position emphasised by a truncated conical roof.
McDonald’s plans show applicable ample interiors, far beyond means of the poorer classes: flats of three and four apartments, some with bathrooms [Fig.52]. The roominess of this accommodation and the pomp of the elevations identify these tenements as an exercise in civic pride rather than a means of housing the humble. Nevertheless, they do show the City Engineer as a planner of some foresight. Large ground floor shops – each equipped with a one-storey back building stretching well beyond the rear elevation of the tenements above – made ideal branches for larger traders. McDonald’s aim, it seems, was to attract businesses back to an area reeling in the wake of commercial Glasgow’s gradual move west.

On 10 June 1891, McDonald described plans by the Caledonian Railway Company for a train station at Glasgow Cross, to be designed by J.J. Burnet [Fig.53]. McDonald also explained his reasons for allowing the railway company to demolish the old buildings and shops on Trongate, despite the City Improvement Trust’s earlier decision to leave these standing for as long as possible [Fig.54]. It seems the buildings were not founded at such a depth as to make it safe to erect the new tenements’ front wall, the foundations of which were required to sink to 22 feet below ground, level with the new railway line. The City Engineer also urged his superiors to extend the block of new tenements, filling the cleared ground as far as Laigh Kirk Close.507 On 8 July 1891, the General Committee approved McDonald’s designs, ordering him to get estimates for a second phase of building work. These contracts had been decided upon by 28

507 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 15 December 1892). Laigh Kirk Close was later renamed in honour of Samuel Chisholm in 1893.
November 1891. The drawings for three new tenements had gone before the Dean of Guild's Court a little earlier, probably in September 1891. In terms of dimension and style, the new buildings' elevations simply repeated those found at the stretch's first two tenements. The interiors were similar in size too. The tenement facing a soon to be widened Laigh Kirk Close was plain, however, without the ornate decoration of those on Trongate. This building was also shorter - its roof on a level with the other tenements' dormer windows - and it had flats of only three rooms, none with four. Though equipped with similar back court saloons, the new business premises were more variously sized than those built earlier. For instance, the corner tenement's entire ground floor was designed to accommodate one very large shop.

McDonald's hopes for the development's attractiveness to businesses were borne out on 22 July 1891, when the General Committee received a number of speculative enquiries regarding premises in the new buildings. It seems there was tremendous interest. On 16 March 1892, accordingly, the Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc. instructed the City Engineer to halt further work on division walls until the wishes of intending lessees had been established. This done, a formal advertisement inviting offers for the new premises was placed in various newspapers, following a meeting of the recently-formed Special Sub-Committee as to Letting Shops, etc. in New Tenements South Side of Trongate on 9 April 1892. The rush was immediate. At a meeting on 4 May 1892, members heard of 33 applications for shops, including four for shops and floorage above, and two for houses and upper floors. On 21 July 1892, accordingly, the Trustees approved recommendations that the successful applicants be allowed to begin occupying their new premises.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 26 January 1887; Trustees, 17 March 1887; Trustees, 13 September 1888; General Committee, 19 September 1888; General Committee, 3 October 1888; General Committee, 20 February 1889; Trustees, 14 March 1889; General Committee, 3 April 1889; Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements, 2 June 1890; General Committee, 17 June 1890; Trustees, 19 June 1890; General Committee, 5 August 1890; Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements, 24 October 1890; General Committee, 12 November 1890; General Committee, 26 November 1890; General Committee, 15 April 1891; General Committee, 13 May 1891; General Committee, 10 June 1891; Trustees, 18 June 1891; General Committee, 25 June 1891; General Committee, 8 July 1891; Trustees, 9 July 1891; General Committee, 22 July 1891; General Committee, 16 September 1891; General Committee, 14 October 1891; General Committee, 28 October 1891; General Committee, 28 November 1891; General Committee, 23 December 1891; General Committee, 3 February 1892; Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc. 16 March 1892; Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc. 30 March 1892; Special Sub-Committee as to Letting Shops, etc. in New Tenements South Side of Trongate, 9 April 1892; Special Sub-Committee as to Letting Shops, etc. in New Tenements South Side of Trongate, 4 May 1892; Trustees, 18 May 1892; Special Sub-Committee as to Letting Shops, etc. in New Tenements South Side of Trongate, 31 May 1892; General Committee, 8 June 1892; Special Sub-Committee as to Letting Shops, etc. in New Tenements South Side of Trongate, 12 July 1892; Trustees, 21 July 1892; General Committee, 7 December 1892; Trustees, 15 December 1892); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1890-1, see Glasgow City Archives 1/1349, 1/1642).
ROBB'S CLOSE, OFF SALTMARKET (1890)

Three tenements, demolished circa 1980s

Architects: John Carrick/David MacBean.
Masons: Green & McCallum.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plumbers: Stalker & Daye.

Swept away – probably in the early 1980s - to make way for a breathtakingly ugly brick-faced housing development, the buildings at Robb’s Close, in a courtyard behind 122 to 130 Saltmarket, marked the City Improvement Trust’s first genuine attempt to provide houses for the poorer classes. On 26 December 1888, the General Committee read an excerpt from a meeting of the Police Department’s Health Committee held 22 days earlier, insisting the pestilent front and back tenements at 122 Saltmarket be dealt with immediately [Fig.56]. Carrick was ordered to look into the matter. Read by the General Committee on 9 January 1889, the City Architect’s report, while expressing irritation at the inflexible stance taken by the Health Committee, did agree that all the tenements from Miller’s Place to Princes Street should be demolished, together with the backlands behind. On the cleared land, Carrick proposed the erection of two rows of simple tenements, two storeys in height. The General Committee read more detailed proposals on 23 January 1889. Six two-storey tenements might be built, Carrick estimated, for £500 each. These would be substantial in construction, yet cheap enough to serve as affordable dwellings for the poor. Before recommending any decisive action, however, the General Committee transferred Carrick’s proposals to a newly formed Joint Special Committee Appointed by the Improvement and Health Committees as to Insanitary Properties. It seems the City Improvement Trust’s embarrassment at its position as Glasgow’s biggest slum landlord was such that it felt the need to be seen paying lip service to Sanitary Authority dictates.

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508 The Regality Club (1889, p.138): “...buildings represented in the first place at the head of the close, 122 Saltmarket, now known as Robb's Close. The old name was John Herbertson's close...The whole buildings now belong to the Improvement Trust, who have demolished many of the adjacent houses and opened out a space”.

509 Princes Street is now known as Parnie Street. Miller’s Place no longer exists, though its former position probably corresponds with a cart entrance on the west side of Saltmarket. See pages 52-53.
Perhaps gratifyingly, the joint special committee’s three meetings each ended in stalemate, allowing a vindicated General Committee to pull rank. On 6 March 1889, it agreed to recommend that 122 Saltmarket be replaced with a four-storey tenement and that a row of buildings, three storeys in height, be erected on the back ground. The Trustees - meeting eight days later - refused to sanction this move, however, insisting the future of the buildings immediately north of 122 Saltmarket be first determined. Following several more meetings and an inspection of the site, the General Committee decided, on 24 April 1889, to demolish 116 and 118 Saltmarket together with all the backlands south of Miller’s Place as far as Bridgegate. Carrick’s proposals would be further discussed upon the completion of these clearances.

On 2 October 1889, the General Committee read another report by the City Architect, before examining a plan of the whole area west of Saltmarket and north of Bridgegate. Though 122 Saltmarket and the buildings to the back were by now demolished, the tenements adjoining were still standing. Carrick recommended their immediate replacement with £5000 worth of tenements similar to those on the east side of Saltmarket. He also reiterated his wish to see the back ground occupied with more modest three-storey buildings, a row of which was estimated at £2500. These proposals were duly passed, and on 13 November 1889, Carrick submitted his designs. An accompanying memorandum outlined plans for a block of three tenements, three storeys high, with twelve dwelling-houses in each tenement - 36 occupancies in total. All the houses would be roughly similar in size - an average of fifteen feet by twelve and a half, with a ceiling at ten feet. Sanitary arrangements would be basic, though reasonably convenient by the standards of the day. Price was put at £2700. The General Committee approved Carrick’s plans on 27 November 1889, requesting he prepare detailed drawings and advertise for the necessary tenders. The first set of bids was received as early as 5 March 1890, yet were still being considered by the General Committee on 16 April 1890. It seems even the lowest tenders put costs considerably higher than Carrick’s estimate. During the interim, the designs were adjusted in an attempt to cut prices, but the minimum cost of building work was still put at no less than £2958. With further modifications impossible, short of a major reduction in size, the General Committee reluctantly agreed, on 30 April 1890, to proceed with operations. Amended tenders having been sought, the successful bids were accepted on 5 August 1890.

Nine days later, the Dean of Guild’s Court approved drawings dated July 1890 and signed by David MacBean. It is not clear whether MacBean himself was the designer, or simply responsible for drawing up the late City Architect’s designs. The buildings were certainly plain enough to appease Carrick’s puritan aesthetic, though this restraint clearly had more to do with the limited means of the proposed occupants. Once finished, each floor of the three three-storey tenements (four storeys if we include the basement floors) would hold four identically sized single-ends - 1875 cubic feet, enough for four adults – coupled either side of a close entrance [Fig.57]. Each landing -

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500 See page 88.
511 See Appendix 1, page 245.
512 Menzies (1894, p.5).
other than those on the top floor - had two WCs, one for every two households, with a single washing house erected in the back court to serve the needs of all 36. Inside, every single-end had one side of the room screened off by a partition of corrugated iron, seven feet high.\textsuperscript{513} Outside, the buildings were faced in white glazed brick. They occupied a site measuring 1164 square yards in total.\textsuperscript{514}

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 26 January 1887; Trustees, 17 March 1887; General Committee, 12 December 1888; General Committee, 26 December 1888; General Committee, 9 January 1889; Trustees, 17 January 1889; General Committee, 23 January 1889; Joint Special Committee Appointed by Improvement and Health Committees as to Insanitary Properties, 11 February 1889; General Committee, 20 February 1889; Joint Special Committee Appointed by Improvement and Health Committees as to Insanitary Properties, 22 February 1889; Joint Special Committee Appointed by Improvement and Health Committees as to Insanitary Properties, 1 March 1889; General Committee, 6 March 1889; Trustees, 14 March 1889; General Committee, 3 April 1889; Trustees, 11 April 1889; General Committee, 17 April 1889; General Committee, 24 April 1889; Trustees, 16 May 1889; General Committee, 2 October 1889; Trustees, 24 October 1889; General Committee, 13 November 1889; Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements, 20 November 1889; General Committee, 27 November 1889; General Committee, 22 January 1890; General Committee, 5 March 1890; General Committee, 12 March 1890; General Committee, 16 April 1890; General Committee, 30 April 1890; Trustees, 29 May 1890; General Committee, 11 June 1890; Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements, 30 June 1890; General Committee, 5 August 1890; Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc., 24 June 1891); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1890, see Glasgow City Archives 1/1219).

\textsuperscript{513} Anonymous (1890, p.3).
\textsuperscript{514} Fyfe (1899, p.33).
4-12 GRAEME STREET/MCPHERSON STREET (1890-1)
One tenement, demolished 1996

Architects: A.B. McDonald/David MacBean.
Measurer: Robert Reid.
Masons: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Joiner: Duncan Buchanan.
Plasterer: John Drummond.
Slater: James Cuthbertson.
Plumber: Robert Campbell.
Painter: Charles Paton.

On 12 May 1890, the Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc. was warned of the failure by a common lodging house - sited on City Improvement Trust land at 4 Graeme Street - to meet minimum hygiene standards set by the Sanitary Department. The matter was remitted to McDonald, who returned four days later with plans to repair the building, converting it into a tenement of single and double-room dwelling-houses. After poring over the cost of this renovation, the General Committee resolved, on 5 August 1890, to build a replacement instead. Detailed drawings arrived on the 20 August 1890. The matter having been remitted, the Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements passed these designs on 1 September 1890, subject to ground floor dwellings being built in such a way as to make them convertible, should the need for shops arise. Cost was put at £1500, exclusive of ground. The General Committee received tenders on 10 December 1890, selecting the most competitive ones two weeks later.

On 29 January 1891, however, the Dean of Guild’s Court rejected the plans, subject to an improved system of ventilation in the single-ends. MacBean made these adjustments, enabling the design’s approval on 12 February 1891. Both the accepted and the rejected drawings show exceptionally plain frontages, cornices over the first floor windows and sills beneath the second floor windows being the only concessions to ornament [Fig.58]. Each floor contained a two-apartment house and three single-ends, one with just a hundred square feet of floor space and a solitary window. The tenement overlooked McPherson Street from beyond a walled back court, complete with washing house and ashpit [Fig.59]. Construction was close to complete on 25 November 1891, when tenders were sought for kitchen ranges and other internal fittings. The cream sandstone tenement was demolished in 1996, having succumbed eventually to the same sort of creeping

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515 Graeme Street is known today as Bell Street, that thoroughfare having been lengthened eastwards.
neglect that earlier claimed an adjoining warehouse by Thomson & Turnbull, built on land cleared by the City Improvement Trust in the 1870s [Fig.60].

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc., 12 May 1890; Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc., 16 May 1890; General Committee, 28 May 1890; General Committee, 25 June 1890; General Committee, 5 August 1890; Trustees, 14 August 1890; General Committee, 20 August 1890; Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements, 1 September 1890; General Committee, 10 December 1890; General Committee, 24 December 1890; General Committee, 4 February 1891; Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc., 5 February 1891; Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc., 25 November 1891); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1891, see Glasgow City Archives 1/1368).

Fig.60: 4-12 Bell Street in 1996, just prior to demolition (Author).

73-101 HIGH STREET (1891-3)
Three tenements with shops

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Masons: Rennie & Duncan.
Joiner: Alexander Ferguson.
Slater: A. Bryan.
Tiler: John Drummond.
Plasterer: John Drummond.
Painters: A. & G. Scott.
Plumber: Robert Gardiner.

On 20 August 1890, the General Committee delegated to a special sub-committee the task of deciding what to do with some ailing buildings on High Street, south of Stirling Street and north of Bows' warehouse on the corner of Bell Street.517 The Special Sub-Committee on Properties West Side of High Street discussed the matter two days later, before recommending the Master of Works' Department be asked to propose ways in which the site might be filled with tenements and shops of a class similar to those already erected in Saltmarket.

On 17 September 1890, MacBean returned with a memorandum envisaging four tenements with shops, costing £8400 for four storeys, or £9300 for five. MacBean urged members to choose the building of five storeys, predicting a higher return on outlay. The special sub-committee, however, recommended the ground be opened to public sale. Failing the approach of a buyer, it might then be built upon by the City Improvement Trust. Not one offer had been received by 18 February 1891, when the General Committee agreed by a narrow majority to proceed with building work. McDonald was ordered to prepare plans. The Trustees accepted this decision on 12 March 1891, though a significant minority felt the land might easily be exposed for sale at a reduced price. The City Engineer submitted designs on 29 April 1891. These were approved by the General Committee six days later, allowing tenders to be sought for the building of four tenements, five storeys high. On 16 September 1891, though, the General Committee heard that even the lowest tenders received put costs over £12,000. Alarmed, members remitted the matter to another special sub-committee. Six weeks later, on 28 October 1891, the General Committee approved a resolution to supply one of the tenements with hot water, instead of the whole block as originally planned.518 In this way, predicted costs were reduced to £10,140, a figure still deemed unacceptable by the Trustees. On 12 November 1891, accordingly, they had the proposed block reduced from four tenements to three.

The Dean of Guild's Court drawings, dated September 1891 and signed by McDonald, show how the loss of one tenement actually helped improve the design's balance and unity. Faced in cream sandstone ashlar, the two outer tenements acquiesce in visual support to a pedimented third, resulting in a flat massiveness

517 Stirling Street is known today as Blackfriars Street.
518 Menzies (1894, p.7). The Manager later described how eight households cheerfully paid 20 shillings a year for this privilege.
curiously reminiscent of the influential William Spence's vast warehouse on Wallace Street (1871-2, demolished 1971) [Figs. 61 and 62]. Originally, the block on High Street held 36 houses in total, together with nine shops of varying sizes. McDonald placed large single-ends at the front of each tenement, behind the middle three bays of a five-bay storey. The two outer bays fronted a pair of two-apartment dwellings, the kitchens to these houses flanking the stairs to the rear. In common with all City Improvement Trust tenements built before this point, the WCs at 73-101 High Street were placed on the landings.

Building work had all but finished by 18 January 1893, when the Sub-Committee for Repairs, Leases, etc, met to discuss the provision of grates and ranges. Four weeks later, on 15 February 1893, the Special Sub-Committee on Tenements West Side of High Street heard that all the new building's dwelling-houses had been let, together with most of the shops.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 18 November 1874; General Committee, 20 August 1890; Special Sub-Committee on Properties West Side of High Street, 22 August 1890; General Committee, 3 September 1890; Trustees, 11 September 1890; Special Sub-Committee on Properties West Side of High Street, 17 September 1890; General Committee, 1 October 1890; General Committee, 26 November 1890; General Committee, 18 February 1891; Trustees, 12 March 1891; General Committee, 18 March 1891; General Committee, 29 April 1891; General Committee, 13 May 1891; General Committee, 2 September 1891; General Committee, 16 September 1891; General Committee, 14 October 1891; General Committee, 28 October 1891; General Committee, 11 November 1891; Trustees, 12 November 1891; General Committee, 25 November 1891; Special Sub-Committee on New Tenements West Side of High Street, 9 December 1891; Special Sub-Committee on New Tenements West Side of High Street, 16 December 1891; General Committee, 23 December 1891; Special Sub-Committee on New Tenements West Side of High Street, 28 September 1892; Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc, 18 January 1893; Special Sub-Committee on Tenements West Side of High Street, 15 February 1893); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1891, see Glasgow City Archives 1/1675).
Four tenements with shops

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Masons: Green & McCallum.
Plumbers: Renfrew Bros.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Slater: James Cuthbertson.
Plasterer: Alexander Nixon.
Tiler: James Winton Mackie.
Painter: W.D. Horne.

On 25 November 1891, the General Committee acknowledged the need for swift action as regards the forlorn state of a tenement on the corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate. Following mass demolitions two years previously, the building was all that remained of any great age on the west side of Saltmarket. The General Committee deemed it obsolescent anyway, condemning it to summary demolition. At the same time, members ordered McDonald to prepare plans for a new range of tenements between Bridgegate and Miller's Place. They also appointed a Special Sub-Committee on New Tenements at Corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate to consider and report upon the City Engineer's designs, once finished.

McDonald submitted his plans on 14 April 1892. The special sub-committee failed to make an immediate decision, however, resolving instead to order a summary of estimated costs and rentable values. These arrived on 26 April 1892. For £7100, four tenements of dwelling-houses and shops might be erected on a site extending to 1240 square yards, or £8120 should the buildings include cellars, baths and oriel windows. The block would provide 33 houses, ranging in size from one to three apartments. McDonald foresaw no problems in finding tenants for these dwellings. He did, however, express concern over the matter of rents for the seven new shop premises. The temptation, he felt, was to set them high in order to recover building expenses as quickly as possible, but this policy might deter prospective tenants. If, on the other hand, rents were too low, City Improvement Trust-owned shops on the east of Saltmarket might lose their occupants to the opposite side of the street. McDonald eventually opted for rents from £50 to £35 per annum, in line with other shops locally.

The special sub-committee was unimpressed by these figures, despite their apparent thoughtfulness. Members recommended McDonald's plans be abandoned, a decision endorsed by the General Committee on 27 April 1892. The Trustees, however, were adamant. On 18 May 1892, they sent the whole matter back for reconsideration. Given this tacit leave to cut corners, the special sub-committee proposed radical changes. On 10 June 1892, members suggested the complete omission of baths, as well as cellars from all but one of the shops – the one on the corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate. They also recommended a hike in the rents for one-room and kitchen houses. The City Engineer was ordered to modify his plans.
accordingly. On 22 June 1892, the special sub-committee approved a revised report by McDonald setting the cost of the buildings at £7400, plus £3100 for the ground. Rents for the shops stayed the same, but those for houses increased to £8, £11 and £15, respectively, depending upon size. On 12 July 1892, the General Committee sanctioned another alteration, recommending the provision of WCs for both sexes on each landing. The Trustees' approval secured, members ordered that tenders be sought on 3 August 1892.

Three weeks later, on 25 August 1892, the Dean of Guild Court inspected and approved McDonald's designs. These drawings show how McDonald first intended the hexagonal roof at the corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate to be pointed, with a weather-vane finial. As built, however, this cone is truncated and flat on top. The plans also show the corner tenement's upper floors were designed to contain two dwelling-houses each, one with a single room and kitchen, the other with an extra room or 'parlour'. These houses had indoor WCs. The other three tenements were different, each with three single-ends and six dwellings of a room and kitchen. For these houses, the WCs were arranged in pairs on the landings.

Tenders arrived on 29 August 1982, the best being accepted nine days later. Work began forthwith and continued unabated until 16 May 1893, when the General Committee considered a complaint from owners of the property adjacent. A solicitor's letter claimed the new block's northern-most wall encroached too far onto its neighbour's land. On 14 June 1893, members agreed to have the offending wall drawn back to the former building line. More changes followed on 19 July 1893, when the Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties partly revised earlier cost-cutting measures, ordering the City Engineer to install baths in three of the houses. This extra provision allowed members to justify, on 16 August 1893, a further increase in rents. Seemingly, house-seekers without the necessary funds were to be overlooked once again.

The buildings were all but finished by 4 October 1893, when the General Committee considered the provision of kitchen ranges. As completed, they are four storeys high, faced – front and back – in cream sandstone ashlar, with crowstepped gables evenly spaced between bays of oriel windows [Fig.63]. The corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate is a hexagon, roofed with a cone and flanked by two large, crowstepped gables. Perpendicular to one another and presiding over bays of single windows, these gables are crowned with massive chimney-stacks. One gable is carved with strapwork and thistles, in common with all the smaller gables facing Saltmarket.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Trustees, 26 January 1887; Trustees, 17 March 1887; General Committee, 12 December 1888; General Committee, 26 December 1888; General Committee, 9 January 1889; Trustees, 17 January 1889; General Committee, 23 January 1889; Joint Special Committee Appointed by Improvement and Health Committees as to Insanitary Properties, 11 February 1889; General Committee, 20 February 1889; Joint Special Committee Appointed by Improvement and Health Committees as to Insanitary Properties, 22 February 1889; Joint Special Committee Appointed by Improvement and Health Committees as to Insanitary Properties, 1 March 1889; General Committee, 6 March 1889; Trustees, 14 March 1889; General Committee, 3 April 1889; Trustees, 11 April 1889; General Committee, 17 April 1889; General Committee, 24 April 1889; Trustees, 16 May 1889; General Committee, 2 October 1889; Trustees, 24 October 1889; General Committee, 13 November 1889; Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements, 20 November 1889; General Committee, 27 November 1889;
General Committee, 22 January 1890; General Committee, 5 March 1890; General Committee, 12 March 1890; General Committee, 16 April 1890; General Committee, 30 April 1890; Trustees, 29 May 1890; General Committee, 11 June 1890; Special Sub-Committee on Saltmarket Tenements, 30 June 1890; General Committee, 5 August 1890; Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc., 24 June 1891; General Committee, 25 November 1891; Trustees, 17 December 1891; Special Sub-Committee on New Tenements at Corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate, 14 April 1892; Special Sub-Committee on New Tenements at Corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate, 26 April 1892; General Committee, 27 April 1892; Trustees, 18 May 1892; General Committee, 8 June 1892; Special Sub-Committee on New Tenements at Corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate, 10 June 1892; Special Sub-Committee on New Tenements at Corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate, 22 June 1892; General Committee, 12 July 1892; Trustees, 21 July 1892; General Committee, 3 August 1892; Special Sub-Committee on New Tenements at Corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate, 29 August 1892; General Committee, 31 August 1892; Special Sub-Committee on New Tenements at Corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate, 7 September 1892; General Committee, 16 May 1893; Sub-Committee on Repairs, Leases, etc, 31 May 1893; General Committee, 31 May 1893; General Committee, 14 June 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 19 July 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 16 August 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 6 September 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 18 September 1893; General Committee, 4 October 1893; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 28 December 1893; Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1892, see Glasgow City Archives 1/2112, 1/2838); Tradesmen's Contracts (1892, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Boxes 6-7).
77 PORTUGAL STREET (1892-3)
One tenement (1892-3), demolished circa 1953

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Masons: Morrison & Muir.
Joiner: Duncan Buchanan.
Plumber: Matthew Sproul.
Slater: James Cuthbertson.
Plasterers: Wemyss & Livingstone.
Painter: Charles Paton.

On 22 June 1892, the Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses read a remitted report by the City Engineer and the Chief Medical Officer regarding sanitary conditions in the superintendent’s dwelling at the Gorbals Model Lodging House on Portugal Street.\(^{519}\) In addition to advising an extension to said lodging house, the report proposed the erection of a tenement of dwelling-houses on ground adjacent. The City Engineer was ordered to prepare plans and estimates for further consideration by a specially appointed sub-committee.

The Special Sub-Committee on Portugal Street and Hydepark Street Homes met on 3 August 1892 to discuss designs submitted by McDonald a day earlier. These showed a three-storey tenement occupying 335 square yards of ground and containing eight houses of one, two and three apartments. Probable cost was put at £1000. On studying McDonald’s plans, members agreed to recommend the tenement be built. The Trustees rubber-stamped this decision on 8 September 1892 and six days later, the General Committee passed responsibility for building work back to the Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses. On 28 September 1892, the City Engineer was instructed to prepare specifications so that tenders might be sought. Most of the favoured estimates were accepted by the Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses on 7 December 1892. Two months earlier, on 12 October 1892, the same sub-committee had ordered the old property on Portugal Street to be removed in time for a commencement date towards the end of November.\(^{520}\)

The minutes make no further mention of the building. It was probably demolished circa 1953, when Portugal Street was removed as part of the Comprehensive Redevelopment of the Gorbals. With the actual building gone and the plans currently missing from the Dean of Guild’s Court Collection, we can only speculate as to what it may have looked like. Nevertheless, it seems fair to assume the tenement’s elevations were plain, in deference to the large building next door.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 22 June 1892, p.82; Special Sub-Committee on Portugal Street and Hydepark Street Homes, 3 August 1892, p.92; Trustees, 8 September 1892, p.98; General Committee, 14 September 1892, p.101; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 28 September 1892, p.102; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 12 October 1892, p.105; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 23 November 1892, p.10; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 7

\(^{519}\) See page 106.

\(^{520}\) Portugal Street was obliterated circa 1953 in anticipation of the Comprehensive Redevelopment of the Gorbals.
December 1892, p.12; Trustees, 15 December 1892, p.18; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 4 January 1893, p.25); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1892, see Glasgow City Archives 1/2311).
On 14 September 1892, the General Committee appointed a special sub-committee to consider and report upon possible uses for a plot of vacant ground on St. Andrews Street. This counsel returned on 11 October 1892, recommending a public sale be organised at the upset price of £2 10s. per square yard. Failing the emergence of a buyer, the Trustees should erect their own buildings. With no suitable offers forthcoming from this public sale, the Special Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties ordered McDonald, on 1 February 1893, to prepare sketch plans showing how the land might be used to site a lodging house for families. Members may even have been shamed into this uncharacteristically generous act by the site’s close proximity to an orphanage run by William Quarrier.

The City Engineer submitted his plans on 27 March 1893, leaving this meeting with orders to get estimates. On 16 May 1893, however, the General Committee received a memorial from local residents, objecting to the erection of a lodging house on St. Andrews Street. The disputants felt such a facility might lessen the value of surrounding property. Interestingly, the General Committee did not dismiss this possibility out of hand; with so many City Improvement Trust-owned tenements nearby, to do so might have been imprudent. Instead, members delegated the matter to the Special Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties with a remit to consider the feasibility of erecting ordinary tenements.

Minutes for the meeting on 22 June 1893 contain a number of illuminating facts and figures. According to the City Engineer, the vacant ground on St. Andrews Street contained 2000 square yards and was worth

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521 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee on Competitive Designs for Workmen’s Dwellings, 28 October 1890). The idea for this type of accommodation was already two and a half years old. On 28 October 1890, members of a special sub-committee resolved to erect a lodging house for families, on High Street and Rottenrow. This plan was eventually put aside, reportedly for use at a later date.

522 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 18 November 1874). According to the Heatherbank Museum of Social Work’s website (www.lib.gcal.ac.uk/heatherbank/), William Quarrier set up the City Orphanage in James Morrison Street – off St. Andrews Square - in the early to mid-1870s.
£6000. At five per cent, this represented an annual rent or feu-duty of £300. McDonald put the probable cost of a Family Home at £12,000, exclusive of furnishings.\footnote{Builder (21 March 1896, p.260). This had risen to £16,000 by the time the building was finished.} Taken at three per cent, this meant a liability of £360 per annum. The building would hold 176 dormitories, yielding revenues of £2000 annually. On the debit side, the cost of maintenance and administration - excepting the £300 and £360 aforementioned - amounted to £1040. Convinced by these figures, the Special Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties dismissed all local objections. Moreover, members deemed the ground entirely unsuitable for the siting of ordinary dwelling-houses. This despite the fact that a condition of the City Improvement Trust-sponsored public sale, six months earlier, was that buyers use the land for precisely this purpose. Ignoring this inconsistency, the Trustees approved the recommendations on 20 July 1893.

Six days later, the Special Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties studied McDonald’s plans for a second time, ordering several unspecified changes to the internal structure. The designs gained unconditional acceptance on 16 August 1893, allowing the City Engineer to prepare working drawings. On the same day, the General Committee considered the provision of day care for children. Two of their number were despatched to Paris to see a working crèche, apparently something of a novelty to nineteenth century Glaswegians. Having made the requested rearrangements, McDonald submitted his finished plans before an approving Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties on 16 September 1893. Tenders arrived on 25 January 1894, the successful ones achieving acceptance over the next four weeks. In total, these contracts amounted to £14,263.

Despite ongoing objections from locals, the Dean of Guild’s Court passed McDonald’s drawings on 11 June 1894. On 9 August 1894, however, the City Engineer informed members of the frailty of the sub-soil on St. Andrews Street. This required the Family Home’s foundations to be dropped to a level lower than first envisaged. Rennie & Duncan had their contract extended accordingly. On 3 October 1894, members decided - somewhat tastelessly, given the flavour of local opinion - to commemorate with a memorial stone the Trustees’ provision of a Family Home. Afterwards, construction work continued largely without scrutiny or objection. On 23 July 1895, however, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties pressed D. & J. Mackenzie for the completion of their contract. Seven weeks later, on 11 September 1895, McDonald was authorised to have the building fitted for electricity. The installation of heating apparatus delayed the building’s opening until 14 March 1896.

Completed in a stripped Queen Anne style and consisting of two four-storey blocks built in a T-form, the Family Home originally held 160 bedrooms, each with its own window and space enough for one adult and one, two or three children [Figs.65].\footnote{Builder (21 March 1896, pp.259-60). This particular journal reported the building as holding 165 bedrooms.} There was a common dining hall lined in pitched pine, plus kitchens, recreation rooms, a nursery and children’s play room, day dormitories, baths, lavatories and a small playground.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig65.jpg}
\caption{The Family Home in 1902 (Arthur Kay).}
\end{figure}
The building was heated with steam and lit by electricity. Its floors were linked by a spiral staircase, produced by the celebrated ironworkers, Walter Macfarlane & Co. Between 17 January 1896 and 25 March 1896, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties held a series of meetings to arrange furnishings. The ground floor kitchen was fitted, consequently, with a variety of steam boilers, a potato steamer, a steam hotplate, a gas oven and fire. Similarly, the kitchens on the three floors above had a combination of steam and gas cooking equipment.

Outside, the building is faced in cream sandstone ashlar. It is seven bays wide and four storeys high, with a partial attic storey making five. Each of the four main storeys is topped with a cornice and frieze. The building's two end bays are recessed behind a main body of five bays, with the end bays of this section marked in turn by bay windows on their first floors and, at their attics, gables-cum-dormers topped with small, triangular pediments and sporting circular windows. McDonald has stressed the entrance bay's importance, giving it a sweep of four windows per floor, the other six bays making do with simple bipartite or tripartite arrangements. McDonald has also brought the central unit's upper three floors forward slightly and furnished the ground floor with a fine Venetian doorway, protected beneath a massive consoled lintel. At the roof, the middle bay is concluded with a third gable-cum-dormer, similar in size to the others and sporting the same circular window, but topped instead with a semicircular finial.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (General Committee, 14 September 1892; Special Sub-Committee on Properties at Nos.7 to 49 High Street and Vacant Ground in St. Andrews Street, 11 October 1892; Trustees, 20 October 1892; General Committee, 4 January 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 1 February 1893; Trustees, 16 February 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 27 March 1893; General Committee, 16 May 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 22 June 1893; General Committee, 5 July 1893; Trustees, 20 July 1893; Special Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 26 July 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 16 August 1893; General Committee, 16 August 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 6 September 1893; General Committee, 6 September 1893; General Committee, 15 September 1893; Special Sub-Committee on Measurers, 16 September 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 9 October 1893; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 25 January 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 8 February 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 22 February 1894; General Committee, 14 June 1894; General Committee, 3 July 1894; Joint Meeting of the Statute Labour Committee of the Police Commissioners and the General Committee of the City Improvement Trustees, 4 July 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 9 August 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 14 September 1894; Convenors and Sub-Convenors of General Committee and Sub-Committees Thereof, 3 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, March 28 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 11 June 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 23 July 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 11 September 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 24 September 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 9 October 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 23 October 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 13 November 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 27 November 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 11 December 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 24
December 1895; General Committee, 26 December 1895; General Committee, 8 January 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 17 January 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 24 January 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 5 February 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 27 February 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 18 March 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 25 March 1896); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1894, see Glasgow City Archives 1/3206).
2-42 OSBORNE STREET/35-61 KING STREET/1-65 PARNIE STREET (1893-5)

Fourteen tenements with shops

FIRST PHASE (four tenements on Osborne Street and King Street):

Architect: John McKissack.
Measurer: Robert Scott.
Masons: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plasterer: Alexander Nixon.
Plumber: Robert Gardiner.
Painter: James F. Edgar.
Ironworker: R.A. Stoffert.
Steelworker: R.A. Stoffert.
Slaters: Hamilton & Co.
Gasfitter: James Telfer.
Bellhanger: James Telfer.
Tiler: James Winton Mackie.

SECOND PHASE (four tenements on King Street and Parnie Street):

Architect: John McKissack.
Measurer: Robert Scott.
Masons: Rennie & Duncan.
Bricklayers: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Ironworkers: P. & W. MacLellan.
Steelworkers: P. & W. MacLellan.
Joiner: Duncan Buchanan.
Slaters: Robert Stevenson & Son.
Plumber: Robert Gardiner.
Gasfitter: Henry Tosh.
Plasterer: John Drummond.
Painters: Archibald Love & Sons.
Tiler: John Shaw.
THIRD PHASE (six tenements on Parnie Street and Osborne Street):

Architect: John McKissack.
Measurer: Robert Scott.
Masons: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Bricklayers: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Joiner: Duncan Buchanan.
Plumbers: Renfrew Bros.
Slaters: Hamilton & Co.
Plasterers: Hamilton & Co.
Painter: Charles Paton.
Tiler: James Winton Mackie.
Bellhangers: Renfrew Bros.

As we have seen, the question of how best to improve 'Areas R and S' - a shambling expanse of property between Saltmarket and King Street - was regularly debated from as early as 26 January 1887, when notice was given of a motion on this matter for discussion at subsequent meetings. On 16 March 1887, the Trustees went so far as to order a feuing plan. The next five years, however, were marked by indecision. On 20 February 1889, Carrick submitted an updated block plan and a proposal to build tenements on various roads in the area, including King Street and Osborne Street. Another plan arrived on 10 June 1891, this time courtesy of McDonald. Not until 7 December 1892, however, did the Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties read and approve more detailed proposals, devised again by the City Engineer. These included recommendations for tenements and shops on the area framed by King Street, Osborne Street and what was to become Parnie Street. McDonald suggested thirteen tenements be built - three on King Street, ten on Osborne Street - with twelve shops facing King Street, Osborne Street and Saltmarket on the ground floors of a scheme of four-storey buildings. The rest of the buildings, including nine three-storey tenements on Osborne Street, would be devoted to a total of 127 dwellings. McDonald predicted a cost of £23,498 for the entire scheme, with prices ranging from £2675 for each of the four-storey tenements, to £1356 for those with three floors. The Trustees approved these proposals on 19 January 1893, giving the Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties leave to commence operations.

The next day, however, members met and resolved to suggest outside architects be invited to submit plans. The General Committee approved this recommendation on 25 January 1893. Advertisements were duly placed, inducing the submission of 24 sets of competitive designs. On 20 April 1893, the General Committee convened to study the plans, reading a shortlist drawn up sixteen days earlier by the City Engineer and Robert A. Bryden, an outside architect brought in, no doubt, to guarantee professional objectivity. The criteria used to make this preliminary judgement were listed as follows: Dean of Guild's Court Regulations; Spaces for Air and Ventilation; Sanitary Arrangements; Stairways and Access; Size of

525 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 18 November 1874). According to a report by John Carrick, the formation of Osborne Street was due to be half paid for by the City of Glasgow Union Railway Company.
Apartments and Cube Contents; Number of Dwellings Shown by the Plans; Cost as Furnished by the Measurer. The judges agreed that four designs - by Robert Dalgleish, John McKissack, William Forrest Salmon and Burnet & Boston - negotiated these considerations most ably. The General Committee chose the design by McKissack, recommending he be hired to prepare plans for the erection of four tenements facing Osborne Street. Tenders would be sought on receipt of the architect's working drawings. These arrived on 24 May 1893, but were immediately sent back for alteration. On 19 July 1893, the General Committee accepted amended plans, together with tenders amounting to nearly £6630.

On 16 August 1893, the Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties appointed McKissack to design four more tenements - on King Street and Parnie Street - in continuation of those already planned for Osborne Street and King Street. Drawings were submitted and approved on 15 September 1893. Tenders arrived on 1 November 1893, the best of these being accepted 22 days later. On 30 November 1893, however, the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties instructed McKissack to prepare yet more plans, this time for seven tenements, completing the block on Osborne, King and Parnie Streets.

As early as 11 January 1894, members leased a shop on King Street to Livingstone & Miller, implying the buildings there were close to completion. Such was the enthusiasm to secure tenants, the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties also agreed to have a cart entrance specially made as part of the leasing agreement. A fortnight later, on 25 January 1894, members endorsed yet more alterations, this time resolving to build a saloon at a cost to the tenants of £35 per annum.

On 12 April 1894, the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties received tenders for six new tenements and a washing house - rather than the seven tenements agreed earlier - on Parnie Street and Osborne Street. The successful tenders, amounting to £10,715, achieved acceptance two weeks later on 26 April 1894.

By 9 August 1894, members had met with McKissack to discuss boilers for the tenements on Osborne Street; clearly these buildings too were nearly finished. On the same day, the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties considered a report on the rents to be charged for shops on King Street and Osborne Street. Members also heard of the architect's arrangements to have iron mantel registers fitted in the houses on King Street and Parnie Street. Further discussion of fittings followed on 7 September 1894, when the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties was informed of a contravention by the windows on Osborne Street of Section 54 of the Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892. Some slick manoeuvring ensured a clause whereby all buildings granted linings by the Dean of Guild's Court prior to 1 June 1894 were exempt from said regulation.

On 11 October 1894, the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties decided the new Osborne Street dwellings should be leased on monthly tenancies. Members met again on 13 December 1894, this time to discuss, amongst other things, the rents to be charged for shops in the new tenements on the south side of Osborne Street.

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526 Glendinning, Maclnnes and MacKechnie (1996, p.593). According to these authors, William Forrest Salmon stopped designing circa 1892.

527 Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892 (Section 54): "...in dwelling houses, all window sashes above the ground floor shall be hinged or constructed so as to admit of the outside of the window being cleaned from the inside of the apartment...".
Parnie Street. One particular offer - of £32 per annum - was accepted for a single shop on Parnie Street, facing Chisholm Street. The Sub-Committee on South Central Properties also agreed to have the tenements' other shops fitted up to suit their occupiers, once let.

Operations were still ongoing on 21 May 1895, when members authorised McKissack to have concrete divisions put in the washing house instead of pitch pine as originally planned. Other than an abandoned scheme for specially designed ashbins - costing a hefty £70 each - this all but marked the end of construction work.

Apart from the paper-smooth ashlar employed at the ground floor of the tenements on Osborne Street – the only part of the scheme without shops – and the dado of the washing house on the same road, the buildings are uniformly faced in rough-hewn blocks of sandstone [Fig.68]. Curiously, this sandstone is red to the front of the buildings, but cream to the back, indicating the scheme’s construction coincided with a change in the quarries used by masons Webster, Walker & Webster and Rennie & Duncan.

Almost without fail, the tenements are two bays wide and arranged according to the following pattern: one tenement with three upper floors of a bay window and single window, followed by a tenement with three upper floors of a bay window and a bipartite window. Only on the gently curving corner of Parnie Street and Osborne Street is this rhythm broken [Fig.71]. This tendency towards regularity is compounded by the scheme's chimney-stacks – without exception, one for every two tenements – and its windows, every one of which is sheltered beneath a cornice. At the roof, the cornice doubles as a gutter.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Trustees, 26 January 1887; Trustees, 17 March 1887; General Committee, 20 February 1889; General Committee, 10 June 1891; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 7 December 1892; Trustees, 15 December 1892; Trustees, 19
January 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 20 January 1893; General Committee, 25 January 1893; General Committee, 18 April 1893; General Committee, 20 April 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 24 May 1893; General Committee, 19 July 1893; General Committee, 2 August 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 16 August 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 15 September 1893; General Committee, 15 September 1893; Special Sub-Committee on Measurers, 16 September 1893; Sub-Committee on Finance, 1 November 1893; General Committee, 1 November 1893; Special Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 1 November 1893; Trustees, 16 November 1893; General Committee, 23 November 1893; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 30 November 1893; General Committee, 14 December 1893; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 28 December 1893; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 11 January 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 25 January 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 12 April 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 26 April 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 22 May 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 14 June 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 9 August 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 7 September 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 13 September 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 11 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 25 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 13 December 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 21 May 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 11 June 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 23 July 1895; General Committee, 27 February 1896; Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1893-4, see Glasgow City Archives 1/2708, 1/2911, 1/3041); Tradesmen’s Contracts (1893-4, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Boxes 5-7).
MORRIN SQUARE,
COLLINS STREET/ROTTENROW/WEAVER STREET/MASON STREET (1893-8)
Twelve tenements, demolished circa 1960s

FIRST PHASE
(five tenements on Collins Street, Rottenrow and Weaver Street):
Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: R. Dinsmore.
Masons: John Adam & Co.
Joiners: Ross & Finlay.
Slaters: John McQuat & Son.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Plumbers: Steel & Wilson.
Painter: Charles Paton.

SECOND PHASE
(seven tenements on Collins Street and Mason Street):
Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: R. Dinsmore.
Masons: Thaw & Campbell.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Slater: Hugh McTaggart.
Plasterers: Hamilton & Co.
Plumbers: Renfrew Bros.
Painter: George McLeay.

On 14 September 1892, the General Committee appointed a special sub-committee to utilise two areas of City Improvement Trust-owned property in Townhead, on Collins Street, Rottenrow, Weaver Street and Mason Street, together with McLeod Street to the east. The Special Sub-Committee on Old Properties and Vacant Ground in Townhead District returned on 11 October 1892 with news that McDonald had the matter under consideration. Much later, on 11 August 1893, the Special Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties agreed the City Improvement Trust itself should use the ground to erect dwellings for labourers - one and two-roomed houses, all with kitchens. It also suggested the Special Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties agreed the City Improvement Trust itself should use the ground to erect dwellings for labourers - one and two-roomed houses, all with kitchens. It also suggested the Special Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties agreed the City Improvement Trust itself should use the ground to erect dwellings for labourers - one and two-roomed houses, all with kitchens. It also suggested the Special Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties agreed the City Improvement Trust itself should use the ground to erect dwellings for labourers - one and two-roomed houses, all with kitchens. It also suggested the Special Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties agreed the City Improvement Trust itself should use the ground to erect dwellings for labourers - one and two-roomed houses, all with kitchens. It also suggested the Special Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties agreed the City Improvement Trust itself should use the ground to erect dwellings for labourers - one and two-roomed houses, all with kitchens. It also suggested the Special Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties agreed the City Improvement Trust itself should use the ground to erect dwellings for labourers - one and two-roomed houses, all with kitchens. It also suggested the Special Sub-Committee on Townhead

528 Mason Street today makes up part of Cathedral Street, lying east of Weaver Street.
Properties be retained to administer the scheme, once approved. The General Committee passed both recommendations on 16 August 1893.

On 4 October 1893, the General Committee read a letter from the Discharged Prisoners’ Aid Society, offering to buy some of the targeted land for the siting of a reception house. Given the rarity of such offers, the City Improvement Trust’s eventual rejection suggests a growing self-confidence on the back of several successful building schemes. The General Committee maintained its unilateral stance on 18 October 1893, dismissing an offer by the architect Frank Burnet – a former assistant to John Carrick - to buy, on behalf of unnamed clients, 1512 square yards of ground for the erection of good quality workmen’s dwellings.\(^{529}\) It seems, having determined to use the land to build their own tenements, members were unwilling to let it go, even to builders whose aims were roughly in line with their own.

Fifteen days later, on 2 November 1893, the Special Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties instructed McDonald to prepare plans and estimates, giving two options for the types of tenements to be erected on one section of the vacant land. The first design would be for ordinary tenements, the second for buildings designed so as to allow the dwellings to be reached by balconies. This instruction was probably made in response to a stipulation in the Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892, which made it economically attractive to build tenements designed according to the ‘gallery’ principle.\(^{530}\) The City Engineer’s plans arrived back on 22 November 1893, when members opted for the balcony system, though in a slightly altered form. McDonald was ordered to prepare detailed drawings and specifications, incorporating sundry unspecified changes. The amended designs were ready on 14 December 1893, when the Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties read an explanatory memorandum. Four blocks were proposed, five tenements in all. The first three blocks would front Collins Street, Rottenrow and Weaver Street, the fourth filling the space behind. Although his plans heeded the free space requirements as laid out in various of the Glasgow Building Acts, McDonald felt the Dean of Guild’s Court was likely to scrutinise this interior block very closely. The whole scheme would occupy 2670 square yards, providing sixteen houses of three apartments and 52 of two.\(^{531}\) Depending upon their size and position, rents for these houses would vary between £8 10s., £9 10s. and £12 10s. per annum, yielding a gross of £686 a year. Outlay for construction was put at £8600. Approving the plans, the Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties ordered slump estimates, these to be considered in comparison with the cost of ordinary tenements.

On 25 January 1894, the City Engineer submitted and saw approved working drawings for the scheme’s front and back elevations. The main one of these probably showed a row of tenements four storeys high and ten bays wide with bays of single and double windows, the bipartites crowned by crowstepped gables decorated with a three-part pattern made up of semicircular mouldings. The rear elevation would have shown a combination of open balconies and partially enclosed stairwells, with large, punched windows to

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\(^{529}\) See Appendix 1, page 236.

\(^{530}\) Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892 (Section 37). This limited the number of houses within a tenement to sixteen, whenever that tenement was entered through a closed stair. Builders using balconies could increase this number to 24.

\(^{531}\) Menzies (1894, p.8): “...three blocks fronting respectively Rottenrow and Collins and Weaver Streets with a small tenement in the rear [are] now in progress. The block fronting Collins Street contains three-roomed houses solely and the others two-roomed houses only”.
allow the flow of air. Tenders arrived on 21 March 1894, the successful ones being chosen a month or so later on 26 April 1894. These amounted to about £9324. Construction work began at once, but was interrupted on 13 September 1894, when the Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties agreed to extend Thaw & Campbell’s masonry contract. It seems the new scheme’s foundations were causing some unforeseen difficulties. The masons’ request to suspend all work on the buildings’ inner walls was met with rejection, however, due to growing fears of an imminent, citywide strike by Glasgow’s bricklayers.

Three months earlier, on 19 June 1894, members had discussed the propriety of erecting additional tenements on adjacent ground facing Mason Street and Collins Street. The City Engineer was ordered to prepare drawings for a block - planned on the balcony system - containing houses of one and two rooms, plus kitchens. McDonald submitted his plans on 3 October 1894. As he did so, he explained his reasons for including only two-room and kitchen houses. Apparently, this stemmed from unminuted instructions received since the initial commission. Unfazed, the Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties passed the plans, ordering McDonald to prepare specifications and schedules.

On 18 October 1894, however, the Trustees insisted the smaller houses be reinstated and McDonald was ordered to get estimates for the buildings thus planned. He returned on 22 November 1894, this time with two contrasting sets of sketch plans. The minutes do not elaborate, but we may presume this contrast resided between the new plans with small houses and the older ones without. The Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties decided to delay its decision until it received relative estimates. These arrived on 27 December 1894, prompting members to choose a slightly altered version of something called ‘Plan No.6’. McDonald left the meeting with instructions to prepare working drawings for a block of tenements one foot wider than those shown in his sketch.

On 10 January 1895, he submitted and saw approved yet another plan, this time showing a new position for the tenement behind those on Collins Street, Rottenrow and Weaver Street. It seems the Health Committee had insisted upon this alteration. Despite the delay, tenants were fully expected to be in place by the following Whitsunday. The Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties met, accordingly, on 24 January 1895 to fix rents. Three weeks later, on 14 February 1895, two members were ordered to have the houses fitted with kitchen ranges, mantel registers and spring mattresses. Operations concluded sometime around 12 June 1895, McDonald was instructed to have the back court paved with granolithic slabs. On the same day, the General Committee suggested the plaza be named after one of its own: Councillor David Morrin.

At the same time, work was just beginning on the scheme’s second phase, facing Mason Street and Collins Street on a site covering 1630 square yards. On 11 April 1895, McDonald submitted working drawings. Rather surprisingly, an accompanying report revealed the additional seven tenements would hold twelve houses of three apartments and 40 of two. No single-ends were planned; this despite the Trustees’ aforementioned insistence. What is more, rents were set at a hefty £16 and £10 10s. respectively, presumably to recover quickly an initial outlay of £9050. The Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties sanctioned the designs, requesting the immediate commencement of operations. Tenders arrived on 11 July 1895, when they were sent to the measurer.
On 11 December 1895, however, members realised that even the most competitive of these tenders put costs too high. The City Engineer was asked, consequently, to make certain changes in a bid to lower expenditure. McDonald's modifications arrived back on 24 December 1895, but were rejected out of hand. The Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties elected instead to begin anew, ordering fresh plans. These were submitted and approved on 7 January 1896, dependent upon a few small alterations. McDonald again received instructions to prepare detailed working drawings and specifications. Once finished, these envisioned a symmetrical row of tenements facing Collins Street, four storeys high and ten bays wide, with interspersed bays of bipartite and tripartite windows topped by triangular pediments or crowstepped gables. The pediments were decorated with finials of carved thistles, roses or shamrocks, while the two main, central gables were faced with ornamental panels. To the front, the buildings were to be faced in a channelled ashlar, with rough-hewn blocks on the ground floor, beneath a dado. To the back, however, the drawings seem to indicate a facing of brick. This rear elevation consisted of numerous bays of either single windows or entrance doors, with exposed balconies overlooking the back court, but with the stairs enclosed within large, square-sided towers jutting perpendicularly away from the buildings' main body. Tenders for the new drawings arrived on 8 July 1896, the best being chosen two weeks later. These put costs at £9561.

On 7 October 1896, in order to avoid further delays, the General Committee ruled that John Adam & Co. be permitted to use stone from a different quarry from that named in the firm's masonry contract. A

fortnight later, on 21 October 1895, the Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties agreed to have one of its new gable walls faced in white enamel bricks. Apparently, this wall overlooked some rather gloomy premises owned by a certain Thomas Towart, who offered to pay the extra expense in return for a luminous, reflective surface. Members agreed to lower a different gable wall on 10 February 1897, this
time to lessen the obstruction caused to chimneys belonging to Townhead Baths, immediately adjoining the new development. On 25 November 1897, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties read a statement of the rents proposed for dwellings in the tenements on Collins Street and Mason Street. It studied a second statement on 23 June 1898, by which time the buildings were almost certainly finished. On 27 October 1898, members made moves to retrieve the monetary penalties incurred by the buildings' mason and plasterer for delays in the completion of these firms' contracts.

Demolished very probably to make way for the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Townhead in 1962, Morrin Square was described most recently as consisting of "...five four-storey blocks of two apartment houses, all with internal sanitation and designed in simple Scottish Domestic style".  

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (General Committee, 14 September 1892; Special Sub-Committee on Old Properties and Vacant Ground in Townhead District, 11 October 1892; Special Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 11 August 1893; General Committee, 16 August 1893; General Committee 4 October 1893; General Committee, 1 November 1893; Special Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 2 November 1893; Trustees, 16 November 1893; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 22 November 1893; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 14 December 1893; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 26 April 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 22 March 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 25 January 1894; General Committee 21 March 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 22 March 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 12 April 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 26 April 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 19 June 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 13 September 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 3 October 1894; Trustees, 18 October 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead Properties, 25 October 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, November 22 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 27 December 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 10 January 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 24 January 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 14 February 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 11 April 1895; General Committee, 9 May 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 12 June 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 11 July 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 12 September 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 11 December 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 24 December 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 7 January 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 8 July 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 22 July 1896; General Committee, 7 October 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 21 October 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 11 November 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 10 February 1897; General Committee, 28 October 1897; General Committee, 11 November 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 25 November 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 23 June 1898; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 27 October 1898); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1894-6, see Glasgow City Archives 1/3139, 1/3659, 1/5105).

532 Worsdall (1979, p.110).
30 MONCUR STREET (1893-4)
One tenement, demolished circa 1979

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Masons: Rennie & Duncan.
Joiner: Duncan Buchanan.
Plumber: James Raeside.
Gasfitter: James Raeside.
Slater: James Cuthbertson.
Plasterers: Wemyss & Livingstone.
Cementers: Hamilton & Co.
Painter: Alexander Anderson.
Tiler: James Winton Mackie.

On 23 November 1893, McDonald submitted designs for a tenement proposed to be erected on vacant
ground immediately adjoining the East Russell Street Model Lodging Home.533 On seeing this plan, the
Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses recommended the tenement be built according to detailed drawings
and specifications then to be prepared by the City Engineer. Members also advised that tenders be sought as
soon as these designs were ready. This eventually happened some time after 28 December 1893. The
tenders arrived back on 22 February 1894, the most competitive being accepted two weeks later. In total,
these contracts amounted to a little over £6314.

The City Improvement Trust's minutes make no further mention of the tenement on Moncur Street and
there are no plans for it in the Dean of Guild's Court Collection at Glasgow City Archives. Nevertheless, a
picture from 1902 of the adjoining lodging house suggests it was functional in design, three or possibly
four storeys high, with channelled blocks of ashlar on the ground floor and a fenestration based entirely on
bipartite windows, some with cornices [Fig.32].534

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 23 November 1893;
Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 28 December 1893; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 22 February
1894; Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 8 March 1894).

533 See page 74.
534 Kay (1902, p.23).
Seven tenements with shops

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: John Baxter.
Masons: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Ironworkers: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Glazier: Duncan Buchanan.
Joiner: Duncan Buchanan.
Pipefitters: Renfrew Bros.
Slaters: Hamilton & Co.
Tiler: James Winton Mackie.
Painter: David Lang.
Plasterers: Hamilton & Co.

On 30 November 1893, McDonald submitted plans for six tenements on Saltmarket, Parnie Street and Chisholm Street. The Sub-Committee on South Central Properties was not satisfied with these designs, however, and sent them back for alteration. On 11 January 1894, members approved amended drawings, these showing seven tenements - as opposed to the original six - containing twelve shops with saloons and cellars, and 55 one, two and three-apartment houses, many with WCs and baths. The development would cover 1940 square yards and cost £18,000 to build.

On 6 March 1894, the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties accepted an amended plan for the tenements' washing houses "...prepared by Mr. McKissach...". It is difficult to say whether, by this, the minute-taker was referring to an assistant then working in the office of the City Engineer or to John McKissack, private architect for the development then being built on Osborne Street, King Street and Parnie Street. Whatever the case, tenders for the work on Saltmarket, Parnie Street and Chisholm Street arrived on 12 April 1894, the most competitive of these being accepted on 10 May 1894, though the contracts for lath and plaster work were not settled until quite a bit later, on 25 October 1894. These took the total cost to over £18,300.

See page 112. See also Appendix 1, page 248.
Operations then went ahead and continued at some pace. As early as 28 February 1895, it seems the buildings’ interiors were ready enough to be fitted with furniture; the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties authorised the provision of mantel registers for “...certain houses in the Parnie Street tenements”. On 8 May 1895, furthermore, members ordered WCs and other fittings for the shops at 11-13 Chisholm Street and 39 Parnie Street. The mantel registers aforementioned were fitted into completed tenements a little after 11 September 1895.

The tenements – which still stand today - are faced to the front and rear in cream sandstone ashlar and arranged in bays of single, double and four-part rounded bay windows, with the first and second floor windows corniced and those on the third floor left plain. Compensation for this plainness comes in the form of a large overhanging and fussily moulded cornice at the roof. The rounded bay windows are pronounced and particularly handsome at the corners of Saltmarket and Parnie Street, and Parnie Street and Chisholm Street [Figs.78 and 79]. Above the ground floor, the row of tenements on Parnie Street is interrupted on two separate occasions by ventilation gaps. By contrast, the row of shops is unbroken at ground level.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 30 November 1893; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 14 December 1893; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 11 January 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 6 March 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 12 April 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 10 May 1894; General Committee, 22 May 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 3 September 1894; General Committee, 3 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 4 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 11 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 25 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 13 December 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 28 February 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 8 May 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 11 September 1895); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1894, see Glasgow City Archives 1/3207).
Six tenements with shops

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Masons: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plumbers: Renfrew Bros.
Gasfitters: John Paterson & Co.
Bellhangers: John Paterson & Co.
Slater: James Cuthbertson.
Tilers: Galbraith & Winton.
Painter: John Watson.

On 25 January 1894, the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties ordered McDonald to prepare plans for a block of tenements on Parnie Street, King Street and Trongate, to the west of Tron Steeple. The matter then fell into abeyance until 23 September 1894, when the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties restated its order. This lack of action probably had something to do with concerns expressed by the Glasgow Architectural Association as regards operations in the immediate vicinity of the Tron Steeple. The City Improvement Trust eventually decided not to interfere with the buildings flanking this structure, and on 11 October 1894, McDonald finally returned with drawings for the new tenements. These were approved and the City Engineer was sent to prepare more detailed plans and estimates. He submitted his finished designs on 14 March 1895. Fourteen shops were proposed, available for between £80 and £270 per annum. The upper floors would also hold warehouses, available to traders at a rent of £8 yearly. Sharing these floors would be 30 houses of two rooms and eight of three, their rents proposed to range from £10 5s. to £19 15s. a year. An accompanying report acknowledged the unminuted decision not to proceed just yet with the buildings' construction as far as they faced Trongate – no doubt in deference to the aforementioned objection from the Glasgow Architectural Association. For future reference, however, McDonald estimated filling the 937 square yards of ground on Trongate would cost £19,800. By contrast, operations could commence at once to fill the 621 square yards of ground facing King Street and Parnie Street. This section of the scheme would cost a comparatively modest £9200, containing, as it did, smaller, less prestigious premises.

The agreement with the Glasgow Architectural Association lasted approximately eight months. On 26 June 1895, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties sent instructions to have tenants ordered out of the old buildings on Trongate, allowing demolition work to begin. The site was cleared by 23 October 1895, when tenders arrived for tenements on the corner of Trongate and King Street. On 13 November 1895, members accepted offers from the contractors listed above, these amounting to £17,849. Ten weeks later, on 22 January 1896, Webster, Walker & Webster applied for an extension of their masonry contract,
minuted as being for buildings on the corner of Trongate and King Street and King Street and Parnie Street. It seems the foundations required more work than first thought. The Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties granted a two-month prolongation.

On 25 March 1896, the City Engineer received instructions to front the new shops with cast-iron pillars rather than stone butts. Seven weeks later, on 13 May 1896, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties felt the shops were complete enough to accept an offer from Benjamin Jacobs to let one of them on a ten-year lease. Despite this readiness, the minutes confirm snippets of work were still ongoing as late as 12 October 1898.

The block of tenements is faced in cream sandstone and stands four storeys high, except for the row facing Trongate and turning into King Street [Fig.80]. These particular tenements have five storeys, their attic floor marked by decorative, balustraded balconies beneath the windows and six gables of varying sizes above. Four of the gables are crowstepped, one is curvilinear and one is a simple, triangular pediment. All of them are elaborately moulded and carved with the City Arms, heraldic shields, seashell ornament and other such confectionery. Atop the gable clasping Trongate and King Street there is a finial in the shape of a lion recumbent. The lower floors are less flowery, but still have room enough for several shaped and broken pediments above their bay and bipartite windows. The first floor windows are particularly ornate, with varying arrangements of arched and straight windows, their mullions carved with roses. The overall style of the tenements on Trongate and King Street is Scots Baronial tinged with Flemish. On King Street and Parnie Street this style reverts to a straightforward Baronial, with semicircular pediments over the first floor bay windows and a cone-shaped turret over the four-part windows on the corner [Fig.81].

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Trustees, 26 January 1887; Trustees, 17 March 1887; General Committee, 20 February 1889; General Committee, 10 June 1891; General Committee, 7 December 1892; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 25 January 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 23 September 1894; Special Committee on Tron Steeple, 10 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 11 October 1894; Trustees, 18 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 14 March 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 26 June 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 11 September 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 24 September 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 9 October 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 23 October 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 13 November 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 22 January 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 25 March 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 13 May 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 8 July 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 23 June 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 8 September 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central
District Properties, 22 September 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 13 October
1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 27 October 1897; Sub-Committee on South
Central District Properties, 12 October 1898; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 7 June
1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 12 July 1899; Dean of Guild's Court
Collection (1895, see Glasgow City Archives 1/4231).
56-72 BELL STREET (1894-8)

Two tenements with shops

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: John Currie.
Masons: Walker, Webster & Walker.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plumbers: Renfrew Bros.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Painter: David Lang.
Slaters: Hamilton & Co.
Tilers: The Staffordshire Tileries Company.
Ironworkers: P. & W. MacLellan.

On 5 June 1894, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties considered the fate of a run-down block of tenements situated at what was then numbered 23-37 Bell Street. Initially, members decided to renovate the property rather than replace it. On 9 August 1894, however, the City Engineer submitted plans for an entirely new block of buildings. Studying these designs in isolation, members recommended McDonald be ordered to prepare a comprehensive block plan for the whole area between Bell Street, Trongate, High Street and Nelson Street.536 This plan arrived back on 3 October 1894, together with resubmitted plans for the new tenements on Bell Street. Both sets of drawings met with approval and McDonald was sent to prepare specifications and schedules, and arrange for tenders.

On 14 February 1895, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties authorised the eviction of tenants from the south side of Bell Street, east of Wallace Court. These people's houses were to be taken down and replaced by two new tenements. Tenders for the new buildings arrived on 11 April 1895. Two weeks later, the General Committee decided to experiment with windows of a patented design - 'Brown's Simplex Window Openers' - in deference to Section 54 of the Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892.537 On 23 July 1895, however, in a complete retraction of their earlier decision, members of the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties resolved, temporarily, to leave the old buildings standing. It seems the interim period had seen the General Committee consulting with the city's Bazaar Committee, administrators for the City Halls and Markets across the road from the targeted site on Bell Street. The markets, it transpired, were to be extended and the General Committee was probably keen to avoid conflicting interests. By 8 January 1896, though, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties was in a position to accept tenders. These came from the tradesmen listed above and were worth a total of £5760.

536 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 24 December 1903). Nelson Street was renamed Albion Street circa 1904.

537 Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892 (Section 54). Presumably, 'Brown's Simplex Window Openers' involved hinges and moveable battens, thereby facilitating removal by the tenants and saving them the price of a window cleaner.
On 28 January 1897, the Sub-Committee on Central District Properties approved the Manager, William Crawford Menzies' recommendations as to rents for the new houses and shops, though building work was still far from finished. As late as 13 January 1898, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties was reading a report by McDonald on the delays then holding up the completion of three building schemes, including the one on Bell Street. The Town Clerk was immediately dispatched to remonstrate with the culpable contractors.

As eventually completed, the tenements are four storeys high and ten bays, with a facing of cream sandstone ashlar [Fig.82]. They have shallow oriel windows and three gables, the central one of these being crowstepped and by far the largest. It is carved with the City Arms and the date: 1896.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (General Committee, 18 November 1874; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 5 June 1894; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 9 August 1894; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 3 October 1894; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 14 February 1895; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 11 April 1895; General Committee 25 April 1895; General Committee, 9 May 1895; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 23 July 1895; General Committee, 26 December 1895; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 8 January 1896; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 23 January 1896; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 28 January 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 8 July 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 13 January 1898; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 23 January 1901); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1896, see Glasgow City Archives 1/4298).
74-98 SALTMARKET (1894-6)
Three tenements with shops

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Masons: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Ironworkers: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Steelworkers: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Slater: James Cuthbertson.
Plumber: Robert Gardiner.
Bellhanger: Robert Gardiner.
Painter: J.F. Edgar.
Tiler: James Winton Mackie.

On 13 December 1894, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties studied designs, produced rather suddenly by McDonald, showing a row of tenements to be erected on the west side of Saltmarket, between Miller’s Place and the new railway bridge.\footnote{538} Two weeks later, on 27 December 1894, the City Engineer re-submitted his plans together with estimates of cost and rental. The block would cover 1394 square yards, holding nine houses of one room and eighteen of two, with the ground floor given over to eight shops. Yearly charges of £8 10s. for a single-end and £11 for a room and kitchen put gross rental at £731 10s. per annum. Construction would cost £6987. Assuming a forfeit of 25 per cent from the gross rental for repairs and taxes, together with three and a half per cent interest on the cost of the buildings, this left an annual income of £304. These figures produced a site valuation of £4 7s. 6d. per square yard. Convinced, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties immediately sanctioned the new tenements. On 24 January 1895, orders were given to remove tenants from 72-106 Saltmarket before Whitsunday, so as to allow for demolition. The tenders arrived and were approved by the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties on 8 May 1895. These lowered predicted costs to £6757. Building work began soon after and continued apace until 12 February 1896, when members read a letter from the slater initially contracted, Alfred Robertson, complaining of problems acquiring slates from a sub-contractor. The Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties eventually transferred Robertson’s contract to a different slater, James Cuthbertson.

As finished, the buildings are another exercise in the Scots Baronial style, faced in a cream sandstone ashlar [Fig.83]. Each tenement is four storeys high and three bays wide, with two outer bays of oriel windows flanking a central bay of bipartite windows. Crowstepped gables top the central bays of each tenement and are topped themselves by carved renditions of the national flowers of Scotland, England and Ireland: a thistle, a rose and a shamrock. The Arms of Glasgow are carved beneath the largest chimney-stack.

\footnote{538} See page 96, footnote 510.
Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Trustees, 26 January 1887; Trustees, 17 March 1887; General Committee, 12 December 1888; General Committee, 26 December 1888; General Committee, 9 January 1889; Trustees, 17 January 1889; General Committee, 23 January 1889; Joint Special Committee Appointed by Improvement and Health Committees as to Insanitary Properties, 11 February 1889; General Committee, 20 February 1889; Joint Special Committee Appointed by Improvement and Health Committees as to Insanitary Properties, 22 February 1889; Joint Special Committee Appointed by Improvement and Health Committees as to Insanitary Properties, 1 March 1889; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 13 December 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 27 December 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 24 January 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 11 April 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 24 April 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 8 May 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 21 May 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 12 February 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 26 February 1896); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1895, see Glasgow City Archives 1/4020).
74 KIRK STREET (1895)
One tenement, demolished circa 1980s

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: W.H. Dinsmore.
Masons: Thaw & Campbell.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Slaters: John McQuat & Son.
Plumber: Matthew Sproul.
Painter: W.D. Horne.
Plasterers: Hamilton & Co.

On 26 July 1894, the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties ordered McDonald to prepare and submit a plan showing how 770 square yards of ground recently cleared on Kirk Street might best be used to site new buildings [Fig.85]. The City Engineer submitted drawings a fortnight later, but saw them shelved. Members resolved instead to visit the site before making a decision. These events seem to have coincided with a concerted and rather overdue effort over the next few months to build new houses for the genuinely poor. On 6 February 1895, accordingly, the General Committee ordered appropriate designs from McDonald. Eight days later, he returned with sketch plans for blocks of dwellings at two sites, one of them being the ground on Kirk Street already earmarked for new buildings. Having approved the sketches, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties received finished drawings and specifications on 14 March 1895. Passing these, members chose a stone facing, despite having the cheaper option of facing the building in brick.

The successful tenders, £2222 worth of them, achieved acceptance on 21 March 1895. Work paused one week later, however, when the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties received a letter from representatives of the site’s neighbours. The Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons was perturbed by plans to use its adjoining gable wall. Members resolved, accordingly, to have the structure purchased. The complainants eventually accepted £55. On 25 April 1895, the General Committee decided its new labourers’ dwellings should have ‘Brown’s Simplex Window Openers’ as an experiment to see if these...
might be suitable for improvement buildings elsewhere.\footnote{See page 128.} Operations concluded a little after 27 November 1895, when the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties empowered McDonald to have turf to the tenement’s north fenced off and landscaped into a green for tenants’ washing. Even so, finishing touches - plastering and the like - were still going on as late as 22 January 1896.

The building is no longer with us, having been demolished possibly as late as the 1980s. Our only way of knowing what it looked like, consequently, is through the drawings presented by McDonald to the Dean of Guild’s Court in March 1895 [Fig.84]. Curiously, though the minutes only ever refer to it as a single tenement, the City Engineer’s designs are very clearly labelled as a block of tenements. This confusion may have come about due to the back part of the block’s being built according to the balcony system, rather than with the same system of enclosed stairs as occurred behind the façade of the elevation fronting the north side of Kirk Street [Fig.86]. This front part stood four storeys high and was extremely plain, fenestrated with simple bays of single and bipartite windows. The back part had three storeys and looked out onto an enclosed courtyard. It was from here that tenants entered the building.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 26 July 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 9 August 1894; General Committee, 6 February 1895; General Committee, 14 February 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 14 March 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 21 March 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 28 March 1895; General Committee, 25 April 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 11 September 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 27 November 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 22 January 1896); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1895, see Glasgow City Archives 1/3722).
45 ST. JAMES ROAD/CASTLE STREET (1895-8)
Three tenements, demolished circa 1962

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Bricklayer: John Hemphill.
Joiners: A. Niven & Sons.
Plumber: Robert Gardiner.
Slater: Archibald Black.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Painter: Peter McKerracher.

The junction of Castle Street and St. James Road was the next site deemed suitable for labourers' dwellings. On 6 March 1895, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties studied and endorsed McDonald's sketch plan for a single tenement of one and two-roomed houses, for rent at £4 4s. and £7 7s. The City Engineer was instructed to make certain minor alterations before preparing detailed working drawings. These arrived back with a supplementary report on 28 March 1895. The new building would cost about £5000 and hold 48 one-apartment houses, with twelve of two. It would occupy a site of 1180 square yards. McDonald was particularly keen to point out the full extent of the proposed building's facilities. The single-ends were designed to provide an airy 1400 cubic feet of space, while the two-roomed houses would each have a private WC. For these privileges, tenants would be expected to pay £5 or £7 10s. Thus, the price of the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties' amendments became suddenly apparent. Despite these rents, £81 10s. was the best that could be expected in the way of annual profit. This was considerably less than the amounts made on improvement property elsewhere. McDonald's report also ended with a chilling reminder of the harshness of working class life at the end of the nineteenth century. Having consulted Russell, the City Engineer resolved to build a mortuary in the development's back court, to allow for the keeping of potentially contagious corpses in partial quarantine.

The Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties passed McDonald's plans forthwith, allowing preparations for construction work to begin. Two weeks later, the same sub-committee appointed three of its number to remove tenants from 'temporary erections' (a council-sponsored shanty town?) from the targeted site on the south side of St. James Road. As it happened, these dwellers were unwilling to move for less than £200. Operations halted, accordingly, until their tenancies ran out on Whitsunday 1896. In the interim, on 11 December 1895, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties recommended the

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541 In 1895, Dobbs's Loan ran into St. James Road to form a continuous street. Today, the roads are separated by a small housing estate.
542 Worsdall (1979, p.110). Confusingly and probably erroneously, Worsdall puts this figure at £10,000, though he provides similar figures for the numbers and sizes of the dwellings.
543 Fyfe (1899, p.31). According to Fyfe, the site measured 1280 square yards.
pavement in St. James Road, at the corner of Castle Street, be redirected so as to pass some tenements on Glebe Street to the north. Members also suggested the building line on the south of St. James Road - the site of the proposed development - be moved to a position parallel with the north side. The Police Department's Statute Labour Committee granted this second request a little before 22 January 1896, allowing McDonald to adapt his plans. This done, tenders for the contact work arrived before the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties on 11 March 1896, when they were opened and initialled by the meeting's chairman, Councillor David Morrin. The four lowest for each class of work were then sent to be checked by an unnamed firm of measurers. Two weeks later, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties recommended the acceptance of offers from those craftsmen listed above, amounting to just over £4979.

Operations then continued apace for nearly a year, before stalling slightly with the bankruptcy of John Hemphill, contractor for the development's brickwork. On 27 January 1897, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties agreed to make its payments directly to this tradesman's creditors. Elsewhere, work went ahead unhampered, including the supply - after 24 March 1897 - of iron railings for a perimeter wall to the rear of the new development, by P. & R. Fleming & Co. On 9 June 1897, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties ordered McDonald to oversee the application of cement plaster rendering; this was only the second improvement project not to be faced in stone and the very first to make use of harling. One month later, on 11 August 1897, the City Engineer reported this work's satisfactory completion. He was then told to make up plans for the aforementioned mortuary. These were ready by 8 September 1897.

On 13 January 1898, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties read a report by McDonald concerning delays on three building schemes, including the one for labourers on St. James Road. The Town Clerk was immediately dispatched to remonstrate with the culpable contractors. A year or so later, accordingly, the Chief Sanitary Inspector Peter Fyfe was able to describe "...a [finished] plan of the single-apartment houses in the Corporation property at St. James' Road, where each two tenants have a WC, while the washouse [sic] is used by six tenants". This description seems a little at odds with the accommodation as first proposed by McDonald.

The buildings were almost certainly demolished as part of the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Townhead in 1962. Drawings from the Dean of Guild's Court Collection show a four-storey scheme in two blocks, three tenements in all [Fig.87]. Again the use of balconies seems to have caused some confusion as to how many tenements were actually being built [Fig.88]. The individual dwellings - arranged behind sets of three doors - were reached by way of balconies.

Fig.88: balconies at 45 St. James Road/Castle Street, 1899 (Glasgow City Archives).

544 Fyfe (1899, p.30).
overlooking the back court, via enclosed entrance stairwells, one for each tenement. At the front, facing St. James Road, the larger block – approximately 185 feet long and encompassing two tenements – was fenestrated so as to look like a single entity, with nine bays of single or double windows and three pediments-cum-chimney-stacks, each carved with a shield. The smaller block – a single tenement – was similarly arranged, its pediment carved with a shield and datestone: 1896.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (General Committee, 6 February 1895; General Committee, 14 February 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 6 March 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 28 March 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 11 April 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 25 April 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 11 December 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 22 January 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 12 February 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 11 March 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 25 March 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 10 June 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 13 January 1897; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 27 January 1897; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 24 February 1897; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 24 March 1897; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 9 June 1897; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 11 August 1897; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 8 September 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 13 January 1898; General Committee, 7 September 1904); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1896, see Glasgow City Archives, 1/5015).
On 8 July 1896, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties approved designs submitted by the City Engineer for a tenement of houses and shops to be erected on 260 square yards of vacant ground at the corner of Castle Street and St. James Road, and costing £2100 to build. An accompanying report described the new building as four storeys high, with three shops and nine houses of two apartments. The shops would be let for between £20 or £30 per annum, with the houses costing £9 10s. or £10 10s. After expenses, these rents would secure £49 a year for the city. Convinced by these figures, members ordered McDonald to prepare working drawings and specifications, tenders to be secured thereafter.

A few months later, on 23 September 1896, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties accepted an offer from S. & D. Hoey, drapers, to let the whole shop floor for five years at £100 per annum. Interestingly, members also decided the project’s measurer should be the same as that for the labourers’ dwellings then being built on the opposite side of St. James Road, though this gentleman’s name was not specified in either case. Tenders arrived on 21 October 1896, the successful ones being accepted three weeks later. Work commenced at once, continuing without incident until 13 January 1898, when the Sub-
Committee on North Central District Properties read a report concerning delays in the completion of several contracts. The Town Clerk was immediately sent to deal with the matter. The minutes then make no more mention of the building, implying it was completed without further complication [Fig.90].

Its site is now wasteland, used solely to park cars. The tenement was probably demolished in 1962 to make way for the Comprehensive Development of Townhead. The Dean of Guild’s Court Collection holds drawings – passed in November 1896 - of a tenement with its elevation mainly to Castle Street, with one bay of oriel windows, two bays of bipartite windows and a bay of single windows in the centre, topped by a crowstepped gable with chimney. Above the ground floor of shops, overlooking the corner of Castle Street and St. James, there was three-storey turret of bay windows, crowned with a coned roof. The drawings seem to suggest the tenement’s dwellings were reached by a way of an entrance to the back of the building.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties July 8 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 23 September 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 21 October 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 11 November 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 25 November 1896; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 13 January 1898); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1896, see Glasgow City Archives 1/5372).
Seven tenements with shops

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: Binnie & Murray.
Masons: Webster, Walker & Webster.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Glazier: Hugh McTaggart.
Slater: James Cuthbertson.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Plumber: James Raeside.
Painter: David Lang.

On 21 March 1894, the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties ordered McDonald to prepare a plan showing how some vacant ground at Calton Mouth might best be utilised for the erection of new buildings. The City Engineer submitted sketches for tenements on 12 April 1894. Thirteen weeks later, on 3 July 1894, members listened to a report describing these proposals. They then ordered amendments together with statements of cost and rental. McDonald returned nine days later with revised plans for five tenements on 1420 square yards of ground, with six shops and 48 dwellings of one, two and three rooms. He estimated the total cost would be £9100, in relation to which the proposed gross rental of £140 for the shops and £572 for the dwellings would yield a net free revenue of £215. The Sub-Committee on South Central Properties approved his plans immediately, ordering that tenders be sought and construction work commenced.

On 3 October 1894, the General Committee received tenders for the building of five tenements on an area of ground now specified as facing Bain Square, the Gallowgate and King Street in Calton [Fig.92]. These were passed on to the Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, whose members sent them in turn to the measurers. Four months later, on 14 February 1895, members reconsidered the drawings, together with the successful tenders. The interim period had seen McDonald's designs approved by both the Trustees and the Dean of Guild's Court. Nevertheless, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties decided changes were needed. It seems even the most competitive tenders put costs some way above the City Engineer's original estimate. McDonald was ordered, accordingly, to prepare revised plans and estimates for new tenements with balconies.

546 Bain Square is known today as Bain Street. King Street, Calton, is now known as Millroad Street.
These arrived back before the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties on 14 March 1895. McDonald now envisaged the same 1420 square yards of ground filled with seven tenements containing 42 houses and eight shops. The accompanying report predicted an initial outlay of £9000. Rent for all six of the three-room houses was set at £13, the 36 two-roomed dwellings ranging from £9 to £9 10s. The shops would cost between £15 and £35, depending upon their size. These rents promised an annual revenue of over £160, after expenses. Members approved both the plans and the report, thus allowing new tenders to be sought. These arrived on 26 June 1895, the successful ones being approved two weeks later. In total, they amounted to £10,181. Work then commenced and continued without problems until 11 March 1896, when James Cuthbertson applied for an increased payment to counter sudden rises in the price of slates. Unimpressed, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties immediately rejected his request.

As finished, the tenements are four storeys high, faced at the front in red sandstone ashlar, with brick employed to the rear [Figs.92, 93, 94, 95 and 96]. The front elevations are exceedingly plain, the only real

visual interest coming from an irregular and rather peculiar system of shallow oriel interspersed with bays of single windows in batches of two or three. At the parapet, above two of these bays of oriel, stand two large crowstepped gables, each topped with a small triangular pediment. The houses are reached via a lane on Millroad Street, giving access to the back of the tenements. [Figs.94, 95 and 96]. The front doors on each floor are reached using a system of balconies. These doors overlook a back green upon which tenants were – and still are – able to hang their washing. The clothes poles, which appear to be original, are ornate, in marked contrast with the austere functionalism of the tenements they serve.
Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 21 March 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 12 April 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 3 July 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 12 July 1894; General Committee, 3 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 4 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 11 October 1894; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 14 February 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 14 March 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 26 June 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 10 July 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 11 March 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 25 March 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 10 December 1896); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1894-5, see Glasgow City Archives 1/3463, 1/4051).
8-16 MCLEOD STREET (1895-7)
Two tenements, demolished circa 1962

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: Duncanson & Henderson.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plumber: James Raeside.
Slater: W. & D. Mailer.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Painter: Peter McKerracher.

Though the targeted land on the north side of McLeod Street – adjacent to the Provand’s Lordship - was initially considered for redevelopment along with those other sites in Townhead aforementioned, it was not until 25 April 1895 that the City Engineer received instructions to prepare the necessary plans. He returned on 22 May 1895 with designs for a block of artisans’ dwellings covering 456 square yards of ground and containing fourteen houses of two apartments, plus one of three. McDonald predicted a cost of £2252. Demolition work began on the site’s old buildings some time after 27 June 1895.

On 25 March 1896, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties received and remitted tenders for the new tenements’ construction. A fortnight later, on 8 April 1896, it recommended offers amounting to £2368 from the firms listed above. The scheme was probably finished by 13 January 1897, when the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties approved rent settings. With this, operations virtually ceased in the new buildings’ immediate vicinity. A few years later, the General Committee sold the last 1230 square yards of the area’s undeveloped land to the Police Department for use as a reception house on the corner of Collins Street and McLeod Street.  

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547 See pages 117, 134 and 137.
548 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 24 January 1901).
It seems most likely this building, together with the artisans’ tenements on McLeod Street, succumbed to the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Townhead in 1962. When still standing, the tenements were four storeys high, faced in sandstone ashlar and arranged around four bays facing McLeod Street – two bays of bipartite windows flanked by two bays of oriel windows [Figs. 97 and 98]. Two crowstepped gables were placed at the roof, over the two central bays.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (General Committee, 14 September 1892; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 25 April 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 22 May 1895; General Committee, 27 June 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 25 March 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 8 April 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 13 January 1897); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1896, see Glasgow City Archives 1/5014).
91-105 CUMBERLAND STREET (1895-8)
Three tenements, demolished circa 1964

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Mason: William Duncan.
Joiner: Duncan Buchanan.
Slaters: John McQuat & Son.
Plumber: Robert Gardiner.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Painters: W. & D. Horne.

On 10 July 1895, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties directed the City Engineer to make up three block plans, including one for a plot on the east side of Cumberland Street, Calton, close to the Greenhead Engine Works of Glen & Ross, specialists in the manufacture of steam-hammers.\(^5\) Members wished to see how the ground might be utilised as a site for new buildings. McDonald's plans arrived on 23 July 1895; the same sub-committee then requested a report detailing costs and expected returns. Amended plans and relative estimates arrived on 11 September 1895. The City Engineer planned to cover 3290 square yards of ground on Cumberland Street with three blocks of workmen's dwellings, holding a total of 24 single-ends and 76 two-apartment houses. The estimated cost of £9750 would be recouped, he suggested, through yearly rents ranging from £6 to £11. Members recommended the work be commenced upon receipt of the necessary working drawings and specifications. Surprisingly, there then followed a long period of inaction until 8 April 1896, when the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties appointed a new measurer, dispensing with the services of Livingstone & Hill. Tenders arrived three months later, offers from the contractors above being approved on 22 July 1896. These put costs at £10,996, more than £1200 over the original estimate.

On 7 October 1896, the General Committee ruled that the mason William Duncan be permitted to use stone from a different quarry to that named in his contract. A few months later, on 10 March 1897, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties ruled similarly, allowing Robert Gardiner to plumb in white enamelled fire-clay sinks instead of the type originally stipulated. The problems with William Duncan continued, however. On 2 April 1897, a pair of thoroughly fed up sub-committees met to discuss delays at three schemes in which this mason was involved, including the tenements on Cumberland Street. Evidently these hindrances were due to a serious illness, for on 13 May

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\(^5\) Cumberland Street is known today as Arcadia Street.
1897, the General Committee began negotiations with the executors of the *late* William Duncan’s estate. Elsewhere, work continued apace. On 9 June 1897, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties hired P. & R. Fleming & Co. to supply and fit iron railings between the walls of the back court. On 25 August 1897, it set about acquiring ranges and spring mattresses for the scheme’s southern block. The buildings were probably close to completion on 22 September 1897, when members read a list of proposed rents. Not until 26 April 1899, however, did they finally settle with Duncan Buchanan for the £1000 given as collateral in lieu of his completing the new buildings’ joinery work. It seems tenants had been forced to share the first eighteen months of their occupancy with gangs of busy carpenters.

Several years later, on 7 September 1904, the General Committee read an inventory of all houses built for the poorer classes. This listed the properties at 91 and 105 Cumberland Street, on the east side, as containing one hundred such houses with two rooms and sixteen single-ends. Presumably, the builders’ ambitions had expanded somewhat during the tenements’ construction. The drawings held in the Dean of Guild’s Court Collection show three blocks facing Cumberland Street, one large block in the centre flanked by two slightly smaller ones on either side [Fig.99]. The outer blocks were identical – four storeys high with two bays of single windows flanking a central bay of two single windows. The top floor windows on each of the three blocks actually broke the line of the roof, so as to become almost like dormers. On the flanking blocks, these windows were topped by semicircular pediments on the outer bays and a crowstepped gable-cum-chimney-piece at the centre. On the middle block, the semicircular pediments were replaced with triangular ones. Similarly, the datestones – reading 1896 - on the outer blocks were replaced in the centre one with a lettered panel: G.C.I.T. The buildings were entered from the back, by way of enclosed staircases standing perpendicularly to the block in front. Tenants reached these staircases by walking through a gate with piers and down a lane, past some rather handsome gazebo-type washing houses. The lane was separated from the road in front by an equally smart wrought iron fence.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 10 July 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 23 July 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 11 September 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 24 September 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 8 April 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 8 July 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 22 July 1896; General Committee, 7 October 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 10 March 1897; Joint Sub-Committees on Western District and South Central District

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550 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 7 September 1904).
Properties, 2 April 1897; General Committee, 13 May 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 9 June 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 25 August 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 22 September 1897; General Committee, 23 June 1898; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 7 September 1898; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 26 April 1899; Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1896, see Glasgow City Archives 1/5106).
4-34 ST. ANDREWS STREET (1895-8)
Four tenements with shops

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: A. Livingston & Sons.
Masons: Hugh Nelson & Co.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Slaters: John McQuat & Son.
Plumber: Robert Gardiner.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Painter: Peter McKerracher.
Tiler: John Youden & Co.

On 10 July 1895, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties ordered the City Engineer to make up three block plans, including one for a steading on St. Andrews Street, St. Andrews Square and Low Green Street. Members wished to see how this ground might best be used as a site for new buildings. On 27 November 1895, however, McDonald submitted sketch plans for 1103 square yards on the south side of St. Andrews Street, but ignoring the ground on St. Andrews Square and Low Green Street. These showed a design for tenements containing 32 two-apartment houses and sixteen single-ends. The Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, before approving the drawings, directed two of its number to consider the fate of various temporary workshops and stores then occupying the targeted site. It seems a majority of sub-committee members were hoping to retain at least some of these profitable sheds, then sited in what would later become the back courts to its new buildings.

However, on 24 December 1895, after hearing that most of the premises were actually to be left largely unaffected by construction work, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties ordered the preparation of detailed plans for tenements with shops and warehouses on the ground floor and dwellings above. It also recommended that tenders be sought following the completion and sanction of these drawings. McDonald returned on 25 March 1896 with plans for a block of four tenements, four storeys high, containing eight shops, 24 two-apartment houses with bathrooms and twelve single-ends. Costs were put at £8600, with an annual revenue of £610 based on rents of between £8 and £13 for the houses and £23 and £27 for the shops. The baths added £144 to costs, however, which in turn prompted the General Committee to rule against their inclusion. Tenders for building work arrived on 22 July 1896, the successful ones being confirmed three weeks later. These contracts put costs up to over £9604.

551 Low Green Street is known today as Turnbull Street.
552 Minutes of the Town Council (Corporation, 20 March 1902). The ground fronting Low Green Street was eventually transferred to the Police Department. It later became the site of Central Police Office, designed by McDonald. See page 234. Also see Appendix 1, page 246.
553 For example, the Glasgow Funeral Undertaking and Carriage Hiring Company Ltd. paid £250 per annum for its premises.
On 25 November 1896, the firm of Hugh Nelson & Co. applied unsuccessfully for permission to extend its contract. Further evidence of seemingly troubled times for the building trades in Glasgow arrived on 13 May 1897, when the General Committee sacked James Winton Mackie, the tiler originally selected, for failing to start his work as contracted. The firm of J. Youden & Co. was hired two weeks later. On a brighter note, though, on 24 November 1897, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties learned of the Police Department’s willingness to pay for work to raise St. Andrews Street to a level with the pavement.

The buildings were probably finished some time before 14 April 1898 [Figs.102 and 103]. They are faced in red sandstone to the front, with cream sandstone to the sides and rear. The two outer tenements are arranged according to a four-bay composition, with two bays of oriels flanking two bays of bipartite windows. The outer bays are each roofed by a crowstepped gable, with the gables topped in turn by small, triangular pediments. The two middle tenements look like halved versions of the outer ones, the two sets of crowsteps that should have heralded their meeting place replaced instead by a single bay of bipartite windows. This central portion is also different due to its lack of a cornice over the first floor windows, contrary to the rest of the scheme.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 10 July 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 27 November 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 24 December 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 25 March 1896; General Committee, 26 March 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 13 May 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 22 July 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 12 August 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 25 November 1896; General Committee, 13 May 1897; General Committee, 28 May 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 23 June 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 22 September 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 24 November 1897; Sub-Committee on Finance, 14 April 1898); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1896, see Glasgow City Archives 1/5192).
296 HIGH STREET/16 BURRELL’S LANE (1895-7)
Two tenements with shops, demolished circa 1970s

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: Charles Elder.
Joiners: Dick & Benzies.
Slaters: John Morrison & Son.
Plumber: Matthew Sproul.
Plasterers: Wemyss & Livingstone
Painter: John Stevenson.
Tiler: James Winton Mackie.

City Improvement Trust plans for the enhancement of the Bell o’ the Brae date from as early as 18 November 1874 with Carrick’s scheme to widen High Street and soften the gradients on what was then a very steep slope.554 Five years later, on 1 October 1879, the General Committee approved Carrick’s plan for the distinctive curved building line we know today - on both sides of High Street, between Burrell’s Lane and Cathedral Square.555 In all likelihood, these improvements were carried out to make the area more attractive to businesses. Interest failed to blossom, however, prompting an eventual decision to build ordinary tenements on the corner of High Street and Rottenrow instead of offices. Ironically, it was only after these building plans had been made ready that the General Committee finally managed to complete a sale, offloading the same corner plot to the city’s Water Commissioners for the erection of a pumping station.556

Despite this partial success, the City Improvement Trust still owned several of the area’s cleared steadings some 20 years after Carrick’s original proposals. On 27 June 1895, consequently, McDonald presented the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties with designs for two tenements at the northern junction of High Street and Burrell’s Lane. An illustrative report arrived two weeks later. The proposed buildings would cover 595 square yards and consist of five single-ends, fifteen two-apartment houses and four dwellings with two rooms and a kitchen. There was also to be space on the ground floor for two shops. The City Engineer expected income from rents to exceed £283 annually, with the initial outlay put at

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554 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 18 November 1874). Bell o’ the Brae is an ancient appellation, dating from at least 1297 when William Wallace defeated the English garrison in Glasgow at the Battle of the Bell o’ the Brae - a brutal skirmish on the banks of the Molendinar Burn.

555 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 1 October 1879).

556 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 3 August 1892). See page 192, footnote 586.
£3685. Clearly convinced, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties approved McDonald’s plans immediately, the General Committee doing likewise later the same day.

On studying the matter, however, the Trustees - acting on an amendment proposed by Councillor James Henderson Martin - decided instead to expose the land to public sale. Judging by some of the other proposals he was making around this time, it seems fair to assume Martin was perturbed by some of his colleagues’ unseemly rush to build prestigious tenement developments at a time when they appeared utterly unwilling even to contemplate housing for the working classes. Nothing came of Martin’s public sale, however, for on 26 December 1895, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties studied tenders for the fashioning of new tenements. Two weeks later, on 8 January 1896, members accepted offers from most of those firms listed above. These offers amounted to £4162. Confusingly, the same sub-committee met again on 27 February 1896 to pass yet more plans by the City Engineer, this time for unspecified amendments to the tenements already contracted. The tradesmen seem to have accepted these changes without complaint and the buildings were not minuted as being discussed again until 22 October 1896, when the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties asked McDonald to report on the stone he had used for facing purposes. Three weeks later, he confirmed the tenements were built with sandstone from a quarry in Cove, instead of the Locharbriggs variety first planned.

Most of the major construction work was finished by 28 January 1897, when the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties approved William C. Menzies’ recommendations for rents. On 25 February 1897, however, James Winton Mackie was appointed as the new buildings’ tiler, the original contractor - W.R. Mackinnon - having failed to commence his work. And on 24 June 1897, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties arranged to have iron gates put onto the back closes, most probably as a finishing touch to the whole scheme.

The ground where the tenements once stood is given over now to a rather pleasant tract of parkland. Drawings in the Dean of Guild’s Court collection show the steading was once inhabited by two four-storey tenements with bays of single, double and oriel windows facing the High Street and a turreted bay of hexagonal bay windows on the corner of Burrell’s Lane [Fig.104]. Burrell’s Lane itself was built on an extremely steep incline, necessitating a raised ground floor at the tenements’ easternmost portion. The fenestration on this façade was arranged in simple rows of single windows, with just one bay of bipartites.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 27 June 1895; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 11 July 1895; General Committee, 11 July 1895; Trustees, 18 July 1895; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 26 December 1895; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 8 January 1896; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 27 February 1896; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 22 October 1896; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 12 November 1896; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 28 January 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 11 February 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 25 February 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 9 June 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 24 June 1897; General Committee, 24 June 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central
District Properties, 8 July 1897; General Committee, 11 August 1897); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1896, see Glasgow City Archives 1/4391).
53 STOB CROSS STREET/6 PICCADILLY STREET/5 CHEAPSIDE STREET (1896-8)

Two tenements with shops, demolished circa 1961

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: Duncanson & Henderson.
Mason: William Duncan.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plumber: James Raeside.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Slaters: John Morrison & Sons.
Painter: Daniel Turner.

On 28 February 1895, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties instructed the City Engineer to prepare and submit designs for tenements of dwellings and shops on ground recently acquired in Stobcross Street, Warroch Street, Cheapside Street and Piccadilly Street, Anderston. Two months later, on 25 April 1895, members studied McDonald’s plans for blocks of artisans’ dwellings on a steading bounded by Piccadilly Street to the east, Stobcross Street to the north and Cheapside Street to the west. The designs - together with drawings for shops on Stobcross Street, included at the sub-committee’s insistence - met with approval pending a report on the forthcoming estimates. This arrived on 21 May 1895 and confirmed the buildings would be erected on two separate steadings, the targeted area having been expanded west to include Warroch Street. On Cheapside Street, Stobcross Street and Piccadilly Street, an area covering 900 square yards of ground, McDonald proposed a block of tenements erected according to the balcony system, containing three houses of three apartments, 23 of two apartments and sixteen single-ends. In total, the scheme would cost a little over £5571.

Operations began immediately with the demolition of the site’s old brick buildings. They halted, however, when the tenders arrived on 11 December 1895. It seems the lowest ones put costs at £6639, considerably more than McDonald’s original estimate. This prompted the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties to delay any further progress until the City Engineer had thoroughly explained this discrepancy and devised some money-saving modifications. He returned two weeks later, on 24 December 1895, with an excuse arranged in three parts. Firstly, he claimed, the measurers had erroneously inflated the buildings’ specifications to a point where they were now ten per cent over net sizes. Secondly, he explained that prices for bricklaying had risen sharply over the seven months since the original estimate. Thirdly, McDonald

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557 Stobcross Street was obliterated circa 1961 as part of the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Anderston.
558 See page 155 for a description of the second scheme.
rather embarrassedly admitted, the original prediction had overlooked the cost for extra foundations needed to negotiate some exceptionally steep gradients on Cheapside Street and Piccadilly Street. The City Engineer also admitted he was unable to cut costs due to the development’s being “...already as plain as it can be, so as to be in keeping with the locality”. The Sub-Committee on Western District Properties was left with no choice but to order fresh ground plans for a row of buildings 40 feet wide, together with estimates of cost per cubic foot. 559

McDonald came back with these things on 7 January 1896; he estimated the tenements would cost 5d. per cubic foot. Movement faltered again, however, when the sub-committee members elected to deliberate further. Two weeks later, on 22 January 1896, after studying a report on the new ground plan, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties finally sanctioned new building plans. As amended, the block would contain 27 two-roomed dwellings and seven single-ends, available for lease at between £7 5s. and £11. Together with six shops – to be let at prices ranging from £18 to £35 - these rents promised to yield a yearly gross of £506. Building the new tenements would cost £6250. Though disappointed, no doubt, by the shortfall between these figures and those quoted earlier, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties elected to press ahead with the tenements as rectified, abandoning the original plans and tenders. McDonald left the meeting with instructions to prepare working drawings and specifications in readiness for the getting of new tenders. These arrived sometime before 13 May 1896, the date on which the successful offers were accepted. They amounted to a little more than £5900.

At last building work could commence. A few months later, however, on 7 October 1896, the General Committee ruled that, in order to speed up construction, the scheme’s mason, William Duncan, should be permitted to use stone from a different quarry to that named in his contract. Nevertheless, the delays continued despite this willingness to compromise. On 2 April 1897, two concerned sub-committees met to discuss ways of hastening the completion of three schemes then involving the same William Duncan, including the tenements on Cheapside, Stobcross and Piccadilly Streets. The hold-ups, it seems, were being caused by illness, for on 13 May 1897, the General Committee met with agents for the late William Duncan’s estate.

The block was probably finished by 27 April 1898 [Fig.106]. Drawings belonging to the Dean of Guild’s Court Collection show two tenements of four storeys arranged symmetrically along Stobcross Street with a single bay of bipartite windows in the centre flanked on each side by two bays of tripartites, one of oriel, one flat [Fig.105]. The corners into Cheapside Street and Piccadilly Street were marked by two turrets of bay windows, each topped with a conical roof. The other bays facing Stobcross Street were crowned by three-sided

559 As the buildings were required to fill a site of nine hundred square yards, this width of 40 feet suggests a length of 202.5 feet.
half-cones, triangular pediments or, in the case of the central bay of bipartites, a semicircular broken pediment carved at the top with a sort of three-dimensional *fleur-de-lys*. All of the buildings' top floor windows broke the line of the cornice at the foot of the roof. The elevations to Cheapside Street and Piccadilly Street were simpler, however, arranged around three bays of single windows capped by semicircular pediments, and one bay of double windows topped with crowsteps.

The buildings were demolished *circa* 1961, no doubt as part of the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Anderston.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Joint-Meeting of Special Sub-Committees as to Value of Lands, etc., Transferred from Police Commissioners to the Improvement Trustees, 25 October 1894; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 28 February 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 25 April 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 21 May 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 11 June 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 27 June 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 11 December 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 24 December 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 7 January 1896; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 22 January 1896; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 13 May 1896; General Committee, 7 October 1896; Joint Sub-Committees on Western District and South Central District Properties, 2 April 1897; General Committee, 13 May 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 27 April 1898; General Committee, 23 June 1898); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1896, see Glasgow City Archives 1/5016).
67 STOB CROSS STREET/8 CHEAPSIDE STREET/3 WARROCH STREET (1896-7)

Three tenements with shops, demolished circa 1961

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: Livingston & Hill.
Mason: William Duncan.
Joiner: D. Sharkie.
Slaters: W. & D. Mailer.
Plumbers: Renfrew Bros.
Painters J. Lindsay & Co.
Tiler: James Winton Mackie.

According to the aforementioned report of 21 May 1895, the steading on Stobcross Street, between Cheapside Street and Warroch Street, took up some 790 square yards of ground. Upon this steading, the report confirmed, the City Engineer planned to locate buildings containing a total of 27 two-apartment houses, costing about £4335 in total.

With McDonald's proposals approved, demolition work on the site's old buildings began some time after 10 July 1895. Curiously, though, no more mention was made of the project until 22 January 1896, when the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties instructed the City Engineer to prepare an entirely new ground plan for buildings covering 833 square yards on the south side of Stobcross Street, between Cheapside Street and Warroch Street. This plan arrived back on 26 February 1896, when members ordered McDonald to prepare detailed drawings for the buildings proposed, together with a computation of their cost and rentable value. On 11 March 1896, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties studied and endorsed estimates for a £6615 block of three tenements containing six shops and 31 flats of between one and three rooms. The tenders for construction work eventually arrived on 8 July 1896. Two weeks later, members approved offers from the tradesmen listed above, their combined tenders amounting to something over £6665.

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560 Stobcross Street was obliterated circa 1961 as part of the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Anderston. See page 152 for further details of the aforementioned report.
On 7 October 1896, in an effort to circumnavigate delays, the General Committee ruled that William Duncan be permitted to use stone from a different quarry to that named in his masonry contract. Unfortunately, the problems continued. On 2 April 1897, therefore, two sub-committees met to discuss delays in the completion of three projects with which William Duncan was then involved, including that for the tenements on Stobcross, Cheapside Street and Warroch Street. Evidently the mason’s tardiness resulted from some sort of incurable illness, for on 13 May 1897 the General Committee met for negotiations with the executors his estate. On the same day, further evidence arrived of troubled times for the building trade in Glasgow, when members sacked the scheme’s original tiler, James Winton Mackie. It seems Mackie had failed to start his work on the date contracted. J. Youden & Co. was employed two weeks later as a replacement.

Despite these delays, the buildings were finished by 23 June 1898 [Fig.108]. They were demolished 60 or so years later, probably as part of the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Anderston. Our best evidence of what they looked like, consequently, comes from the drawings contained in the Dean of Guild’s Court Collection [Fig.107]. Dated July 1896, these show a near-symmetrical, four-storey frontage to Stobcross Street, the middle bay of bipartite windows flanked on either side by three bays of tripartite, double and single windows, then rounded off by turrets of five-part bay windows at the entrances to Cheapside Street and Warroch Street. The turret leading to Warroch Street had a datestone over its top floor windows: 1896. Decoration was kept to a minimum on the second and third floors, with just a simple bit of moulding around each of the windows. The windows on the first floor were served by individual cornices, however, with – in addition - semicircular, broken pediments over the two tripartite oriels. At the roof, the two bays of bipartite windows were crowned by crowstepped gables, each topped in turn by a small, carved herm and decorated in their centres by semicircular, moulded pediments together with three small spheres on pedestals. The two bays of oriels were topped by attached half-cones, while the turrets enjoyed full cones with spiked finials.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Joint-Meeting of Special Sub-Committees as to Value of Lands, etc., Transferred from Police Commissioners to the Improvement Trustees, 25 October 1894; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 28 February 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 25 April 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 21 May 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 10 July 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 22 January 1896; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 26 February 1896; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 11 March 1896; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 8 July 1896; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 22 July 1896; General Committee, 7 October 1896; Joint Sub-Committees on Western District and South Central District Properties, 2 April 1897; General Committee, 13 May 1897; General Committee, 28 May 1897; General Committee, 23 June 1898); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1896, see Glasgow City Archives 1/5147, 1/1952).
8-20 BARONY STREET/295-327 STIRLING ROAD (1896-1900)

Five tenements with shops, a bakery and two workshops, demolished circa 1964

FIRST PHASE

(five tenements on Barony Street and Stirling Road):

Architect: A. B. McDonald.
Measurer: W. F. MacCall.
Joiners: A. Niven & Sons.
Plumber: Robert Gardiner.
Plasterer: John Drummond.
Slater: James Cuthbertson.
Painter: James F. Edgar.
Tilers: John Youden & Co.

SECOND PHASE

(a bakery and workshops at the back):

Architect: A. B. McDonald.
Measurer: W. F. MacCall.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Slaters: John McQuat & Son.
Plumbers: Matthew Sproul & Co.
Painter: John Robertson.

Following the two schemes in Anderston aforementioned, the old buildings at 12-20 Barony Street, Townhead, were the next to be targeted in moves to improve the land acquired from the Police Commissioners in 1894. On 14 March 1895, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties assigned McDonald to the task of considering what form any new buildings might take, should the old block need to be replaced. Only on 11 December 1895, however, did members finally decide to press ahead with the project, ordering the City Engineer to prepare plans for new tenements. Tenants still resident at 12-20 Barony Street were ordered to be removed some time after 22 January 1896.

McDonald’s plans were ready by 27 May 1896. Together with estimates, they were studied by the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties on 22 July 1896. The City Engineer envisaged a block of five tenements, four storeys high, on 1405 square yards of land at the corner of Stirling Road and Barony Street.

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561 Barony Street was obliterated circa 1964 to make way for the entrance to the M8 motorway. See pages 21-22.
The development would contain 31 two-apartment houses, twelve of three rooms, nine single-ends and six shops. Yearly rents were put at an average of £10, £15 5s. and £7 5s. for the dwellings, with the shops costing between £16 and £32 per annum. McDonald predicted the whole scheme might be realised for £10,400. Satisfied with these figures, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties ordered that working drawing and specifications be immediately prepared. In the meantime, on 12 August 1896, the same sub-committee read a letter from the Barony Street Christian Mission regarding its hall at the corner of Castle Street and Stirling Road. It seems this hall was due to be taken down to allow for the reconstruction of the whole area.

Tenders arrived before the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties on 10 December 1896, the successful ones being approved thirteen days later. Gratifyingly, these put costs down to £10,342. On 13 January 1897, in order to allow for demolition, the members instructed William C. Menzies to remove all tenants from the old buildings remaining on Barony Street and Stirling Road; evidently some of these residents had been allowed to stay on, despite the aforementioned minute of 22 January 1896. On 10 February 1897, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties met those firms hired to carry out the project’s masonry, joinery and plaster work, with a view to ensuring the prompt completion of contracts. To no avail, apparently, for R. & W. Rennie & Co. soon fell behind schedule with its masonry work. On 12 May 1897, members refused an appeal to have this contract extended. Five weeks later, on 23 June 1897, it received a rather impudent letter from A. Niven & Sons, asking what standard of finish was required as regards the new buildings’ woodwork. The Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties replied brusquely, saying that “...first-class finishings should be adopted”. The next day, a suspicious-sounding General Committee ordered McDonald to press for assurances that the joiners would use properly seasoned wood.

Despite these problems, the development’s shops were ready enough by 10 February 1898 for Menzies to advertise their leases. The whole scheme was all but finished by 26 May 1898, the Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties arranging on this day to have the buildings’ back courts laid with tarmac [Fig.110]. Four weeks later, on 23 June 1898, members studied the Manager’s updated recommendations for rents. On 28 September 1899, though, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties agreed to erect a bakery behind the new tenements, following the application of a resident for permission to do so. Together with two workshops, the premises would cost about £450 to build. The Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties approved plans by the City Engineer on 12 October 1899. Tenders arrived on 25 January 1900. The successful ones - selected two weeks later, on 8 February 1900 - put costs up to nearly £585. Operations were then completed without another hitch. On 10 May 1900, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties agreed to lease the bakery to a certain Mrs. A. Carmichael.

![Fig.110: 8-20 Barony Street/295-327 Stirling Road in 1902 (Arthur Kay).](image)
The buildings were demolished during the early stages of Glasgow's drive to accommodate an inner ring road, so the best way of fully understanding their appearance is to study drawings held within the Dean of Guild's Court Collection [Fig. 109]. These show a rather utilitarian structure with its main elevation over a steeply inclining Barony Street: fifteen bays of single and double windows, with little in the way of decoration beyond a set of triangular pediments over the first floor bipartites (and a solitary semicircular pediment over one of the first floor single windows). The elevation to Stirling Road was a little grander, with tripartite oriel windows added to the usual bays of singles and doubles. The first floor pediments on this frontage were uniformly semicircular. There was a datestone on the second floor of the transitional elevation overlooking the corner of Barony Street and Stirling Road: 1896. On the third floor of this elevation, furthermore, there was a lintel suspended over the bipartite window, held in place by ornate, carved consoles.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Joint-Meeting of Special Sub-Committees as to Value of Lands, etc., Transferred from Police Commissioners to the Improvement Trustees, 25 October 1894; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 14 March 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 11 December 1895; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 22 January 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 27 May 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, July 22 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 12 August 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 10 December 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 23 December 1896; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 13 January 1897; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 10 February 1897; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 12 May 1897; Sub-Committee on Townhead District Properties, 23 June 1897; General Committee, 24 June 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 10 February 1898; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 26 May 1898; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 23 June 1898; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 28 September 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 12 October 1899; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 25 January 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 8 February 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 10 May 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 June 1900; Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1896, see Glasgow City Archives 1/5400).
2-14 BAIN STREET/270-290 GALLOWGATE (1896-9)

Three tenements with shops

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: Ramsay & Son.
Masons: Alexander Thomson & Sons.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plumber: James Raeside.
Plasterers: Wemyss & Livingstone.
Slaters: P. White & Co.
Painters: John Lindsay & Son.
Tilers: Galbraith & Winton.

On 10 December 1896, the City Engineer submitted designs for tenements proposed (though apparently unminuted) to be built on Bain Square and the Gallowgate. The Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties studied these plans together with estimates on 10 February 1897. On a site measuring 915 square yards, on the west side of Bain Square, at its corner with the Gallowgate, McDonald proposed to erect a block of four-storey tenements, with its ground floor set aside for shops. These shops would yield gross yearly rents in excess of £225. Three single-ends and 24 two-apartment dwellings would fill the upper floors, available to tenants for rents ranging between £7 15s. and £11. The City Engineer and David MacBean estimated £7270 would cover building costs.

Though reportedly satisfied with these figures, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties resolved to postpone the development's progress for one year. During the interim, however, it decided to lease 490 square yards of ground to the Police Department, allowing for the construction of baths and washing houses "...at the western corner of Bain Square and Gallowgate". Evidently this did not mean the abandonment of proposals for tenements in the same area, because McDonald resubmitted his plans on 25 August 1897. The Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties then ordered him to prepare working drawings and specifications, thus allowing the Town Clerk to advertise for tenders. On 8 September 1897, accordingly, the same sub-committee assigned some of its number to the task of acquiring shop premises at 268 Gallowgate, at that time still in private hands. It seems these needed to be taken down in readiness for the erection of new buildings.

Tenders arrived on 8 December 1897, the successful ones - worth £7005 - being selected two weeks later; on 24 February 1898, the General Committee was able at last to arrange for the removal of the site's still extant buildings. Construction work then began in earnest. On 24 August 1898, however, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties was forced to arbitrate in a quarrel between McDonald and the development's masons, Alexander Thomson & Sons. The dispute concerned the execution of curved stones for the bowed part of the buildings' facade. Perhaps surprisingly, members decided the matter should go to an outside adjudicator: David Barclay of the Glasgow Institute of Architects eventually ruled

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362 Bain Square is known today as Bain Street.
the City Improvement Department should pay to have the depth of the cornice mould reduced by a half inch. 563

In spite of these problems, the buildings were probably close to finished by 22 February 1899, when Menzies proffered a list of rents for the houses and shops. A few months later, however, on 7 June 1899, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties became embroiled in another dispute with Alexander Thomson & Sons, this time over the price of ironwork on the washing house in Bain Square. Evidently, the City Improvement Department still had hands in this building, despite its aforementioned agreement with the Police Department. On 9 August 1899, accordingly, tenants from the corner of Bain Square and the Gallowgate approached the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties with a petition calling for the making of temporary arrangements while they waited for their washing house to be completed.

Things seem to have been sorted out amicably enough, because the minutes make no further mention of the development on Bain Square and the Gallowgate. As finished, the buildings are four storeys high, faced in red sandstone [Figs. 111 and 112]. They absorb the road’s slight incline in three plainly visible stages, one for each tenement, negotiating a gently curving site at the same time. The south-easternmost tenement is six bays wide, laid out according to the following arrangement: tripartite oriels; bipartites; tripartite oriels; singles; bipartites; tripartite oriels. The middle tenement is five bays wide and symmetrical, with two bays of tripartite oriels and bipartites either side of a solitary bay of single windows. The north-westernmost tenement is the smallest of the three, with just four bays: tripartite oriels; bipartites; singles; tripartite oriels. The tripartite windows on the first floor are each crowned with cornices and semicircular pediments. The bipartites on the same floor have plain cornices. The second floor windows have simple, undecorated sills. The sills on the third floor are slightly more ornate, jutting out to about twelve inches, with what appears to be two rows of simple moulding.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on South Central Properties, 10 December 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 10 February 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 11 August 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 25 August 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 8 September 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 8 December 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 22 December 1897; General Committee, 10 February 1898; General Committee, 24 February 1898; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 24 August 1898; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 22 February 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 7 June

563 David Barclay was a former mentor to Robert William Horn, at this time employed in the office of the City Engineer. See Appendix 1, page 242.
1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 9 August 1899); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1898, see Glasgow City Archives 1/6169, 1/6170).
37-49 STOBCROSS STREET/4-8 CLYDE STREET/3-9 PICCADILLY STREET (1897-1900)

Four tenements with shops, demolished circa 1961

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: James Smellie.
Masons: Hugh Nelson & Co.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Glazier: Hugh McTaggart.
Ironmonger: Hugh McTaggart.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Painters: John Lindsay & Son.
Slaters: W. & D. Mailer.
Tilers: Haig Bros.

On 10 February 1897, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties studied plans submitted, apparently without a minuted instruction, by the City Engineer and David MacBean. On the south side of Stobcross Street, between Clyde Street and Piccadilly Street, on 1340 square yards of ground, McDonald and MacBean proposed to erect three blocks of tenements, each four storeys high. The ones on Clyde Street and Piccadilly Street would have balconies, while the block facing Stobcross Street would be of ordinary tenements with eight shops on the ground floor and cellars underneath. In total, the scheme would incorporate 64 one and two-apartment houses, available for rents of between £5 10s. and £1 110s. Rents for the shops would range from £11 to £37 10s. The City Engineer and his assistant predicted the whole scheme might be realised for a total cost of £10,130. Convinced by these estimates, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties approved McDonald and MacBean’s proposals immediately, ordering him to prepare working drawings in readiness for the getting of tenders.

Mysteriously, and again without a minuted decision, the scheme then turned abortive. Much later, however, on 13 July 1898, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties ordered further plans and estimates from the City Engineer, again showing the cost and design for tenements on the south side of Stobcross Street, between Clyde Street and Piccadilly Street. McDonald returned with some familiar designs on 21 September 1898. Covering the same 1340 square yards, he proposed to erect an unspecified number of tenements, all built according to the balcony system. There were now to be six shops facing Stobcross Street, again with cellars underneath. The upper floors would hold the same 64 houses of one and two apartments. Estimated costs had now risen to £10,837, however, though the City Engineer did feel the new version of the scheme might realise an increased gross revenue of £741 from rents. Once again, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties approved the plans and ordered specifications. On the very same day, though, the General Committee remitted this decision back for reconsideration.

564 Stobcross Street was obliterated circa 1961 as part of the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Anderston.
565 This was the only scheduled land in Anderston as yet unimproved.
On 26 October 1898, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties ordered McDonald to adjust his designs, extending the rear of the Piccadilly Street elevation from 32 feet to 40. Six weeks later, on 7 December 1898, members endorsed revised plans, subject to a reduction in the Piccadilly Street tenements from four storeys to three. On doing this, the City Engineer might then be allowed to prepare specifications, thus enabling tenders to be sought.

The site's old buildings were demolished a little after 25 January 1899, though the tenders did not arrive until fully six months later, on 26 July 1899. The successful ones amongst these, worth £11,685, were accepted on 9 August 1899. On 13 September 1899, however, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties instructed McDonald to draw back his tenements to a building line roughly concordant with the Mission Hall then extant on Piccadilly Street. This decision would almost certainly have required the City Engineer to revise his designs further.

On 25 October 1899, interestingly, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties agreed to permit the scheme’s masonry firm Hugh Nelson & Co. to use "...for facing purposes..." a cheaper type of brick than that settled upon in its contract. This downgrade was offset somewhat on 11 April 1900, when members recommended the introduction of fixtures for the provision of hot water in several of the new houses' kitchens. On 9 May 1900, furthermore, they approved the provision of copper boilers and tanks in the two Stobcross Street tenements at a cost of £5 per house. These were eventually supplied and installed by J.T. & W. Renfrew for just under £257.

The buildings were definitely finished by 21 November 1900. Remedial work commenced soon after 27 February 1901, however, following repeated complaints from residents about the inadequacy of their air vents. Three or so years later, on 7 September 1904, the General Committee read an inventory of the houses within the scheme built specifically for the poorer classes. This listed a property at 7 Piccadilly Street as containing 24 single-ends. Three years after this, on 7 June 1907, the Sub-Committee on Central District Properties studied offers for the contract to build washing houses in connection with the same scheme. Members eventually selected James Wylie's tender. This was worth about £155.

The block was demolished in the early 1960s, so our knowledge of what it looked like relies on drawings dating from much earlier even than the completion of James Wylie's washing houses. Passed by the Dean

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Fig.14: 37-49 Stobcross Street/4-8 Clyde Street/3-9 Piccadilly Street in 1902 (Arthur Kay).

566 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 7 September 1904).
of Guild's Court in July 1899, at the end of that aforementioned six-month spell between the demolition of the site's old buildings and the arrival of tenders for the new ones, the main drawing held in the collection at Glasgow City Archives shows a handsome four-storey, eight-bay elevation to Stobcross Street [Fig.113]. Presumably the less salubrious, brick-faced frontages were around the corners in Clyde Street and Piccadilly Street, though these drawings seem to be missing. Flanked on either side by towers of five-part bay windows, the six middle bays on Stobcross Street were arranged symmetrically. From left to right, they were fenestrated as follows: single windows; double windows; tripartite oriels; tripartite oriels; doubles; singles. The first floor was decorated simply, with moulded cornices over the oriels. The five-part bay windows were also corniced. The second floor had triangular pediments over its oriels, but practically nothing else. The third floor was almost as plain, but did have droopy sills under its double and single windows and some nice corbelling under the bay windows at the two corners. Most of the splendour was reserved for the roof, however, with its dramatic, French-style conical roofs over the corner bays. These roofs were truncated and terminated with fussily intricate finials, probably wrought in iron.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Joint-Meeting of Special Sub-Committees as to Value of Lands, etc., Transferred from Police Commissioners to the Improvement Trustees, 25 October 1894; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 28 February 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, February 10 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 13 July 1898; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 21 September 1898; General Committee, 21 September 1898; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 26 October 1898; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 7 December 1898; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 25 January 1899; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 26 July 1899; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 9 August 1899; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 13 September 1899; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 25 October 1899; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 22 November 1899; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 11 April 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 9 May 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 23 May 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 14 June 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 27 June 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 21 November 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 9 January 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 13 February 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 27 February 1901; Sub-Committee on Central District Properties, 7 June 1907; Sub-Committee on Central District Properties, 24 June 1907); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1899, see Glasgow City Archives 1/7350).
27-35 STOB CROSS STREET/3-9 CLYDE STREET (1897-8)

Three tenements with shops, demolished circa 1961

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: William Paton.
Masons: Hugh Nelson & Co.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Plumber: Matthew Sproul.
Painters: Archibald Love & Sons.
Slater: James Mearchent.
Tilers: Kean & Waldrop.

On 10 February 1897, at the same time as proposals for those tenements on Stobcross Street, Piccadilly Street and Clyde Street described above, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties studied and approved McDonald and MacBean's plans for three tenements at the corner of Stobcross Street and Clyde Street. Set on a 770 square yard site and costing £5440, the buildings would be four storeys high, with five shops and 29 dwellings of one, two and three apartments. Rents, as proposed by Menzies, were to be set between £7 10s. and £16 10s. for the houses, with the five shops yielding an annual rent of £197 in total. Convinced by these figures, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties ordered McDonald to prepare detailed drawings, then advertise for tenders. These arrived on 11 August 1897. The Sub-Committee on Western District Properties then found that even the lowest among them put costs well above the City Engineer and MacBean's original estimate. McDonald was instructed, consequently, to look into ways of reducing expense. His report came back two weeks later on 25 August 1897. The extra cost - amounting to over £355 - was due, apparently, to an unminuted sub-committee edict adding one foot to the height of the shop ceilings and six inches to the houses. This led to an increase of two and a half feet in the total height of the elevations and meant that extra expense was incurred in the purchasing of stone. Pointing to the extreme plainness of these elevations, an indignant McDonald argued for no alterations to his original design. The Sub-Committee on Western District Properties was mollified and agreed to endorse offers from those firms listed above.

Work went ahead, and on 8 September 1897, members accepted an offer for the demolition of the site's old buildings. Three weeks later, on 28 September 1897, they also agreed to accept delays in the completion of the new buildings' masonry, provided these were due only to inclement weather. On 13 October 1897, however, they refused to endorse a request by Hugh Nelson & Co. for more money to cover the expense of a 2d. per thousand rise in the cost of bricks. More problems arose on 25 November 1897, when the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties learned of a dispute over the ownership of a gable wall immediately adjoining the building site. Several members were dispatched to deal with this matter, which they reportedly did on 8 December 1897. Two weeks later, on 23 December 1897, the General Committee insisted that buildings belonging to the Caledonian Railway Company be withdrawn to a level with the

Fig.115: 27-35 Stobcross Street/3-9 Clyde Street in 1902 (Arthur Kay).
tenements by now being erected on the corner of Stobcross Street and Clyde Street. Apparently, an agreement to this effect had been signed three years earlier.

On 11 May 1898, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties read a letter from Hugh Nelson & Co. confirming the scheme's imminent completion. Five weeks later, on 22 June 1898, it studied the Manager's list of rents for the houses and shops. This was not the end of building work, however. Several years later, on 17 March 1905, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties relented to local demands to have two washing houses built in connection with the scheme. These were eventually erected by R. & A. Bogle on the east corner of Stobcross Street and Clyde Street, at a cost of £40.

The buildings were demolished circa 1961, so our best idea of their appearance should come, once again, from drawings held within the Dean of Guild's Court Collection. Regrettably these drawings are currently missing. A photograph taken circa 1902 shows a four-storey, seven-bay frontage to Stobcross Street - tripartite oriels, doubles, singles, tripartite oriels, tripartite oriels, singles, doubles - terminated by a tower of three-part bay windows on the corner of Clyde Street [Fig.115]. This tower was crowned with a conical roof, in a similar fashion to those on all the other tenements thus far built on Stobcross Street.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Joint-Meeting of Special Sub-Committees as to Value of Lands, etc., Transferred from Police Commissioners to the Improvement Trustees, 25 October 1894; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 28 February 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, February 10 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 24 February 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 11 August 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 25 August 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 8 September 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 28 September 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 13 October 1897; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 25 November 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 8 December 1897; General Committee, 23 December 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 11 May 1898; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 22 June 1898; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 7 September 1898; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 23 November 1898; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 17 March 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 19 May 1905); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1897, see Glasgow City Archives 1/5927).
On 10 July 1895, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties instructed McDonald to make three block plans, including one for a plot of land in Calton bounded by Cumberland Street, Greenhead Street and William Street. Members wished to see how this ground – deposited across the channel of the old Camlachie Burn – might be realised as a site for new buildings. The block plans arrived back on 23 July 1895, though they failed to receive proper consideration until 10 December 1896, when the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties finally asked McDonald to prepare designs for new buildings. These were ready before 12 January 1897, the date on which the same sub-committee received a descriptive letter from the City Engineer and David MacBean. Members read this letter four weeks later, on 10 February 1897. The new tenements - to be built on a site measuring 1723 square yards - would contain sixteen single-ends, 45 two-apartment houses and ten houses with two rooms and a kitchen. Rents for these dwellings would vary from between £6 10s. for the humblest single-ends to £17 for the largest houses. McDonald and MacBean put building costs at £12,093. The Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties was not immediately convinced, however, and decided to postpone operations for one year.

Seventeen months later, on 13 July 1898, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties finally assembled to reappraise McDonald and MacBean’s plans. It seems the members were still unimpressed, because there then followed another eleven months’ silence until 21 June 1899, when the same sub-committee decided to appoint three private architects, Burnet, McKissack and John Gordon, for the utilisation of ground “...at the foot of Cumberland Street, Calton...”. The next day, however, the General Committee overturned this decision, insisting the City Engineer be entrusted with all new building designs. McDonald duly submitted his modified plans on 13 September 1899. The buildings would now be four storeys tall, with six houses of three rooms, 46 of two and 38 single-ends. The scheme would cost a total of £11,895 to build. Rents for the three-apartment houses would range from £17 to £19, with the two-roomed houses costing between £8 10s. and £13. The single-ends would be rented for between £4 10s. and £8. This time, it seems, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties was satisfied. It ordered McDonald to prepare detailed drawings and specifications, thus allowing tenders to be procured.

567 Cumberland Street is known today as Arcadia Street. William Street is called Templeton Street.
Demolition work began on the site’s old buildings sometime after 23 May 1900, with tenders for the construction of the new ones arriving a month or so later - on 27 June 1900. Most of the successful tenders were selected on 11 July 1900, though the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties chose its mason at a later date. All told, the tenders put costs up to £13,440, an increase of more than ten per cent on the most recent estimate. Though members were perturbed, no doubt, by this discrepancy in figures, they at last gave the go ahead for construction work to commence. This work continued without interruption until 24 July 1901, when Menzies submitted a more up-to-date report on the rents proposed rents. On 9 October 1901, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties minuted a statement referring to the tenements as completed. Two weeks later, however, members accepted a tender by John Deas & Co. to supply and fit six iron gates to the scheme’s closes.

This finishing touch ended work on the last vacant site to be dealt with under the Glasgow Improvement Act 1866, though the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties did consider - on 6 July 1905 - a request from residents for a washing house to be placed nearby. James Wylie eventually erected six such buildings at a cost of £152. Slightly earlier than this, on 7 September 1904, the General Committee read an inventory of houses built specifically for the poorer classes. This listed 94-100 Cumberland Street and 45 William Street as containing seventeen such houses of two apartments, three of three and 26 single-ends. The rest of the scheme was occupied, presumably, by artisans.

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568 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 7 September 1904).
Looking at the buildings today, we can see precisely where these comparatively affluent tenants might have lived. From the outside, the half of the scheme with its main elevation to Greenhead Street, overlooking Glasgow Green, was and is significantly grander than the tenements behind on Arcadia Street and Templeton Street [Figs. 116 and 117]. As if to emphasise this distinction, a ventilation gap is used – from the first floor upwards - to create an open section between the two halves. On the ground floor, the area below this gap accommodates two shops – one facing Arcadia Street, the other with its front to Templeton Street. The elevations on the Greenhead Street half of the scheme are faced in paper-smooth red sandstone, with a rough-hewn facing for the more humble tenements on Arcadia Street and Templeton Street. The rear and side elevations of the whole scheme are faced in brick, this brick being whitewashed where it overlooks the back green [Fig.121].

The tenements for the poorer classes have little in the way of decoration, though the ornament they do have is elegant and well executed. The elevation on Arcadia Street is eight bays wide and four storeys high, with a neat cornice and frieze arrangement used to separate the ground floor from the floors above. Without exception, the bays here are composed of bipartite windows. Ironically, this gives the façade a dignified uniformity that compares favourably with the fussiness of the tenements for artisans, built on the other side of the ventilation gap. Adding to this sense of grandeur, triangular pediments preside over four of the double windows on the second floor of Arcadia Street. The detailing on Templeton Street is similar, though the elevation there is only five bays wide.

By comparison, artisans living on the upper three floors facing Greenhead Street enjoyed four bays of three-part oriel windows, with heavy corbelling above a relatively simple ground floor. The second floor sees the introduction of a course of battlement-shaped decoration, just above the oriel windows aforementioned. The other bays are more straightforward, containing single and double windows. Counteracting this simplicity, the journey of the monumental chimney-stack which tops this façade is traced through the upper three floors by some pretty Beaux-Arts decoration, including two panels of entwined lettering: C.I.D. (standing for City Improvement Department, evidently, rather than City Improvement Trust). A recessed, semicircular bay of three-part bay windows overlooks the corner of Greenhead Street and Arcadia Street, with the now familiar course of castellated decoration over the second floor and a balustrade at the roof. The corner into Templeton Street is less bombastic, making do with a gentle bow.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department and the Town Council (Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 10 July 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 23 July 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 9 October 1895; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 10 December 1896; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 10 February 1897; Corporation, 18 February 1897; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 13
July 1898; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 21 June 1899; General Committee, 22 June 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 13 September 1899; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 23 May 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 27 June 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 11 July 1900; Corporation, 19 July 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 12 September 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 24 July 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 9 October 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 23 October 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 6 July 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 20 October 1905; Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1900, see Glasgow City Archives 1/7896); Tradesmen's Contracts (1900, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Box 2).
163-181 STOB CROSS STREET (1897-9)

Three tenements with shops

Architect: A. B. McDonald.
Measurer: David Robertson.
Mason: Robert Murdoch.
Joiner: Daniel Sharkie.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Plumber: Matthew Sproul.
Painter: John Lindsay.
Slaters: W. & D. Mailer.
Tilers: Kean & Waldrop.

On 27 January 1897, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties ordered McDonald to make up plans for the erection of tenements on land at that time encumbered with the old buildings of 165-7 Stobcross Street, together with predictions as to the income likely to be derived from the letting of houses and shops in such a reconstruction. The City Engineer presented members with these things on 24 February 1897 and saw them approved. His designs envisaged three tenements, four storeys high, with a frontage of 121 feet on the south side of Stobcross Street, stretching back from this road to a depth of 97 feet. As a whole, the steading measured 827 square yards. McDonald felt his scheme might be realised for a total cost of £5310, with this being recuperated by the rents from shops on the ground floor and one or two-apartment dwellings on the floors above. Menzies set rents of between £11 and £12 for the eighteen houses of two rooms and £7 5s. for the nine single-ends. Leases for the six shops would cost between £20 and £33 annually. McDonald also proposed the erection of a washing house "...similar to that in Osborne Street..." behind the development's main body.

The expense of this particular addition probably told on 18 March 1897, when the Corporation sent the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties' approval back for reconsideration. On 11 August 1897, however, confirmation arrived of the Police Department's willingness to build new baths and a washing house on ground to the back of 167-175 Stobcross Street. This prompted the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties to re-approve McDonald's plans - minus the washing house - two weeks later, on 25 August 1897. Tenders arrived on 13 October 1897. A fortnight later, on 27 October 1897, members accepted the offers from most of those firms listed above; the mason's offer eventually gained acceptance on 25 November 1897. On 8 December 1897, Robert Murdoch also successfully negotiated a settlement whereby only days of 'working weather' could be counted towards his contracted completion time.

On 26 January 1898, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties pressed for compensation from the Caledonian Railway Company in connection with an alleged breach of the eastern boundary at 165-179

569 Stobcross Street was obliterated circa 1961 as part of the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Anderston.
570 See page 84.
Stobcross Street. Members also sent a letter to the trustees of a certain John Mackenzie, insisting they remove the underpinning to their gable wall - also on the eastern boundary - to allow for the new scheme’s foundations to be laid. Two years later, on 21 March 1900, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties approved an assessment putting the cost of this extra work at £104. Confusingly, this minute refers to “...the new tenements at 167-175 Stobcross Street...”, thus contradicting the street numbers specified in the minute of 26 January 1898. On 21 December 1898, to confuse matter further, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties read a statement of rents for buildings by then completed “...at 165-177 Stobcross Street...”. The Police Department’s washing house was not finished until well after 9 August 1899, the date when members read a petition from tenants “...at 167-181 Stobcross Street...” demanding the provision of temporary conveniences.

According to a General Committee minute of 13 January 1898, this washing house was eventually erected by the same mason as worked on the scheme in front, on Stobcross Street. It is difficult to tell, however, whether or not the two constructions displayed similarities in execution, both having been demolished in the early 1960s to make way for the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Anderston. Indeed, our best idea of the main scheme’s appearance relies on plans held within the Dean of Guild’s Court Collection at Glasgow City Archive [Fig.122]. These were passed in October 1897 and show three four-storey tenements, each four bays wide – two bays of double windows flanked by two bays of tripartite oriels. Decoration was minimal: cornices over all the buildings’ oriel windows, though slightly more ornamental on the first floor than on the floors above, and ogee-shaped plinths at the roof, each marking the gaps (and drainpipes!) between tenements.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department and the Town Council (Joint-Meeting of Special Sub-Committees as to Value of Lands, etc., Transferred from Police Commissioners to the Improvement Trustees, 25 October 1894; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 28 February 1895; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 27 January 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 24 February 1897; Corporation, 18 March 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 11 August 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 25 August 1897; General Committee, 22 September 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 13 October 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 27 October 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 27 October 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 10 November 1897; General Committee, 11 November 1897; Corporation, 18 November 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 24 November 1897; General Committee, 25 November 1897; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 8 December 1897; General Committee, 13 January 1898; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 26 January 1898; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 9 February 1898; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 21 December 1898; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 9 August 1899; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 21 March 1900); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1897-8, see Glasgow City Archives 1/6079, 1/6125).
24-38 ST. JAMES ROAD (1898-1900)
Four tenements, demolished circa 1962

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: Stirling & Campbell.
Joiner: Daniel Sharkie.
Glazier: Daniel Sharkie.
Slater: James Mearchent.
Plasterer: Alexander Pirie.
Painters: Stevenson Bros.

On 24 February 1898, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties looked over a plan by McDonald for workmen's dwellings on an empty plot of land on the north side of St. James Road. Members were unsatisfied with this proposal, evidently, because two weeks later - on 10 March 1898 - the City Engineer submitted an amended design. An accompanying report described 697 square yards of ground covered with a building containing 23 two-roomed houses, four houses of three rooms and one single-end. These flats would be rented for £7 10s., £12 10s. and £5 respectively, amounting to a total gross revenue of £227 10s. The report put outlay at £3550, dropping to £3100 should the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties elect not to build on the site's narrow western end. Such an abridgement proved unnecessary, members ordering the Town Clerk to apply for a lining from the Dean of Guild's Court for a scheme filling the whole site. The lining was secured on or before 12 May 1898, but the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties unaccountably postponed operations on the very same day.

Nearly a year later, on 23 March 1899, the same sub-committee read of interest from the Police Department's Sub-Committee on Open Spaces; the vacant steading was seen as suitable for a playground. Though tempted, no doubt, by the opportunity to save money, members resolved to press ahead with the labourers' dwellings. New accommodation was desperately needed for the people displaced by contemporaneous demolitions in nearby High Street. The General Committee immediately endorsed this decision, ordering the specifications necessary for the seeking of tenders. The tenders arrived on 8 June 1899, with the successful ones being chosen two weeks later, on 22 June 1899. These put outlay for building work, including balconies and washing houses, up to just under £3778.

Once started, the work soon incurred local wrath, as the site's immediate neighbours grew perturbed by allegedly persistent encroachments onto their property. On 24 August 1899, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties sanctioned moves to have the dispute amicably resolved, and by 12 April 1900, work was close to complete. On this day, members agreed to have white enamelled sinks fitted in the kitchens instead of the iron ones originally planned. Several months later, Menzies issued a report.
describing the scheme in its completed state.\textsuperscript{571} Arranged according to the balcony system, the block contained four houses of three apartments, 23 of two rooms and just one single-end. This particular dwelling was situated on the ground floor of the block's western extremity, which was shrunken in turn to fit within a very narrow area. Prospective tenants wishing to move in to the scheme were vetted to ensure they made no more than 26 shillings a week, or 22 if looking to rent the single-end. An average rent of £8 2s. per annum for a two-roomed house with basic fittings and an indoor WC made these dwellings more expensive than others built for labourers. Nevertheless, Menzies felt able to remark that "...the proximity of the St. James Road block to the Blind Asylum enables several houses to be let to the workers of that institution, whose wages, owing to their blindness, are even below the average wages of the unskilled labourer. The female tenants are widows, either making a living as charwomen, or supported on the earnings of their children". Skilled craftsmen and others earning more substantial wages tended to covet the scheme's three-room houses.

The block was probably demolished circa 1962 as part of the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Townhead. It was one of only a very few examples of City Improvement Department buildings finished in brick and render [Fig 124]. Drawings held in the Dean of Guild's Court Collection show a row of four-storey buildings covering a length of about 80 feet along the north side of St. James Road [Fig. 123]. The elevations were handsome but extremely plain, with eleven bays of flat bipartite windows tinkered with only slightly by the addition of a turret of bay windows at the block's easternmost extremity. This tower was capped with a coned roof and supported on a circle of heavily moulded corbelling on the ground floor, with a shield carved with the letters C.I.D. placed in the wall beside it. An arched entrance way in the centre of the ground floor took residents through to a stairwell in the back court - erected beside the washing houses - from where they entered their houses on the ground floor, or climbed the stairs to the houses splayed out along the upper balconies [Fig. 125]. The

\textsuperscript{571} Menzies (1900, pp.3-4, 7, 9, 11).
accommodation in the three westernmost dwellings consisted of hallways opening on to kitchens with bed recesses, lounges with similar recesses and closets with toilets [Fig.126]. Confusingly, the aforementioned single-end, reported as being at the far west end of the block, was actually at the centre of the ground floor, just to the east of the entrance alley. The rear of the building was not flat like the front. At its easternmost end, it extended back to a depth of approximately 25 feet, this part of the building containing - on the ground floor and each of the three upper floors - a house with a kitchen, two largish rooms, an indoor WC and a long, L-shaped lobby. At the opposite end of the block, here stretching back to just ten feet from the pavement on St. James Road, the emphasis of the houses was from west to east rather than north to south.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 24 February 1898; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 10 March 1898; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 12 May 1898; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 23 March 1899; General Committee, 23 March 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 8 June 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 22 June 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 9 August 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 24 August 1899; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 April 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 14 June 1900; General Committee, 7 September 1904); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1898, see Glasgow City Archives 1/6375).
WEST SIDE OF KING STREET (1898-1902)
Two office blocks with warehouses and shops

FIRST PHASE
(one office block on 4-28 King Street, 60-70 Parnie Street, New Wynd and 103-105 Trongate):

Architect: John McKissack.
Measurer: Robert Scott.
Masons: Morrison & Muir.
Ironworkers: Kesson & Campbell.
Steelworkers: P. & W. MacLellan.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plasterer: James McMillan.
Tiler: Alexander Wilson.
Painter: Thomas C. Watson.
Slaters: P. White & Co.
Concreters: MacTaggart & Pollok.

SECOND PHASE
(one office block on 40-60 King Street, 50-68 Osborne Street, New Wynd and 77-85 Parnie Street):

Architect: John McKissack.
Measurer: Robert Scott.
Mason: Ebenezer McMorran.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Steelworkers: P. & W. MacLellan.
Slaters: James Cuthbertson & Son.
Painter: Thomas C. Watson.
Tilers: Haddow, Forbes & Co.
Gasfitter: James Raeside.

As we have seen, improvements to the areas just south of Trongate carried on pretty much continuously
from the late 1880s onwards. The 88 acres scheduled under the 1866 Act included only the east side of
King Street, however, necessitating the west side's purchase using Section 6 of the Glasgow Improvement
Act 1897.572 On 12 May 1898, the General Committee acknowledged the tremendous strain this directive

572 See page 23.
was likely to place on the City Engineer's office, requiring – as it did – designs for the reconstruction of six acres of city centre slumland, over and above McDonald's ordinary duties. As an experiment, therefore, the General Committee resolved to hire outside architects for certain key projects, including the reconstruction of 3792 square yards of scheduled land on King Street's west side, between Trongate, Osborne Street and New Wynd.

On 1 June 1898, the Special Sub-Committee on Reconstruction of King Street Area suggested that private firms be invited to submit plans and estimates for a competition to be judged by the General Committee. These plans would include designs for two blocks of four-storey tenements with dwelling-houses and shops, either side of a newly extended Parnie Street, stretching west to dissect the scheduled area. The buildings would be faced at the front with dressed stone and with rubble to the rear. Two days later, members of the same sub-committee approved a draft announcement for insertion into various newspapers.

Some 24 sets of competitive designs were received on or before 8 September 1898, the day on which the General Committee appointed the local architect, Frank Burnet, to assist it in its decision. Six days later, Burnet met with members to discuss the submissions, these having been examined by the General Committee over the previous three days. Three designs - labelled 'Red Cross', 'Melior' and 'Comfort and Economy' - were then chosen as being the most in line with members' requirements. This done, the General Committee set its measurer to work calculating the probable cost of each scheme. The Manager, meanwhile, was asked to estimate what returns might be gleaned from rent. These things arrived back on 5 October 1898, allowing the General Committee to select 'Comfort and Economy' by John McKissack as the winning design. Costing £31,600, McKissack's proposals were cheaper than those put forward by his rivals. They were also more remunerative, with an estimated rentable value of £2996 per annum.

The scheduled area's northern portion, measuring 1818 square yards, was dealt with first. On 14 December 1898, the Special Sub-Committee as to Scheme for Reconstruction of King Street Area consulted the architect, discussing the relative merits of business premises as opposed to domiciles for the upper floors of the tenements. McKissack and Menzies left this meeting with instructions to assess local interest in the first of these options. Following the insertion of another advertisement into local newspapers, the Manager returned on 12 January 1899 with information of enquiries from numerous interested parties. He also brought a calculation as to the total floor area needed to accommodate the various businesses concerned. Rubbing their hands together, members decided to make the new building on King Street - north of Parnie Street - an office block with warehouses and shops.

Demolition work began after 25 January 1899 on the site's old buildings. Two weeks later, on 8 February 1899, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties read two reports submitted by Menzies. The first of these presented more accurate rent estimates, based upon two modifications to McKissack's original, four-storey design: a building with five floors might realise rentals worth £2150 annually; another extra floor in the attic might increase this revenue by £140. The Sub-Committee on South Central

573 See Appendix 1, page 236.
Properties’ reaction to this report is not minuted, but members would no doubt have been displeased by projections much reduced from the figures presented on 5 October 1898.

Fig.129: block plans for the proposed warehouses and shops on King Street and Trongate, stamped by John McKissack & Son, April 1899. The Britannia Music Hall, designed in 1857 by Thomas Gildard, is at the top of the larger drawing, to the west of the new development (Glasgow City Archives).

Menzies’ second report offered a more detailed version of what the first had summarised. Costs for the two amendments aforementioned were put at £15,209 and £17,342 respectively. Given these figures, the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties eventually plumped for McKissack’s second design, ordering him to make up working drawings and specifications in readiness for the getting of tenders. These things arrived back on 22 March 1899, when they were approved. The Dean of Guild’s Court also approved, giving the proposed building a lining on 25 May 1899. Operations were scheduled to begin on 28 June 1899, following the removal of the site’s sitting tenants.

Demolitions recommenced a little after 12 July 1899 with the removal of 4-34 King Street and 23-33 New Wynd. They continued with the taking down of 44-50 King Street on 22 November 1899 and 13 New Wynd three weeks later. In the meantime, tenders arrived on 23 August 1899 for the first phase of building work, the ones listed above being selected three and five weeks later. These put costs for the scheme’s northern section up to £19,091. They rose another £80 after 7 March 1900, when the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties approved a submission by McKissack detailing, amongst other things, extra work to be done on the excavations for some cellars planned to be located under saloons to the buildings’ rear. Costs increased yet further two weeks later, when the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties ordered McKissack to get tenders for the supply of four elevators, either hydraulic or electric. Clarkson Bros. won this contract, worth £497, on 25 July 1900.

The first phase of the scheme’s exterior work was mostly finished by this time, allowing the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties to consider the matter of ornamentation. On 12 September 1900, members ordered McKissack to have Glasgow’s Coat-of-Arms carved onto the new building’s Trongate
façade at a cost of £15. Two weeks later, on 26 September 1900, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties leased the shops beneath this facade for five years from the following Whitsunday to a proprietor by the name of Benjamin Jacobs. This allowed a few months for McKissack and the sub-committee to apply the necessary finishing touches, including windows, WCs, electric lighting, floors, iron railings and gates, ceiling plaster, etc. The building's basic shell was complete by 26 December 1900, when the Manager submitted his latest recommendations as to rents. A month or so earlier, Menzies' annual report had put building costs for the northern portion at around £20,700.574 A later summary reported that the building was completely finished by December 1901.575

The General Committee then recommenced its deliberations on the scheme's southern portion, 50 feet away across a newly extended Parnie Street.576 On 27 December 1900, it resolved to ask whether or not the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties wished to begin operations at once and if it was still committed to McKissack's original plans. Nine days into the new year, members declared their loyalty to McKissack's designs, ordering him to prepare working drawings for six-storey business premises on King Street, Osborne Street, New Wynd and Parnie Street. Construction work would begin the following Whitsunday. On 23 January 1901 (the day after Queen Victoria died), however, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties greeted a delegation of Magistrates interested in letting offices for the city's Weights and Measures Department. Members immediately agreed to have McKissack's drawings adjusted to suit these clients [Fig.130]. The alterations arrived back on 11 April 1901, when the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties ordered working drawings in readiness for the getting of tenders. Much later, on 23 January 1902, the Weights and Measures Department asked to have the walls of its ground floor workshop lined with enamelled brick instead of plaster. This time, the extra cost - some £170 - was to be paid by the tenants.

Demolitions continued in the meantime. The old buildings at 47 New Wynd were removed some time after 22 May 1901, with the buildings at 52-68 King Street, 68 Osborne Street and 39 Back Wynd following after 10 July 1901. Tenders for the latest phase of building work arrived on 11 September 1901, with most of the lowest offers being accepted two weeks later on 26 September 1901. Bladen & Co.'s bid for the cast-iron work waited until 9 October 1901 to achieve acceptance, however, and put projected building costs up to £24,023 for the scheme's southern portion. McKissack's designs passed through the Dean of Guild's Court a little before 12 December 1901. On this day, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties assured its Master of Works of the office block's continuance of the building line on Osborne Street. Operations then continued without incident until 10 April 1902, when the Sub-Committee on Southern

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574 Menzies (1900, p.33).
575 Menzies (1902, p.33).
576 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on Properties, 17 January 1908). This portion of Parnie Street was eventually transferred to the Statute Labour Department for use as a public thoroughfare.
District Properties ordered McKissack to get tenders for the provision of elevators [Fig.131]. This contract, worth £487, went eventually to A. & P. Steven.

Members approved Menzies’ suggestions for rents on 28 November 1902. Eleven weeks later, on 13 February 1903, they accepted a tender by Allan Ure & Co. to fit the new buildings with 40 mantel registers. This was to be done upon the payment of £50 and signalled the end of building work. On 26 March 1903, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties referred to the scheme as complete. According to a minute of 25 August 1904, the final cost of the entire scheme, on both sides of Parnie Street, was £47,967. This minute also confirmed the aforementioned implication that McKissack’s competition winning design was abandoned in favour of new drawings for a scheme consisting entirely of business premises [Fig.132]. This, then, is what we see today when strolling along the west side of King Street. The buildings are faced to the front in red sandstone, with brick overlooking the lanes at the back. The first stage of the scheme – built on King Street, Parnie Street, New Wynd and Trongate according to an irregular, L-shaped plan - is Baroque in much of its detailing [Fig.127], though with a composition owing much to Salmon, Son and Gillespie’s celebrated Mercantile Chambers (1897-8), built just slightly earlier. Adding to a general sense of eclecticism, the building’s silhouette looks Dutch. This comes through most explicitly in the narrow elevation of the Trongate façade - three bays wide, six storeys high and crowned with a fussy shaped gable [Fig.134]. The fourth floor windows are arched, with single windows on either side of a large one in the middle, this set behind a balustraded balcony. From beneath this balcony there protrudes a three-storey mini-façade of tripartite oriel windows, again flanked on either side by bays of single windows. All of the windows on the first, second, third and fifth floors are hooded beneath semicircular or triangular open pediments decorated with keystones. The main body of the building is found on King Street, where gabled three-bay frontages - similar to the one on Trongate – operate as flanking elements at each end of a much
larger façade, measuring fourteen bays in total. On the first, second and third floors, between these two flanking elements, there are six bays of tripartite windows, topped — on the first floor only — with alternating semicircular and triangular pediments, each decorated with keystones. Again, the building's fifth floor windows are large and arched, affording maximum light to the workshops within.

The second stage of the scheme — on King Street, Osborne Street, New Wynd and Parnie Street — is larger than the first stage in terms of overall cubic capacity, though it actually has fewer floors: five storeys in all, with ten bays of bipartite windows on King Street and nine on Osborne Street [Fig.128]. It also differs in its detailing, with a Beaux-Arts slant in slight contrast to the first building's conventional interpretation of the Baroque. Three of the building's four corners are topped with domes, each held in place by a half-octagonal turret rising through four storeys. On King Street, at the roof, there are two semicircular pediments carved with the City Arms, each presiding over bays of bipartite windows with heavily moulded surrounds. This contrasts markedly with the relative plainness of the building's other windows, though all the openings on the third and fourth floor windows are interspersed with fluted, Ionic pilasters, held in position by large, scrolled consoles.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 12 May 1898; General Committee, 26 May 1898; Special Sub-Committee on Reconstruction of King Street Area, 1 June 1898; Special Sub-Committee on Reconstruction of King Street Area, 3 June 1898; General Committee, 9 June 1898; General Committee, 8 September 1898; General Committee, 14 September 1898; General Committee, 5 October 1898; General Committee, 24 November 1898; Special Sub-Committee as to Scheme for Reconstruction of King Street Area, 14 December 1898; Special Sub-Committee as to Scheme for Reconstruction of King Street Area, 12 January 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 25 January 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 8 February 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 22 March 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 4 May 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 10 May 1899; General Committee, 11 May 1899; General Committee, 26 May 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 12 July 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 23 August 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 13 September 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 28 September 1899; Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties, 11 October 1899; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 22 November 1899; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 13 December 1899; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 7 March 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 21 March 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 11 April 1900; Sub-Committee on Finance, 12 April 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 11 July 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 25 July 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 12 September 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 26 September 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 10 October 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 24 October 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 21
November 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 12 December 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 26 December 1900; General Committee, 27 December 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 9 January 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 23 January 1901; General Committee, 28 March 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 11 April 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 8 May 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 22 May 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 12 June 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 26 June 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 10 July 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 11 September 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 26 September 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 9 October 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 23 October 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 12 December 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 23 January 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 10 April 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 24 April 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 8 May 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 26 September 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 11 September 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 28 November 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 13 February 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 26 March 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 25 August 1904); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1899, 1901, see Glasgow City Archives 1/7181, 1/8520); Tradesmen's Contracts (1899, 1901, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Boxes 2-3).
185-195 HIGH STREET (1898-1900)

One tenement with shops, demolished 1999

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: Stirling & Cameron.
Masons: G. & P. Newton.
Joiner: Daniel Sharkie.
Glazier: Daniel Sharkie.
Ironmonger: Daniel Sharkie.
Painters: John Lindsay & Son.
Tilers: Haig Bros.
Plasterers: Wemyss & Livingstone.
Slater: James Cuthbertson.

On 21 September 1898, following a remit six weeks earlier, the City Engineer submitted plans for a single tenement at 185-191 High Street, on the west side. The building was to be four storeys high, covering a site of 390 square yards. It would hold six houses of two or three rooms on its upper floors, with shops on the ground. McDonald put the likely total cost of this building at £2680, with a predicted gross rental of £239 annually. Satisfied, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties ordered work to commence at once, with the proviso that only houses of three apartments should be included. McDonald was sent away to prepare his working drawings and specifications. These things arrived before the General Committee on 12 October 1898, when they were approved subject to certain unspecified modifications. There then followed a long period of inactivity until 13 July 1899, when the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties accepted tenders from the firms listed above. Gratifyingly, these contracts took building costs down to a little under £2601. Six days later, however, members were forced to sanction the widening by thirteen feet of an adjacent close, leading from High Street to a back lane. McDonald’s plans were already with the Dean of Guild’s Court by this time, suggesting the impetus for this modification came from outside the City Improvement Department.

On 23 November 1899, Menzies submitted and saw approved his proposals for rents at an address now given as 185-195 High Street. Six months later, on 23 May 1900, however, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties passed a minute referring to "...new tenements recently erected at 193 High Street...". The Manager’s annual report for that year – submitted some time after 15 November 1900 - confirmed the building as containing three shops and six dwellings of three apartments each. Menzies also acknowledged the fact that the rents he had set for these houses were likely to put them beyond the means of the poorer classes.

577 Menzies (1900, p.31).
A photograph taken in 1902 shows the tenement as it was when first built, with James Adam's College Buildings (1793, demolished 1973) to its right and a short three-storey building to its left, on the other side of the lane aforementioned, which had to be modified before McDonald's tenement could pass through the Dean of Guild's Court [Fig.135]. Unfortunately McDonald's final drawings are currently missing. Gutted, dilapidated and overgrown with a green slimy moss, the tenement remained standing until very recently, though the flanking buildings were replaced with gap sites long ago [Fig.136]. It was four storeys tall and four bays wide, faced in red sandstone, with brick to the sides and rear. The outer two bays were composed of shallow oriels, the first floor of these windows crowned by rather meagre, triangular pediments. The two inner bays contained simple bipartite windows, the second floor of these enjoying ornament similar to that gracing the first floor oriels.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department (Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, August 11 1898; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, September 21 1898; General Committee, 12 October 1898; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 13 July 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 19 July 1899; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 23 November 1899; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 23 May 1900); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1899, see Glasgow City Archives 1/7328).

578 Kay (1902, p.43).
1-69 CARNTYNE ROAD/10 HAGHILL ROAD (1899-1900)
Ten tenements with shops, demolished circa 1930s

Architect: Frank Burnet.
Measurer: George B. Walker.
Mason: John B. McCallum.
Ironworker: John B. McCallum.
Steelworker: John B. McCallum.
Joiner: Duncan Buchanan.
Glazier: Duncan Buchanan.
Plasterers: John Struthers & Sons.
Plumber: J. Grieve.
Painter: J. Carruth.
Slaters: John McQuat & Son.
Tilers: The Staffordshire Tileries Company.
Ironmongers: W. McGeoch & Co.

On 9 February 1898, the Sub-Committee on Glasgow Corporation (Improvements and General Powers) Act, 1897, working under the auspices of Section 12 of the 1897 Act, resolved to buy 4180 square yards of land in Haghill, Dalmarnock, from the Corporation’s Police Department. 579 A few weeks later, on 25 March 1898, members agreed a price of £1463. On 12 October 1898, the General Committee voted by six to five to assign the ground utilisation to an outside architect. Once chosen, this individual would be asked to design dwellings for the poorer classes. On 22 December 1898, apparently untroubled by the want of a fair and open competition, the General Committee chose Burnet & Boston. The architects’ acceptance letter arrived on 12 January 1899.

On 1 February 1899, Frank Burnet presented a joint meeting of sub-committees with two comparative sketch plans. 580 The Sub-Committee on Acquisition of Ground for Dwellings for the Poorest Classes and the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties studied drawings for normal tenements, together with drawings for tenements built according to the balcony system, all with freestone fronts. Together the sub-committees elected the ordinary type of tenement, ordering Burnet to prepare detailed working drawings. These arrived before the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties on 9 March 1899, when they were approved. Members then instructed the measurer to make up specifications in readiness for the getting of tenders. On the same day, the General Committee resolved to approach the Corporation’s Police Department with a view to prompting the Sub-Committee on Public Baths and Wash-houses to erect facilities near the proposed tenements. Drawings passed on 20 March 1899 and held now in the Dean of Guild’s Court Collection show a scheme with its main four-storey frontage – nine tenements – to Carnntyne Road, with only one tenement to Haghill Road, at that time unbuilt and unnamed [Fig.137]. Despite being

579 See page 23.
580 See Appendix 1, page 236.
faced, as aforementioned, in freestone rather than bricks and render, the buildings were exceptionally plain, even by the normal standards of tenements for the humbler dweller. There was no decorative light relief of any description, though the builders did fit the ground and first floor windows with large, handsome lintels [Fig.139]. This reticence was carried through to the scheme’s fenestration, consisting as it did of row upon uniform row of single windows. Only with a ventilation gap - above the level of the ground floor shops, one tenement up from the corner of Carntyne Road and Haghill Road – was the monotony relieved. The plans reveal tenements with four dwelling-houses on each floor, the rooms with kitchens at the front and the single-ends to the rear [Figs.138 and 140]. The single-ends were each equipped with two bed recesses, while the larger houses had only one, attached to their kitchens. Each house was entered via a lobby, leading from a landing at the centre of each floor. The development was served by a WC at the head of the stairway on each floor and by a washing house to the rear of each tenement.

Tenders for the building work arrived on 26 May 1899, with the most competitive – amounting to just over £14,399 – achieving acceptance on 7 June 1899. On the same day, a special sub-committee decided to use the Haghill tenements as a testing ground for a system whereby resident caretakers were employed to superintend new schemes of council housing. The Glasgow Workmen’s Dwellings Company had already enjoyed some success with this system when adopted as a matter of course for the running of its own tenements. On 13 December 1899, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties turned its eyes to tenancies, promising to keep aside some of the new dwellings in Haghill for the accommodation of people then working in the Corporation’s Cleansing Department, subject to their wages being appropriately low. The Cleansing Department also obtained an assurance whereby the new tenements’ chimneys would be heightened so as not to allow other premises nearby to be disturbed by increased smoke.

On 10 January 1900, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties read its first offer for shop accommodation, tabled by the Glasgow Eastern Co-operative Society. The development was reported as being close to completion on 7 March 1900. Five weeks later, on 11 April 1900, the Manager submitted a statement of rents. Menzies’ annual report – submitted seven months after this - spoke of an “...ordinary
tenemental plan..." holding 84 two-roomed houses, 69 single-ends and four shops.581 Potential tenants were subject to the same vetting procedures as applied to the block on St. James Road, described earlier.582 The live-in superintendent, meanwhile, was "...expected to preserve the property in good condition, check any disorder among tenants, and [thus] reduce the charges for repairs". Ironically, despite this supervision, the Haghill tenements appear to have fallen into irredeemable disrepair much more quickly than most other City Improvement Department buildings. They were demolished in the 1930s, seemingly to make way for more tenements designed specifically for the poorer classes.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 9 December 1897; Sub-Committee on Glasgow Corporation (Improvements and General Powers) Act, 1897, 24 December 1897; Sub-Committee on Glasgow Corporation (Improvements and General Powers) Act, 1897, 14 January 1898; Sub-Committee on Glasgow Corporation (Improvements and General Powers) Act, 1897, 9 February 1898; Joint-Meeting of the Sub-Committees of Cleansing Committee and City Improvements Committee Re Ground at Haghill and Baltic Street, 27 July 1898; General Committee, 12 October 1898; General Committee, 22 December 1898; General Committee, 12 January 1899; Joint Meeting of the Sub-Committees on Acquisition of Ground for Dwellings for the Poorest Classes and Eastern District Properties, 1 February 1899; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 9 March 1899; General Committee, 9 March 1899; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 26 May 1899; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 7 June 1899; Special Sub-Committee as to System of Caretakers, 7 June 1899; General Committee, 8 June 1899; General Committee, 13 July 1899; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 13 December 1899; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 10 January 1900; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 7 March 1900; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 11 April 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 June 1900; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 21 November 1900; General Committee, 7 September 1904); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1899, see Glasgow City Archives 1/7036).

581 Menzies (1900, pp.3-4, 11, 15).
582 See page 134.
On 11 January 1899, responding to a remit from the Corporation’s Finance Committee, the Sub-Committee on Western District Properties ordered McDonald to prepare an exploratory ground plan for the land in Overnewton feuded to the Sandyford Drill Hall Company Ltd. in the 1870s. It seems this company was anxious to reconvey the site. The City Engineer returned on 22 March 1899 with designs for five tenements, each four storeys high, containing a total of 36 two-apartment houses, plus 20 of three. He proposed to arrange these tenements across the site’s 1486 square yards at a cost of £11,836. The Sub-Committee on Western District Properties immediately approved the plans, subject to the ground’s coming into the City Improvement Department’s hands. Just over three weeks later, on 13 April 1899, the Sub-Committee on Finance agreed to this reconveyancing. On 27 July 1899, accordingly, the Sandyford Drill Hall Company Ltd. made known its plans to vacate the land as of Whitsunday 1900.

There then followed a long and mysterious period of silence, until 27 March 1902, when the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties considered a proposal from the elders of Kelvinhaugh Parish Church, suggesting a swap deal whereby the church’s property would be traded for the site of the former Sandyford Drill Hall. Members immediately set McDonald to work, reporting on the ground on offer. The whole idea was abandoned, however, before the report could even be written. On 26 December 1902, consequently, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties reconsidered McDonald’s initial plans, eventually ordering him to make certain amendments. The City Engineer’s modified designs were passed on 19 May 1903. On a site measuring 1486 square yards, McDonald planned to erect a block containing more than 30 houses for artisans, ranging in cost from £11 to £25. The whole scheme, he predicted, might be accomplished for £12,500. Convinced, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties ordered detailed drawings. On 23 June 1903, however, members agreed instead to feu about a third of the targeted ground, some five hundred square yards, to the St. Vincent Lodge of Freemasons, subject to the Corporation’s approval of any forthcoming designs for new buildings.

On 22 October 1903, consequently, McDonald submitted designs further amended to deal with the site’s remaining 947 square yards. These comprised three tenements of four storeys containing 20 houses of two

583 See page 30.
apartments, twelve of three and two of four. Rents ranged from £12 10s. to £20, the scheme as a whole costing £7800 to build. For the second time, the City Engineer was sent to prepare detailed drawings and specifications.

Tenders arrived on 25 February 1904, the lowest ones being accepted two weeks later, on 10 March 1904. All in, these reduced costs slightly to £7774. Building work then commenced, presumably, though the minutes make no mention of its progress. As finished, the tenements are three in number, four storeys high, faced in an orangey-red sandstone [Fig.141]. Two of the close entrances are on Blackie Street, with the third on Overnewton Street. The thirteen bays on Blackie Street, overlooking a small square of recreation ground, are laid out from north to south as follows: tripartite oriels, singles, doubles, tripartite oriels, doubles, singles, doubles, tripartite oriels, tripartite oriels, doubles, singles, doubles, tripartite oriels. The oriel windows project out from the first, second and third floors only, while the ground floor remains uniformly flat. Across this curiously geometric façade, the detailing is minimal, though it does include some interestingly stark courses of raised ashlar above the ground floor windows and below them at dado level, as well as below the first, second and third floor windows. The bands negotiate the slope of Blackie Street by way of no-nonsense, right-angled stairsteps, just to the left of the second and fourth bays of tripartite oriels. These steps are repeated more subtly at roof level, though the roof does enjoy its own example of robust functionality in the form of a massive chimney-stack at the building’s north-western corner.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department and the Town Council (Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 11 January 1899; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 22 March 1899; Sub-Committee on Finance, 13 April 1899; Sub-Committee on Finance, 27 July 1899; General Committee, 27 July 1899; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 23 August 1899; Sub-Committee on Western District Properties, 28 September 1899; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 27 March 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 8 May 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 26 December 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 19 May 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 11 June 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 23 June 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 22 October 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 25 February 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 10 March 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 13 October 1904; Special Committee on Allocation of Expense of Office of Public Works, 26 May 1905); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1904, see Glasgow City Archives 2/27); Tradesmen’s Contracts (1904, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Box 4).
BELL O' THE BRAE (1899-1902)
Fifteen tenements with shops

FIRST PHASE (eight tenements at 231-287 High Street and George Street):

Architect: Frank Burnet.
Measurer: Robert Reid.
Masons: Hugh Nelson & Co.
Bricklayer: William Anderson.
Joiner: John Cochrane.
Ironworker: W.J. Fleming.
Steelworker: W.J. Fleming.
Slater: Alfred Robertson.
Plumber: Robert Munro.
Plasterers: William Tonner & Sons.
Painters: John Lindsay & Son.
Tilers: Wilson, Morrison & Wood.

SECOND PHASE (seven tenements on 252-284 High Street, 1-31 Duke Street and Burrell's Lane):

Architect: Frank Burnet.
Measurers: A. Livingston & Sons.
Tilers: Cherry & Co.
Plumber: R.S. Renfrew.

THIRD PHASE (one replacement tenement at 263 High Street):

Architect: Frank Burnet.
Measurer: Robert Reid.
Bricklayer: John Kennedy.
Joiner: David Wallace.
Plasterer: David McQuarrie.
Ironworkers: P. & W. MacLellan.
Painters: John Lindsay & Son.
Plumber: William Miller.

On 9 February 1899, the General Committee decided to proceed with the reconstruction of its scheduled areas on High Street and Duke Street, these lands having been targeted and secured by the Act of 1897. Members also resolved to give the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties the option of hiring a private architect for the production of any building plans. Two weeks later, on 23 February 1899, the sub-
committee members agreed to take up this option. Later the same day, the General Committee produced a list of architects - Burnet & Boston, Dykes & Robertson, William Forrest Salmon and Thomson & Sandilands - and ordered they be asked to prepare plans for the whole area's reconstruction. Letters of acceptance arrived from all the architects on or before 23 March 1899, when the General Committee instructed Menzies to have block plans prepared for both sides of High Street, for the information of the competitors. On 13 April 1899, the General Committee read a speculative letter from John McKissack, apparently keen to be considered for the necessary design work. This matter having been dealt with already, however, the General Committee was unwilling to reconsider. McKissack was to be more fortunate with future City Improvement Department commissions.584

On 27 April 1899, after studying a block plan by Kyle, Denniston & Frew, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties approved proposals to extend the width of High Street to 55 feet between George Street and Burrell's Lane. This adjustment would later help form the striking vista distinguishing the Bell o' the Brae today [Fig.142]. The proposals envisaged a street lined with tenements, four storeys high, containing houses of two or three apartments, with shops on the ground floor. On the west side, alternative designs were to be requested from the architects for shops with saloons to the rear or cellars in the basements. No such option was given on the east side of High Street, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties insisting all the shops here be supplied with cellars. The architects were asked, however, to pay particular attention to the corner of High Street and Duke Street, no doubt to ensure a suitably grand aspect overlooking this historically significant junction.

Plans and estimates arrived back on or before 13 July 1899, when the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties sanctioned arrangements for a formal viewing six days later. All the members did on 19 July 1899, however, was agree to hire the architect Robert A. Bryden to help them in their eventual decision. On 25 July 1899, consequently, the architect selected two designs, marked '1' and '2', determining them to be the best. The first of these showed plans appropriate for both sides of High Street, costing a total of £57,600. The second gave separate designs for each side, with costs ranging between £21,480 and £24,250 for the west and amounting to a total of £48,700 for both sides. Predictably, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties recommended the acceptance of design '2', subject to confirmation of the accuracy of its estimates. On 26 October 1899, however, Menzies submitted revised estimates which added some £17,000 to the cost of the whole development, including "...buildings to the north-west of High Street, and partly fronting that street, partly fronting Rottenrow...".585 Despite this escalation, the Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties stayed firm in its support of the plans then reported as being by Burnet & Boston.586 The General Committee was not so convinced, however; it immediately sent the decision back for reconsideration.

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584 See Appendix 1, page 248.
585 Reed, (1993, pp.99-100). Brian Edwards refers to an earlier competition for the triangular site on the corner of High Street and Rottenrow, which is said to have generated a submission from the firm of Honeyman & Keppie, believed to be an early work by Charles Rennie Mackintosh. The drawing is currently in the Hunterian Art Gallery, but its buildings were abandoned in favour of the water pumping station mentioned in connection with the City Improvement Department tenements at 296 High Street and 16 Burrell's Lane. See page 149.
586 Williamson, Riches, Higgs (1990, p.153). Williamson, Riches and Higgs claim the firm of Burnet & Boston had evolved to become Burnet, Boston & Carruthers by the time work began on the City Improvement Department's development at the Bell o' the Brae, as
Whether as an act of fickleness or because something had been done to convince its members in the meantime, the General Committee turned around and approved the designs on 14 December 1899. Four weeks later, on 11 January 1900, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties finally ordered the commencement of operations on the west side of High Street. Burnet submitted his elevations accordingly - on 2 May 1900. He also agreed a number of details to do with specification and materials. Tenders eventually arrived on 26 September 1900, the cheapest ones achieving acceptance two weeks later. Somewhat disturbingly, given the original estimates, these put costs up by £14,000 to nearly £38,149. By then, however, it was already too late to halt operations. Demolition work had begun on or just after 23 May 1900, when the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties accepted various offers for materials taken from the old buildings at 6 George Street, 231-287 High Street and 45-7 Rottenrow.

During the interim, on 14 June 1900 to be precise, the General Committee read a letter from the Secretary of the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company, making known this organisation's wish to purchase an area of targeted ground adjoining Cathedral Court, Rottenrow. It seems this gentleman's employers were keen to retain an open space in front of the development they had built eight or so years earlier. On 12 July 1900, after much deliberation, the General Committee offered the ground to the Glasgow Workmen’s Dwellings Company for a price of 30s. per square yard. No return offer being immediately forthcoming, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties elected on 26 September 1900 to press ahead with its original building plans, on the same day considering offers to take down the old buildings at 19-27 Duke Street and 1-9 Burrell's Lane. The Corporation overturned this decision, however, on 18 October 1900. Seven days later, the General Committee suggested the Glasgow Workmen’s Dwellings Company be asked to submit an offer. On 9 January 1901, accordingly, presumably with an offer having been made, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties agreed to sell the ground - measuring 100 square yards - for £100. The green site established there remains to this day, though the contingent Cathedral Court was demolished in 1971.

Operations elsewhere within the targeted area then continued without incident until 27 June 1901, when the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties settled a claim for damages from one of the building site’s neighbours with regards subsidence caused to the property next door. The following day, members were obliged to complain themselves, this time to Hugh Nelson over delays in completing his masonry contract. Nelson left this interview with instructions to begin at once with the foundations for the scheme’s three northernmost tenements. Failure to do so, he was warned, might result in the contract being offered to another mason. Seven months later, on 28 November 1901, the Sub-Committee on Southern District
Properties heard complaints from Burnet regarding further delays. A letter of explanation from Hugh Nelson & Co., read at the same time, proved unpersuasive. Members resolved to warn the mason of their intention to press for compensation in the event of his work not being completed before the contracted date.

Elsewhere, work continued without setbacks and the minutes suggest that amenities within the new development were relatively plentiful when compared with City Improvement Department buildings elsewhere. On 9 May 1901, for instance, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties endorsed Burnet’s wish to have an extra fireplace fitted into one of the scheme’s eight shops. Members also agreed, on 12 December 1901, to have the block’s two-roomed houses provided with hot water outlets in their kitchens. On 13 February 1902, furthermore, Burnet was sent to get tenders for high-pressure, hydraulic lifts. This contract, worth £205, eventually went to John Bennie.

A few months earlier, as part of his annual report, Menzies summarised the scheme’s development, noting how “...the area on the west side of High Street, north of George Street, has been cleared of the former congested and insanitary property by which it was occupied, and tenders for rebuilding the same, under plans providing eight tenements of dwelling houses and shops on the street frontages, with commercial buildings on the back ground, have been accepted by the committee - the total amount of the estimates being £38,148”.

The Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties first referred to the west side’s tenements as complete on 23 January 1902, when it took into consideration offers for the lease of the shop on the corner of High Street and George Street. A few months later, however, Menzies conceded that “...the block on the west side of High Street, and extending from George Street northwards to the Corporation hydraulic power station, was expected to be finished at the Whitsunday term of the present year, but was so delayed by the inclement and boisterous weather of the late spring that the houses and shops were not all ready for tenants on the 28th of May...all the houses and most of the shops were...let within six weeks of the Whitsunday term.”. Photographs taken in 1902 show the first phase of the Bell o’ the Brae development completed, before the old buildings across the road had even been demolished [Figs.144 and 145]. They also give an idea of the financially lucrative backlands the City Improvement Department was happy to build behind its own tenements, even as it was condemning such structures elsewhere. Provided these buildings were used

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590 Menzies (1900, p.33).
591 Menzies (1902, p.3).
592 Kay (1902, p.45).
for trade purposes rather than domestic, they were assumed to be harmless.

Operations on the development's east side commenced as early as 12 December 1901, when the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties made arrangements to have the old buildings at 268-286 High Street demolished. Similar arrangements were made on 24 April 1902 for 242-266 High Street and 1-17 Duke Street. On the same day, the General Committee considered a representation from the Statute Labour Department, keen to have High Street widened to 60 feet, instead of the 55 feet originally planned. Five days later, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties ordered Burnet to prepare sketch plans showing the building line necessitated by such a width. Members also asked for an estimate of the rent likely to be lost following a proportionate abridgement in the size of the tenements. These things arrived on 29 May 1902, the estimate predicting a loss of £800. Not yet convinced by any of the arguments in favour, on 2 July 1902, the Corporation sent back the recommendation for a wider High Street. Eight days later, however, a joint meeting of the city's policemen and its improvement workers reiterated cross-departmental support for a width of 60 feet. The extra £1500 required to complete the work would be put up by the Police Department, together with the Water Department and the Tramways Department. These financial contingencies in place, the proposal was accepted second time around.

On 31 July 1902, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties sanctioned an increase of £242, or fifteen per cent, on Hugh Nelson's contract for mason work. Apparently, the price of stone had risen since the original deal was struck. Two months later, on 26 September 1902, the same sub-committee assigned some of its members to consider how the corner of High Street and Duke Street might be adorned with a clock, following a suggestion to this effect by the Bazaar Committee of the Markets Department. The timepiece was eventually fitted after a decision on 22 January 1903 by the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties.
On 12 November 1903, Menzies submitted lists of rents for shops and houses in "...the two new tenements in Duke Street which have now been completed". Work was still ongoing on High Street, however, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties studying tenders for kitchen ranges on 24 December 1903. Members eventually accepted a bid from Dobbie, Forbes & Co. Operations were almost certainly complete five months later, on 26 May 1904. On 6 July 1905, however, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties discussed the future of 263 High Street, destroyed by fire three weeks earlier. Burnet submitted sketches for this section of the development's reconstruction on 2 August 1905, when the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties rather belatedly ordered the use of fireproof materials throughout. Tenders arrived on 6 October 1905, the successful ones achieving acceptance two weeks later. The absence of a contract for masonry suggests the original façade was retained. Almost exactly one year later, on 5 October 1906, Menzies reported the completion of works.

As finished, the tenements on both sides are four storeys high – five if we include the attics – and faced in red sandstone ashlar [Fig.142]. Burnet’s approach is Arts and Crafts in flavour, but spiced with elements of late-Renaissance traditionalism – turrets, coned roofs, crowsteps, strapwork, etc. – in recognition, no doubt, of the type of building Daniel Defoe might have seen on the High Street during his famous visits of 1715 and 1726. No two bays are alike, each elevation liberally but inconsistently laced with shallow, canted bays, window pediments both semicircular and triangular, numerous instances of carved strapwork, floral and animal decoration including lions, serpents and sheep and panels bearing the City Arms, all topped at attic level by oriel, crowstepped and coped gables and very large chimney-stacks. The corner of High Street and Duke Street is ornamented further at attic level with a balustrade and two corbelled turrets with conical roofs, either side of a crowstepped gable with windows and carved foliage [Fig.143].

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department and the Town Council (General Committee, 9 February 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 23 February 1899; General Committee, 23 February 1899; General Committee, 23 March 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 13 April 1899; General Committee, 13 April 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 27 April 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 13 July 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 19 July 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 25 July 1899; Sub-Committee on North Central District Properties, 26 October 1899; General Committee, 26 October 1899; General Committee, 14 December 1899; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 11 January 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 22 March 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 2 May 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 23 May 1900; General Committee, 14 June 1900; General Committee, 12 July 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 September 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 11 October 1900; Corporation, 18 October 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 25 October 1900; General Committee, 25 October 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 22 November 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 December 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 December 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 9 January 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 February 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 9 May 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 13 June 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 June 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 June 1901;
Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 11 July 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 8 August 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 September 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 24 October 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 28 November 1901; Sub-Committee on Finance, 28 November 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 December 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 8 January 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 23 January 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 13 February 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 February 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 10 April 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 24 April 1902; General Committee, 24 April 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 29 April 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 8 May 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 November 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 29 May 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 June 1902; Joint Meeting of the City Improvements Committee and Sub-Committee of Statute Labour Committee, 13 June 1902; Corporation, 2 July 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 10 July 1902; Joint Meeting of the City Improvements Committee and Sub-Committee of Statute Labour Committee, 10 July 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 31 July 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 September 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 11 December 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 9 January 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 22 January 1903; Sub-Committee on Finance, 13 February 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 March 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 March 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 9 April 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 23 April 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 19 May 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 11 June 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 November 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 November 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 24 December 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 14 January 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 11 February 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 May 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 July 1904; Sub-Committee on Finance, 28 July 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 October 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 18 November 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 6 January 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 3 February 1905; Sub-Committee on Finance, 17 March 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 16 June 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 6 July 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 2 August 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 18 August 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 6 October 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 3 November 1905; Sub-Committee on Finance, 12 January 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 16 February 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 2 March 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 16 March 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 5 October 1906; General Committee, 17 May 1907; General Committee, 17 January 1908; General Committee, 21 February 1908); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1900, 1902, 1905, see Glasgow City Archives 1/7819, 1/8668, 2/936); Tradesmen's Contracts (1900, 1902-3, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Boxes 2 and 3).
2-58 ALBION STREET/48 BELL STREET/46 TRONGATE (1900-4)
One office block with shops and warehouses

FIRST PHASE (shops, warehouses and offices on Albion Street and Bell Street):

Architects: Thomson & Sandilands.
Measurer: William Mackie/Allardyce & Hornsby.
Masons: Peter McKissock & Gardner.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Stonecarvers: Holmes & Jackson.
Slaters: John McQuat & Co.
Plumbers: Matthew Sproul & Co.
Plasterers: Wemyss & Livingstone.
Painters: John Lindsay & Son.
Ironworkers: Redpath, Brown & Co.
Steelworkers: Redpath, Brown & Co.
Tilers: Haddow, Forbes & Co.

SECOND PHASE (shops, warehouses and offices on Albion Street and Trongate):

Architects: Thomson & Sandilands.
Measurer: William Mackie.
Mason: Ebenezer McMorran.
Joiner: John McDonald.
Slaters: John McQuat & Co.
Plasterers: Wemyss & Livingstone.
Painters: John Lindsay & Co.
Ironworkers: P. & W. MacLellan.
Steelworkers: P. & W. MacLellan.
Tilers: The Porcelain Tile Company.

The Act of 1866 envisaged the complete reconstruction of ‘Areas N, O and P’ - to the north of Trongate, bounded by High Street, Bell Street and Nelson Street. It also cleared the way for Glasgow’s two previous civic halls – the early seventeenth century Tolbooth at Glasgow Cross, and next to it the mid-eighteenth century Tontine Buildings on Trongate – to come under City Improvement Trust jurisdiction.
On 12 January 1869, consequently, a Special Sub-Committee proposed the dilapidated premises

593 Nelson Street, formed in 1796 and named after Admiral Nelson, is known today as Albion Street.
immediately west of the Tontine Buildings be taken down and replaced with temporary shops.\textsuperscript{594} Carrick submitted plans two days later.\textsuperscript{595} These were approved by the General Committee on 20 April 1869.\textsuperscript{596}

Fully 25 years later, the 'temporary' premises were still in place. On 5 June 1894, though, the Sub-Committee on North Central Properties requested a block plan from the City Engineer, detailing the whole scheduled area aforementioned, including the site of the shops. Interestingly, the sub-committee members also ordered plans showing how a tract of land nearby, framed by South Albion Street, Bell Street and Walls Street, might be used to site more substantial business premises.\textsuperscript{597} Despite a series of supportive meetings, this particular scheme eventually turned abortive, though the resultant designs for a block of five-storey buildings may have influenced later operations to the south.

McDonald submitted a first set of block plans on 9 August 1894, followed by a second set on 3 October 1894. Presumably both submissions were rejected, because on 25 October 1894, the City Engineer presented the Sub-Committee on North Central Properties with yet more block plans. This time the membership passed notification of its approval to the General Committee. Its endorsement was overruled on 23 November 1894, however. In the face of such an immediate rebuttal and in light of the more pressing need for improvement work in other areas of the city, the proposals then went to ground for a number of years.\textsuperscript{598}

They emerged again on 12 May 1898, when the General Committee accepted its obligation to Section 6 of the 1897 Act.\textsuperscript{599} Members called for work to begin at once, in conformity with the Parliamentary plans by then deposited. Crucially though, the General Committee also acknowledged the immense pressure of work then afflicting the City Engineer's office. Accordingly, it recommended that outside architects be brought in "...as an experiment..." to help complete all the works necessitated by Section 6. The Corporation approved this move on 18 May 1898. On 23 November 1899, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties resolved to recommend that three architectural firms - William Forrest Salmon of Salmon, Son & Gillespie, Dykes & Robertson and Thomson & Sandilands - be asked to submit competitive sketches showing how the whole area might best be utilised.\textsuperscript{600} Their services secured, these architects received McDonald's block plans and specifications a little after 22 February 1900. The buildings fronting Nelson Street were to be five storeys high and devoted entirely to warehousing. The specifications for further buildings on Bell Street and High Street are dealt with below.\textsuperscript{601}

The General Committee pored over the resultant drawings on 6 July 1900, with the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties seeing them six days later. Members then decided to get estimates before

\textsuperscript{594} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (Special Sub-Committee, 12 January 1869).
\textsuperscript{595} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 14 January 1869).
\textsuperscript{596} Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 20 April 1869).
\textsuperscript{597} Today, South Albion Street makes up part of Albion Street's northern stretch.
\textsuperscript{598} Glasgow Herald (18 January 1902, p.9).
\textsuperscript{599} See page 23.
\textsuperscript{600} Glendinning, Maclnnes and MacKechnie (1996, p.593). According to these authors, William Forrest Salmon stopped designing circa 1892.
\textsuperscript{601} See page 233.
making their final decision as to the best design. On 14 September 1900, consequently, Menzies read a report detailing projected building costs in comparison with probable revenue through rent. These estimates put costs for the three proposals - lettered 'A', 'B' and 'C' - at £98,419, £98,544 and £85,481 respectively, with yearly rentals likely to amount to £8,230, £8,660 and £8,630. Predictably, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties opted for 'Plan C' by Thomson & Sandilands. In order to permit the speedy procurement of tenders, these architects were immediately asked to prepare working versions of their competitive drawings, subject to some slight, unspecified alterations. From around this time, the City Improvement Department mothballed its plan, aforementioned, to build an office block on High Street.\footnote{Office buildings were eventually erected on High Street circa 1910. See page 233.}

On 28 November 1900, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties met with Thomson & Sandilands to arrange for certain adjustments to their building plans as regards the east side of Nelson Street, between Bell Street and Trongate. The architects were directed to prepare amended drawings for the elevations to Nelson Street at the corner of Trongate, together with predictions of the additional cost to be incurred by imposing such changes. A month later, on 27 December 1900, Thomson & Sandilands submitted two sketch plans, each "...of a more elaborate design..." than the one first presented for competition. The cost of additional work was put at either £2,250 or £2,750, depending upon the plan selected. Surprisingly, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties eventually plumped for the more expensive option.

However, the Corporation deferred this decision on 17 January 1901. On 15 March 1901, consequently, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties studied and approved yet more amendments, in addition to the ones already recommended. The architects, presumably under instruction, then supplied drawings for a building with sixth storeys added to both corners of Nelson Street - on Bell Street and Trongate [Figs.149 and 150]. The likely cost for these extra floors was predicted at £6000, with £200 extra to be gained from annual rents. The total estimated cost of the building now stood at £94,231.

For the next seven months, from 22 May 1901 onwards, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties deliberated over various offers for the old materials left over from demolitions at 10-12 Wallace Court, 39-47 Bell Street, 18-54 Nelson Street, 44 Trongate and 11 Tontine Lane. Operations, it seems, were under way at last, though members did agree to let an old building on Trongate for a year from Whitsunday 1902. On 28 November 1902, tenders arrived for the first stage of construction - at the corner of Nelson Street and Bell Street. Bids from the contractors listed above amounted to £34,297, including an offer from P. & W. MacLellan to provide fireproof floors.

Unfortunately, what with various complaints from the site's neighbours, together with much in the way of general incompetence, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties came to rue some of its choices for contractors. On 10 April 1902, for instance, it was forced to order an inquiry into the damage caused by its masons to the lintels in a tenement at 37 Bell Street. A year later, on 5 March 1903, the General Committee learned that said masons, Peter McKissock & Gardner, had slipped into receivership and operations slowed significantly as two members struggled to employ another firm. Further problems arose...
in between times when, on 14 August 1902, the General Committee threatened P. & W. MacLellan with legal action over delays in finishing the aforementioned contract for fireproof floors. Apparently, these delays stemmed from the contractors’ abject failure to place punctual orders for rolled-steel joists and beams.

Despite these setbacks, Menzies was able to report, on 5 September 1902, “...the new buildings are now two and three storeys above street level” [Fig. 151]. On 9 October 1902, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties convened to discuss heating and lighting. Following the architects’ advice, members eventually settled on ordinary fireplaces for those shops next to the new building’s principal gables, with all other premises to be left unheated until such time as individual tenants requested otherwise. When this happened, the provision of gas fires and stoves might be considered for those tenants with shops between the building’s brick gables. The Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties also sanctioned a system of iron gas-pipes, attached to the ceiling of each apartment, allowing occupiers to fasten their own connections as they saw fit. Electric lights were to be wired so as to illuminate every staircase, with switches on each landing fixed beside the doors. A few weeks later, on 26 December 1902, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties opted for teak shop fixtures. Apparently, this was the better of two types of wood specified in an agreement with the joiner, Hugh McTaggart. Back on the matter of heating, members met next on 13 February 1903 to discuss the provision of hot water and sinks in six of the building’s dwelling-houses, presumably on the top floor.

Slightly earlier than this, on 28 November 1902, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties confirmed its first contract for the leasing of premises within the new building. Paying £25 per annum over three years, the Glasgow Branch of the International Christian Police Association secured the use of two rooms; not that these premises were anywhere near completed. As late as 22 January 1903, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties was able to sanction a major change to the building’s intended superstructure, retracting its north-eastern edge by some fifteen feet. Originally, the architects had planned to build over Tontine Lane, off Bell Street, but this would have necessitated the purchase of next door’s gable wall. Instead, members resolved to pay £500 for an entirely new wall, built in a withdrawn position.

Deliberations over internal logistics persisted all the while. On 26 December 1902, the architects were instructed to get tenders for the manufacture and installation of elevators. These were eventually supplied by A. & P. Steven. The City Firemaster was unimpressed by this provision, however, and insisted the building be fitted with more staircases. The Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties eventually dealt with this matter on 13 February 1903.

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603 Menzies (1902, p.4).
Six months later, on 13 August 1903, members accepted a long-standing offer by Hayward Bros. & Eckstein to provide and install the new building’s roof with prismatic lights, together with borders for all the pavements to be laid in front. This work seems to have completed the finishing touches, and on 27 August 1903, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties finally began referring to the first phase of the building as finished, though it also endorsed, on this date, an offer by A. & P. Steven to have the elevators fitted with collapsible steel gates.

Some time before 9 April 1903, in anticipation of the second phase, the by now bankrupted masons, Peter McKissock & Gardener were consulted regarding the preparation of schedules. Evidently, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties was keen to avoid the sorts of problems plaguing phase one. Operations actually began sometime after 19 May 1903, following arrangements for the destruction of some old buildings on the corner of Nelson Street and Trongate. The sub-committee members also opened tenders for the work involved in building a replacement. On 11 and 29 June 1903, offers were approved from the firms listed above, amounting to a total of £21,698. There were some exceptions, however. Later tenders included: William Little & Sons of Edinburgh, paid £2852 for the provision and installation of fireproof flooring; P. & W. MacLellan for steelwork, replacing the Coatbridge firm, P.D. Johnston, Watt & Co.; and John Lindsay & Co. for painting work, following the death of the original contractor, Thomas C. Watson.

Actual construction work commenced some time after 8 October 1903, when the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties sanctioned the replacement of an unsteady gable wall then belonging to the Tontine Buildings, next door. Work was close to a finish, presumably, just under ten months later, on 28 July 1904, when Thomson & Sandilands presented members with a plan of their system for draining rainwater away from the new building’s external and internal surfaces. Despite these measures, each phase of building work on both sides of Nelson Street was beset by dampness and flooding, resulting in several damages claims against the City Improvement Department. Blissfully unaware of such problems in the future, the architects left the aforementioned meeting of 28 July 1904 with instructions to lay wooden floors in the cellars of premises by then let to the firm of Moore, Taggart & Co. Two weeks later, on 11 August 1904, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties accepted an offer by John Bennie to provide two lifts – one each for people and warehouse goods - for £350 and £320 respectively. On 13 October 1904, furthermore, it authorised the architects to have the building’s two towers roofed with slates and the pavement in front laid out with Caithness flagstones. Five weeks later, on 18 November 1904, members accepted the Folding Gate Company’s offer to enclose the new elevators with steel gates.

Regrettably, all of this progress was undermined by a concurrent series of disputes and complications. On 28 November 1904, for instance, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties heard protests from Ebenezer McMorran, complaining about the hindrances to his masonry work caused by the simultaneous construction of a sewer channel. Arguments of this nature rolled on as late as 6 July 1906, though the building was finished long before then. Summarising the project in 1906, Menzies noted how “...the 1897 Act revived the powers of the 1866 Act, for widening and improvement of Nelson Street, which had lapsed in the year 1871. This improvement has now been carried out, and instead of a 22 feet street for foot
passengers only, it has been changed to a 50 feet street suitable for vehicular traffic, and lined from Bell Street to Trongate with handsome blocks of business buildings. Coincidentally with the improvement of the street its name has been changed so that Nelson Street has disappeared from the map, but in its place Albion Street has been extended southwards."

Unfortunately, the drawings once belonging to the Dean of Guild’s Court Collection at Glasgow City Archives are currently missing, making it impossible to assess the building’s original layout, but as completed, its elevations are faced in red sandstone and consist of fourteen bays of mostly tripartite windows on Albion Street and nine on Trongate. Though predominantly Baroque in style, the only truly lavish feature is the domed tower on the corner of Trongate. The bulk of the elevations entertain only minor detailing. “The most substantial carving is concentrated on the central bays of the Albion Street façade, which is dominated by a series of vertically aligned pediments of various designs. Above the door is a pair of semi-naked female figures emblematic of Justice (left, holding scales) and Law (right, holding a sword) reclining on inverted cornucopias on either side of a shield bearing a cross of St. George, and with a crown above [Fig.152]. The theme of the home countries is developed in the storeys above, with Ireland represented by a panel containing shamrocks on the second floor, and Scotland by a cartouche decorated by thistles on the third. This part of the scheme is completed by a Glasgow coat of arms, richly ornamented with floral motifs and ribbons in the attic. Minor work elsewhere on the building includes a series of panels containing more emblematic flowers (thistle, rose and shamrock) below the giant Ionic pilasters on the main storeys, and a number of decorative features on the corner tower, including snarling lion masks, swags and festoons...Holmes & Jackson are recorded as having been paid £259 8s. in December 1901 for their carvings of ‘the corner of Nelson Street and Bell Street’, but it is unclear whether or not this included the figurative work in the central pediment. In view of the fact that William Morgan & Young were paid £307 13s. for the much more modest programme of decorative work on a similar building on the opposite side of Albion Street two years later, it seems likely that the figurative work was paid for separately.”

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department and the Town Council (Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 5 June 1894; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 9 August 1894; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 3 October 1894; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 11 October 1894; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 25 October 1894; General Committee, 23 November 1894; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 27 November 1894; General Committee, 12 May 1898; Corporation, 18 May 1898; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 23 November

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604 Menzies (1906, p.6).
605 McKenzie (2002, p.1). This quote comes from an entry based entirely on the author's own findings and the written material he produced while working from November 1994 to July 1997 as a Research Assistant for the Public Monument and Sculpture Association's survey of Glasgow, co-ordinated by Ray McKenzie of the Glasgow School of Art.
1899; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 11 January 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 22 February 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 14 June 1900; General Committee, 6 July 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 July 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 22 November 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 14 September 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 November 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 December 1900; Corporation, 17 January 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 15 March 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 22 May 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 22 August 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 November 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 December 1901; Corporation, 19 December 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 December 1901; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 8 January 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 13 February 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 10 April 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 15 March 1902; General Committee, 14 August 1902; Sub-Committee on Finance, 22 August 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 August 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 9 October 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 14 November 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 November 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 December 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 9 January 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 22 January 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 13 February 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 February 1903; General Committee, 5 March 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 March 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 March 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 9 April 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 23 April 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 19 May 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 11 June 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 29 June 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 13 August 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 August 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 10 September 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 24 September 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 8 October 1903; General Committee, 8 October 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 22 October 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 November 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 November 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 10 December 1903; General Committee, 24 December 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 14 January 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 January 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 11 February 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 24 March 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 14 April 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 April 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 May 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 23 June 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 July 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 11 August 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 7 September 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 22 September 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 13 October 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 October 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 18 November 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 November 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 16 December 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 6 January
1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 16 January 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 20 January 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 January 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 17 February 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 3 March 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 17 March 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern DistrictProperties, 7 April 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 16 June 1905; Sub-Committee on Finance, 16 June 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 6 July 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 1 September 1905; General Committee, 17 November 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 1 December 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 19 January 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 16 February 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 19 March 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 6 April 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 20 April 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 4 May 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 8 June 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 June 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 6 July 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 3 August 1906; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 7 September 1906; Sub-Committee on Central District Properties, 1 November 1907; General Committee, 8 September 1911; General Committee, 15 September 1911; General Committee, 20 October 1911; Sub-Committee on Properties, 27 October 1911; General Committee, 17 November 1911; General Committee, 15 December 1911; Sub-Committee on Properties, 19 January 1912; Sub-Committee on Properties, 3 April 1912; Sub-Committee on Properties, 19 April 1912; Sub-Committee on Properties, 3 May 1912; Sub-Committee on Properties, 20 September 1912; General Committee, 20 September 1912; Sub-Committee on Properties, 18 October 1912; General Committee, 18 October 1912; General Committee, 22 November 1912; Sub-Committee on Properties, 21 February 1913; Sub-Committee on Properties, 18 March 1913; Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1901, 1912-3, see Glasgow City Archives 1/8431, 1912/151, 1913/199); Tradesmen's Contracts (1902-3, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Boxes 3-4).
386-434 BALTIC STREET (1900-1)

Seven tenements and a shop, demolished *circa* 1960s

**Architect:** Frank Burnet.

**Measurer:** George B. Walker.

**Mason:** Ebenezer McMorran.

**Joiner:** Hugh McTaggart.

**Glazier:** Hugh McTaggart.

**Plumber:** Robert S. Renfrew.

**Slaters:** John McQuat & Son.

**Plasterer:** Joseph Graydon.

**Ironmongers:** J.L. McLindoe & Co.

**Painter:** John Carruth.

**Tilers:** Wilson & Wood.

On 9 February 1898, the Sub-Committee on Glasgow Corporation (Improvements and General Powers) Act, 1897 resolved to buy 6322 square yards of land on Baltic Street, Dalmarnock, then belonging to the Corporation’s Police Department. Two and a half years later, on 24 October 1900, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties decided to use this ground as a site for workmen’s dwellings, similar to those already erected in Haghill. The Manager was sent, accordingly, to secure the services of Burnet & Boston, architects of said development in Haghill, as well as the more recent scheme at the Bell o’ the Brae. On 21 November 1900, this task achieved, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties asked Frank Burnet to prepare and submit plans for workmen’s dwellings on Baltic Street. The architect returned on 12 December 1900 with designs for seven tenements, five with two-roomed houses and single-ends, the remainder with two-roomed dwellings only. After consideration, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties accepted these proposals, subject to the inclusion of a shop. On 13 February 1901, however, members asked for more extensive revisions. Specifically, they insisted that the block be free-standing, with no mutual gable walls. To the west, it was to have a close, thus connecting Baltic Street with a lane to the south of the buildings, leading eventually to the busy thoroughfare of Dalmarnock Road.

Tenders for construction work arrived back on 13 March 1901, the successful ones achieving acceptance two weeks later. These put costs at nearly £9528. On 22 May 1901, this total rose by just over £43, the price due to Redpath, Brown & Co. for the provision of special steel foundations, needed because of the site’s particularly soft ground. Curiously, this was the last time the minutes mentioned the Baltic Street development, though Menzies later described it as the second built under the auspices of Section 12 of the 1897 Act. The scheme’s 104 houses were completed in April 1902 [Figs.154 and 155]. Four storeys high and 24 bays wide, facing Baltic Street, the tenements were fronted in rock-faced sandstone and composed behind a fenestration based entirely on single windows. These windows were picked out using a contrasting surround made up of smooth blocks of ashlar, possibly in a colour lighter than the rest of the facing stone.

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606 See page 186.

607 See page 191.

608 Menzies (1902, pp.5-6). Haghill was the first. See page 23.
The side and rear elevations were faced in brick. Tenants entered their houses via a stepped close entrance and a landing furnished with four front doors. At the front of the buildings, on the ground floor, these houses consisted of a lobby, a main room and a kitchen with a bed recess. To the rear, they consisted simply of a small hallway and kitchen with a bed recess. On the upper floors, the smaller houses were to the front of the buildings, while the larger houses stretched from the front to the back. Residents were provided with a single WC per floor, situated on the landing, and had facilities for washing their clothes in houses to the rear of the buildings, in the back courts. These services seem basic by today’s standards, but they made the buildings very attractive to potential dwellers. One year before the buildings opened, prospective tenants – those whose weekly income fell below 26s. - were invited to leave applications at the Manager’s office. By 6 February 1902, this list consisted of 274 names. Menzies then selected most of the tenants on a first come, first served basis, though he also maintained a heavy preference for candidates from areas close to the new houses.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 9 December 1897; Sub-Committee on Glasgow Corporation (Improvements and General Powers) Act, 1897, 24 December 1897; Sub-Committee on Glasgow Corporation (Improvements and General Powers) Act, 1897, 14 January 1898; Sub-Committee on Glasgow Corporation (Improvements and General Powers) Act, 1897, 9 February 1898; Joint-Meeting of Sub-Committees of Cleansing Committee and City Improvements Committee Re Ground at Haghill and Baltic Street, 25 March 1898; Joint-Meeting of Sub-Committees of Cleansing Committee and City Improvements Committee Re Ground in Baltic Street, 27 July 1898; General Committee, 12 October 1898; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 24 October 1900; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 21 November 1900; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 12 December 1900; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 23 January 1901; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 13 February 1901; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 13 March 1901; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 27 March 1901; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 22 May 1901; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 12 June 1901; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 7 August 1901; General Committee, 7 September 1904); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1901, see Glasgow City Archives 1/8132); Tradesmen’s Contracts (1901, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Box 2).
26-36 BELL STREET/ALBION STREET (1903-5)

One office block with shops and warehouses

Architects: Thomson & Sandilands.
Measurer: John Baird.
Masons: John Green & Co.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Ironmonger: Hugh McTaggart.
Steelworkers: William Little & Sons.
Stonecarvers: William Morgan & Young.
Plumber: James Raeside.
Plasterers: Wemyss & Livingstone.
Tilers: Cherry & Co.
Painter: Thomas C. Watson.

On 27 December 1900, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties agreed to postpone demolitions supposed then to begin on the west side of Nelson Street. The work was now scheduled to commence on Whitsunday 1901, immediately after the sitting tenants had left. For undisclosed reasons, these tenants were still in place fully two years later, however. On 26 December 1902, consequently, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties ordered them removed by Whitsunday 1903.

On 13 February 1903, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties authorised amendments to an already approved set of plans showing new buildings to be erected at the corner of Bell Street and Nelson Street, directly opposite the block then being built on the other side of Nelson Street. Three months later, on 19 May 1903, members read an explanatory report describing the buildings as being designed, once again, by the outside architects, Thomson & Sandilands. They were planned to cover 680 square yards and might be erected at a cost of £20,749. Rentable value was estimated at £1317 per annum, enough to satisfy most members, presumably, because the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties immediately approved the designs, recommending that working drawings be requested and tenders sought.

The Dean of Guild’s Court was not so convinced, however, and the Town Clerk’s application for a lining was blocked first time of asking. It seems some neighbours were averse to the loss of access on Bell Street that resulted from a new building on this street’s corner with Nelson Street. On 13 August 1903, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties ordered five of its number to find a solution, a task they achieved some time before 26 November 1903 with arrangements for temporary access. In the meantime, from 27 August 1903 onwards, members considered a variety of other matters to do with the targeted site, including the measures necessary to rid it of old buildings. The tenders for building work arrived on 11 February 1904, with those from the tradesmen listed above being selected two weeks later. An offer from

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609 Minutes of the City Improvement Department (General Committee, 24 December 1903). Nelson Street was renamed Albion Street circa 1904. See page 198.
Ferguson & Co. to construct the building's fireproof flooring achieved acceptance on the same day. In total, these contracts put costs up to £23,239, some £2490 more than first predicted by John Baird. Despite this discrepancy, construction work was allowed to commence soon thereafter.

On 26 May 1904, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties ordered Thomson & Sandilands to insert a pair of extra windows into each storey of the new building's western wall, presumably in order to secure more light for its interiors. Meanwhile, operations elsewhere on the building were being hampered by a long-running dispute with the estate of the late John Hamilton. As mentioned before, the new building obstructed access to Bell Street, where stood property belonging to the complainants. Eventually, on 18 November 1904, the matter was settled by way of £300 compensation. On 6 January 1905, however, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties heard a new claim from the trustees of Hamilton's estate, this time in connection with alleged damage caused to their building by the operations going on next door. Acting on the advice of an independent report by the builders, Alexander Muir and George Barlas, the sub-committee members refuted all culpability. They were equally dismissive when Hamilton's heirs later claimed the new building's height obstructed the exhalation of smoke from their property at 69 Bell Street.

These hindrances dealt with, the new building's internal fittings were first considered on 17 February 1905, when the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties approved plans for lavatories on each of the five floors over ground level. Exactly one month later, members resolved to hire A. & P. Steven for the provision of electric passenger and warehouse lifts, worth £334 and £303 respectively. These members were still occupied with furniture on 6 July 1905, when they deliberated over the supply of iron railings. On the same day, the General Committee opened investigations into an alleged breach of contract by Hugh McTaggart, the contractor being accused of underpaying his workers. This dispute was eventually resolved on 15 September 1905.

As finished, the building is a slightly more squat near-replica of the aforementioned City Improvement Department building across the road, at least so far as that block clasps the corner of Bell Street and Albion Street [Fig.156]. Standing six storeys tall, with seven bays of mainly tripartite windows facing Bell Street, the later building's corner is marked with a similar six-storey turret: rounded, with channelled ashlar on the first floor, a three-sided bow on the floors above and at the parapet a balustrade ornamented with carved panels. The storeys are separated in three clear sections – two floors per section – with each division marked by a heavily cornice. At roof level, identical eight-sided domes announce each corner. Facing
Bell Street, the central bay is similarly emphasised, with a three-part arrangement of variously styled pediments, the top two heavily carved with ornamental plant forms. Inside, according to the original plans for the upper floors, the building was laid out with four huge warehouses per level, stretching nearly 60 feet from the front of the building on Bell Street to the rear [Fig.157]. The middle third of the building was given over to stairwells and lift shafts, with a three-sided courtyard at the rear making space for fire escapes, these leading to and from the windows above. The structure is supported throughout with massive four-sided steel stanchions and by numerous metal columns measuring thirteen inches in diameter.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department and the Town Council (Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 December 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 December 1902; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 13 February 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 23 April 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 19 May 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 13 August 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 27 August 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 10 September 1903; General Committee, 8 October 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 November 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 November 1903; General Committee, 24 December 1903; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 11 February 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 25 February 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 April 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 26 May 1904; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 11 August 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 13 October 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 18 November 1904; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 6 January 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 20 January 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 17 February 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 3 March 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 17 March 1905; General Committee, 22 March 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 7 April 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 19 April 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 5 May 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 19 May 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 2 June 1905; Corporation, 22 June 1905; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 6 July 1905; General Committee, 6 July 1905; Corporation, 27 July 1905; Corporation, 10 August 1905; General Committee, 18 August 1905; General Committee, 15 September 1905); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1904, see Glasgow City Archives 2/24); Tradesmen’s Contracts (1904, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Box 4).
64-80 LANCYFIELD STREET (1903-5)
Three tenements, demolished circa 1961

Architect: John McKissack.
Measurer: Andrew Stewart.
Mason: Frank Rodger.
Plumbers: McCartney Bros.
Plasterers: James Collins & Sons.
Slaters: Hamilton & Co.
Painters: Hobbs & Samuels.
Steelworkers: Elder & Co.

On 22 November 1900, the Sub-Committee on Finance heard from its law agent of Thomas Scott’s willingness to reconvey 2320 square yards of land on Lancefield Street, Scott having originally feued this land from the Police Department in 1884, ten years before his ground annual passed to the City Improvement Trust. The General Committee accepted Scott’s offer on 27 December 1900, ordering the City Engineer to prepare a block plan some time towards the middle of the following year. On 8 January 1902, however, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties decided to ignore McDonald’s plan until after members had determined whether or not the land could be resold or, failing that, leased.

On 11 December 1902, these attempts apparently unsuccessful, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties suggested an outside architect, John McKissack, be approached to prepare sketch plans for dwellings on ground now specified as being 64-80 Lancefield Street. These designs arrived back on 13 February 1903. They were then sent to the Manager with instructions for him to submit a list of estimates. On 12 March 1903, however, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties elected not to proceed with McKissack’s plans. Instead, members ordered Menzies to have the ground cleared in readiness for a complete rethink. This had been done by 24 December 1903, when the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties requested yet another set of drawings and estimates, this time showing the design and cost of a block of tenements made up mainly of single-ends. McKissack’s new designs arrived back on 14 January 1904.

Two weeks later, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties read reports by Menzies on both the sets of drawings by then submitted by McKissack. Each set envisaged the front 876 square yards of a 2325 square yard site being filled with three tenements of one and two-apartment dwellings “...of cheap construction”. The later drawings assigned less space to single-ends, however. Behind the buildings, the Manager described a plot devoted to commercial purposes, though he neglected to say what form this might take. Nevertheless he did note that for a little extra money, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties might have its buildings constructed with fireproof floors - formed of steel beams and granolithic - and with internal dado walls faced in Portland cement. In this way, the use of wood might be kept to a bare minimum.
After consideration, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties decided to go with McKissack’s first design, though members balked at the expensive fireproof materials. They later agreed to abide by these adjustments upon the condition that a tradesman be found to do the work cheaply. McKissack was asked, accordingly, to draft detailed drawings for the use of contractors. Following an advertisement in local journals, tenders arrived back on 28 April 1904. The ones listed above were accepted six weeks later upon the understanding that the tenements be erected with flat roofs, covered with limmer rock asphalt and the concrete floors be covered with wooden sheathing. The bids totalled in at over £4378, some £7434 less than three contemporaneous tenements for artisans built by the City Improvement Department on Stockwell Street and Bridgegate.  

Not surprisingly, the Dean of Guild’s Court was sceptical. On 28 July 1904, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties considered objections “…to certain of the proposed internal arrangements...”. Ordering the Master of Works to deal with these things, the sub-committee members rather cynically resolved to fulfil only the minimum requirements needed to make the new development legal. Money was comparatively plentiful, however, when it came to the needs of the new buildings’ commercial tenants. On 7 September 1904, for instance, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties instructed McKissack to design a new gable wall for one of the goods stores about to be built. The price of this special treatment became apparent on 16 December 1904, when Menzies submitted his proposed rents.

Operations were still ongoing on 3 March 1905, when the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties sent word to its dallying plasterers, warning them of the penalties liable for a lack of punctuality. Despite admonishments of this sort, it was fully nine months before the tenements were ready to be described as finished. On 1 December 1905, with the work finally completed, Andrew Stewart successfully applied – due to certain unspecified extra duties - for an increase in his measurer’s fee to two per cent of the buildings’ total cost.

According to the plans first submitted to the Dean of Guild’s Court in July 1904, the block was four storeys high and eleven bays wide, stretching along Lancefield Street to a length of 120 feet [Fig.158]. The main elevation was exceptionally plain, with a facing of channelled ashlar and a line of corbelling over the first floor windows, based around a fenestration of mainly double windows. There were no oriel windows. Plans for the upper floors reveal that each level of both of the two southern-most tenements contained three houses: two rooms with kitchens and one single-end [Fig.159]. The tenement to the north

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610 See page 220.
consisted of single-ends exclusively, four per floor. In all three tenements, WCs were situated on the stairhead of each floor. With amenities so sparing as these, it comes as little surprise to find the block was probably demolished \textit{circa} 1961, as a precursor to the Comprehensive Redevelopment of Anderston.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (Joint-Meeting of Special Sub-Committees as to Value of Lands, etc., Transferred from Police Commissioners to the Improvement Trustees, 25 October 1894; Sub-Committee on Finance, 22 November 1900; General Committee, 27 December 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 8 January 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 11 December 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 13 February 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 12 March 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 24 December 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 14 January 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 28 January 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 25 February 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 28 April 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 9 June 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 7 September 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 13 October 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 16 December 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 3 March 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 1 December 1905); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1904, see Glasgow City Archives 2/401); Tradesmen’s Contracts (1904, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Box 4).
Six tenements with shops

FIRST PHASE (three tenements on St. Margaret's Place and Bridgegate):

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: Charles Elder.
Mason: Frank Rodger.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plumber: Hugh Haddow.
Plasterer: John McKenzie.
Slaters: P. White & Co.
Tilers: Cherry & Co.
Painter: Charles Paton.

SECOND PHASE (three tenements on Saltmarket and Jocelyn Square):

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: Charles Elder.
Masons: John Porter & Sons.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plasterer: John Drummond.
Slater: Alfred Robertson.
Painters: Stevenson Bros.
Tilers: Alexander Wilson & Co.

On 25 July 1900, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties studied offers for the scrap materials from some of back buildings due to be demolished on Bridgegate and Jail Square. The ground, it seems, had already been earmarked for new buildings under the Act of 1897. On 9 January 1903, consequently, members of the same sub-committee ordered McDonald to consider the site in these terms. Two months later, on 12 March 1903, the City Engineer submitted designs envisaging a block of four-storey buildings with basements, to be sited on 1580 square yards of land in Saltmarket, Jail Square, Bridgegate and St. Margaret's Place. The buildings on Saltmarket and Jail Square were designed with shops on their ground floors and two or three-roomed houses on the floors above. On Bridgegate and St. Margaret Place, the houses would have one or two apartments only. Menzies' estimates, submitted at the same time, suggested rents ranging from £11 10s. to £19 per annum for the houses in Saltmarket and Jail Square. The rest of the houses were to be reserved for tenants from the poorer classes, with rents of between £4 10s. and £9. The scheme as a whole was reckoned to be worth £17,500. An impressed Sub-Committee on Southern District

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611 Jail Square is known today as Jocelyn Square.
Properties ordered McDonald to make up detailed drawings and specifications. In the meantime, some of the site's remaining buildings were removed a little after 19 May 1903. Tenders for the first phase of construction work arrived on 13 August 1903. The successful ones, worth £6865, achieved acceptance two weeks later.

On 12 May 1904, in readiness for the second phase, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties ordered the removal of some old buildings at 168-82 Saltmarket and 26 Jail Square. Three months later, on 11 August 1904, tenders arrived for the erection of further buildings on these two streets. The lowest ones, worth a total of £10,335, were accepted a fortnight later. The tenements on Saltmarket and Jail Square were finished by 1 December 1905, when the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties considered the supply of spring mattresses. In a break with previous practice, these mattresses were to be fitted with angle irons instead of wooden ends. On 19 January 1906, the Glasgow Navvies' Institute became the new buildings' first tenant, renting two shops and saloons at 6 Jail Square and 21 St. Margaret's Place.

Above these shops, as finished, a single tenement is faced in rough-hewn red sandstone, with ashlar lintels and sills assembled around bays of flat single and bipartite windows. Next door, on the corner of St. Margaret's Place and Bridgegate, there is a block of two tenements with similarly plain elevations, though the bay of bipartite windows directly overlooking the corner is finished with ashlar rather than rock-faced sandstone [Fig.160]. The tenements on Saltmarket and Jocelyn Square are far more ornately detailed, reflecting the need for a display of self-confidence on one of Glasgow's most important thoroughfares [Fig.161]. Four storeys high and Beaux-Art Baroque in style, the buildings are arranged with eleven bays facing Saltmarket and six facing Jocelyn Square. The tenement on Jocelyn Square and the northern tenement on Saltmarket are identical, with three bays of single windows flanked by two bays of tripartite oriel. On the second floor, framing the central sections of these tripartites, McDonald placed two aedicules with rounded pediments. The central bay of single windows, meanwhile, is furnished at second floor level with a triangular pediment. The middle tenement of the three is slightly different, with four bays of single windows flanked by a bay of three-sided oriel to the north and a dome-topped bay of rounded tripartite oriel on the corner of Saltmarket and Jocelyn Square. At attic level, this turret is decorated with carved cartouches.

On the ground floor, according to plans passed by the Dean of Guild's Court in October 1903, a total of nineteen shops looked out on to the four streets embraced by the new development [Fig.162]. Stretching back from the street in front, these premises were equipped with one or sometimes two large storage saloons; so large, in fact, that the entire back court was covered over with the commercial spaces of the ground floor. Residents living on the floors above actually
walked on the roofs of these commercial premises whenever they ventured out back to hang their washing. Three and four-part prismatic windows punched into the roof/floor served to bring light to the stores, in a bid to counteract the inevitable gloominess. The decision to build over the back greens came about as a result of the City Improvement Department's endeavours to widen Bridgegate and St. Margaret Place by drawing back the building line some 30 feet from that conformed to by the buildings the new development replaced. As part of the aftermath to this decision, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties decided on 6 January 1905 to send a group of its members to consult with the Police Department, with a view to having the now widened Bridgegate - between Saltmarket and St. Margaret's Place - resurfaced. St. Margaret's Place was also to be repaved on the opposite side of the street from the newly erected buildings. The plans for the domestic parts of the tenements clearly show the distinctions being made between the tenants deemed worthy to live behind the comparatively opulent Saltmarket façade and those sent scuttling to their less showy frontages on St. Margaret's Place and Bridgegate. All of the dwellings overlooking Saltmarket were fitted with kitchens and indoor lavatories. In most cases, these houses incorporated one more room, though the three houses on the corner of the Saltmarket and Jocelyn Square enjoyed the inclusion of a further room: a 'parlour'. The tenements on St. Margaret's Place and Bridgegate were composed of two single-ends per floor, together with two houses of a room and kitchen. Tenants were expected to make do with WCs set up on the landings outside their houses.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department and the Town Council (Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 25 July 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 9 January 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 12 March 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 19 May 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 13 August 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 27 August 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 12 May 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 11 August 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 25 August 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 6 January 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 20 January 1905; Special Committee on Allocation of Expense of Office of Public Works, 26 May 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 1 December 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 5 January 1906; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 19 January 1906); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1903, see Glasgow City Archives 1/9979); Tradesmen's Contracts (1903-4, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Box 4).
18-28 ADELPHI STREET/7-11 MUIRHEAD STREET/10-22 ST. NINIAN STREET (1903-5)
Eight tenements with shop, demolished circa 1950s

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: Andrew Stewart.
Masons: John Porter & Sons.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plumber: Robert Gardiner.
Plasterers: Wemyss & Livingstone.
Slaters: P. White & Co.
Painters: J. Lindsay & Son.
Tilers: The British Art Tileries Company.

On 21 November 1900, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties ordered Menzies to see to the removal of a dilapidated block of buildings at the rear of some city-owned property on St. Ninian, Adelphi and Muirhead Streets, near Gorbals Cross. A few months later, on 7 August 1901, the same sub-committee heard news of a dangerously rootless gable wall on the corner of St. Ninian Street and Adelphi Street. Inspecting the site the following day, members resolved later, on 21 August 1901, to proceed with the gable wall’s demolition. Reportedly, the City Engineer had already received instructions - on 12 July 1901 - to prepare block plans for the whole area’s redevelopment. His plans, studied on the same day as the aforementioned decision regarding demolitions, proposed a widened Adelphi Street, between Muirhead Street and St. Ninian Street, with a building line similar to the one then prevailing to the east of St. Ninian Street. Approving these suggestions, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties recommended that McDonald be set the task of designing new buildings. On 22 August 1901, the General Committee approved this recommendation by a slender majority.

Without a minuted warning or explanation, the matter then went to ground for more than five months. On 8 January 1902, though, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties heard news of interest in the targeted site from the property development firm, McGrigor, Donald & Co. Members immediately decided to postpone their own plans for the site’s reconstruction, focusing instead on the possibility of an offer to take the land off their hands. Preparations recommenced some time after 23 January 1902, following the same sub-committee’s rejection of a bid of £2 per square yard. Demolitions eventually began just after 10 July 1902 with the removal of 8-24 St. Ninian Street. They continued a little after 22 January 1903, the date on which the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties ordered the destruction of old buildings at 2-6 St. Ninian Street and 17-25 Adelphi Street.

On 26 March 1903, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties studied designs by the City Engineer for eight tenements on the 2118 square yards of scheduled land on Adelphi Street, St. Ninian Street and Muirhead Street [Fig.163]. On Adelphi Street, facing the Clyde, McDonald proposed a row of

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612 Muirhead Street is known today as Inverkip Street.
four-storey buildings, with shops on the ground floor and houses of two or three apartments on the floors above. The tenements on St. Ninian Street and Muirhead Street, meanwhile, would have just three floors, due to the relative narrowness of these particular thoroughfares. The fronts of all the buildings would be faced in stone, with brick used to the rear. A relative estimate by Menzies, submitted at the same time, put costs at £12,500, though the Manager predicted £300 might be saved by reducing the number of indoor WCs. Menzies also reckoned the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties might save a further £330 simply by opting for brick facings front and back on the less significant, three-storey tenements. On the issue of rents, Menzies suggested figures of between £6 10s. and £18 per annum for the houses, with shops ranging in cost from £22 to £46. Perhaps surprisingly, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties opted, after consideration, for the more expensive version of the new buildings, immediately ordering McDonald to prepare detailed drawings and specifications in anticipation of the getting of tenders.

The City Engineer's drawings arrived back on 24 September 1903, when they were remitted, presumably, to a measurer. Two weeks later, on 8 October 1903, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties was informed that even the lowest bids put costs some £320 above the original estimates. McDonald was asked, consequently, to analyse these figures and propose some alterations to lessen expenditure. It seems his considerations came to nothing, for on 12 November 1903, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties accepted roughly £12,510 worth of tenders from the contractors listed above. Work started immediately and continued apace until 7 September 1904, when the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties was in a position to consider the supply of kitchen ranges and mantel registers. On 22 September 1904, members looked at an array of offers to supply and fit 64 polished birch toilet seats with brass hinges and rubber buffers. Building operations continued until well after 18 November 1904, this being the date on which the Police Department made known its intention to resurface all the additional footpaths and roadways included within the new scheme.

On 1 September 1905, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties reassessed its decision - unminuted before this point - not to include business premises within the St. Ninian Street section of the development, ordering the City Engineer to prepare drawings and estimates for the conversion of two of the new houses on that particular thoroughfare. On 6 October 1905, accordingly, McDonald returned with designs for premises to be used in connection with a warehouse at 28-30 Adelphi Street, together with drawings for washing houses on another site. The City Engineer estimated a cost of £245 for these operations, plus £180 for six washing houses. The scheme was certainly finished by 3 November 1905, when the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties studied some final measurements for the painting of interiors. Conversion work at St. Ninian Street was still ongoing, however. This was eventually completed by Richard & Alexander Bogie for £333. Menzies later described St. Ninian Street and Muirhead Street as containing two blocks, each three storeys high, reserved exclusively for people earning less than 26 shillings per week.613

According to plans and elevations held within the Dean of Guild's Court Collection at Glasgow City Archives, the buildings facing Adelphi Street were four storeys high, with six shops on the ground floor

613 Menzies (1906, p.5).
and eleven bays of tripartite oriel, double and single windows on the floors above [Fig. 164]. The residential sections of the tenements were reached via a rather grand, arched entrance with a keystone and a bracketed cornice, all placed between the shops at the centre of the ground floor elevation. Each floor on the block facing Adelphi Street held five houses of two rooms and a kitchen and two houses of a single room and kitchen. The block facing Muirhead Street consisted of floors each containing four houses of a room and kitchen, while on St. Ninian Street each floor held six houses of a room and kitchen and four single-ends. All the WCs within the blocks on Adelphi Street and Muirhead Street were indoors, while tenants living on St. Ninian Street had to make do with privies situated outside in the back green.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department and the Town Council (Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 21 November 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 7 August 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 21 August 1901; General Committee, 22 August 1901; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 8 January 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 23 January 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 13 February 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 10 July 1902; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 22 January 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 26 March 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 19 May 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 24 September 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 8 October 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 12 November 1903; General Committee, 26 May 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 7 September 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 22 September 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 13 October 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 18 November 1904; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 2 December 1904; Special Committee on Allocation of Expense of Office of Public Works, 26 May 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 1 September 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 6 October 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 3 November 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 1 December 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 5 January 1906); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1903, see Glasgow City Archives 1/9680); Tradesmen’s Contracts (1903-4, D-TC 3/28, Boxes 3-4).
One office block and three tenements with shops

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: John Currie & Sons.
Mason: Frank Rodger.
Joiner: Hugh McTaggart.
Plasterers: Wemyss & Livingstone.
Painters: Hobbs & Samuels.
Tilers: Field & Allan.
Slater: Robert Stevenson.

On 11 January 1900, the General Committee approved the acquisition of a steading at 147 Stockwell Street, this site’s old buildings having recently been destroyed by fire. The area bounded by Stockwell Street, Goosedubbs, Aird’s Lane and Bridgegate was already specifically targeted by the 1897 Act, but it was the last such land to be redeveloped by the City Improvement Department. Indeed, not before 26 November 1903 did the Manager suggest he be allowed to report on the numbers of people likely to be displaced in the event of this area having its old buildings removed. Two weeks later, on 10 December 1903, after reading the Menzies’ report, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties instructed McDonald to prepare and submit sketches for a rebuilding programme. Members also ordered another report from Menzies, this time on the probable revenue to be gained from such a development. On 28 January 1904, despite the fact the findings contained within his report were not yet ready, the Manager received orders to evict the area’s tenants.

Two weeks later, on 10 February 1904, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties agreed to begin considering the new development as a possible setting for the accommodation of various companies belonging to the Glasgow Trades Council. On 28 April 1904, seemingly with this lucrative proposition in mind, the City Engineer submitted his designs for the 1770 square yards included within the targeted site. McDonald proposed a five-storey office block and three tenements, each four storeys high, containing mainly two-roomed houses. Two tenements were planned for the corner of Stockwell Street and Bridgegate, with the other facing Bridgegate. The office block, meanwhile, would preside over the corner of Stockwell Street and Goosedubbs. All the buildings would be fitted with shops on their ground floors and saloons to the rear. McDonald predicted a total cost of £11,812 for the three tenements’ construction, plus £6200 for the office block.

Accompanying the City Engineer’s proposals, the aforementioned report ordered from Menzies estimated an annual rentable value of £454 for the office block, compared to £464 for the houses and £564 for the shops; figures, admittedly, which make the City Improvement Department’s preference for commercial

614 Menzies (1905, p.5).
premises in its city central steadings seem suddenly understandable. As if to illustrate the point, the Glasgow Clarion Scouts offered to pay even more for their hall within the new development on Stockwell Street, provided certain changes were made to the plans for these particular premises. Ignoring this offer, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties immediately approved McDonald’s designs, ordering him to prepare detailed drawings. On 12 May 1904, furthermore, members sanctioned the removal of the old buildings at 133-63 Stockwell Street, 128-40 Bridgegate, 21 Goosedubbs and 7-17 Aird’s Lane.

After a rather extended silence, the tenders for building work arrived on 6 January 1905. A fortnight later, on 20 January 1905, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties chose the £17,652 worth of offers from those contractors listed above. Before building work could begin, however, the site’s immediate neighbour requested the wall of the new structure be erected at such a height as not to obstruct the light to his property. After consideration, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties elected to attempt to buy this neighbour’s property wholesale. On 19 May 1905, however, members learned of the owner’s determination not to sell. The problem was eventually resolved with an agreement to face the offending wall in light-reflective, white enamel bricks.

On 16 March 1906, the Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties instructed the Town Clerk to sue the new development’s mason, Frank Rodger, for a breach of contract regarding his completion dates. Members also resolved to have the buildings finished by Whitsunday, a special sub-committee being appointed to make sure of this. As it happened, the corner of Stockwell Street and Goosedubbs was not completed until 17 August 1906, and even then this particular section of the complex still awaited the insertion of electric lifts; a contract worth £338 went eventually to a firm by the name of Austin & Co.

The resulting edifice is among the most visually satisfying the City Improvement Department ever built [Fig.165]. The scheme is faced in red sandstone. Its style is Beaux-Arts Baroque. On the corner of Stockwell Street and Goosedubbs, the office block is five storeys high, with two square mansard roofs over bays of oriel windows, some of them with pediments. The second and third floors of the middle bay on Stockwell Street peek out from behind an aedicule made up of four massive Ionic columns and an entablature with a jutting cornice. As well as forming an impressive parapet for the building’s middle section, this cornice serves to link the Tudor-style attic windows of the two flanking towers. Five-storey tenement blocks overlook the corner of Stockwell Street and the Bridgegate. These are also faced in red sandstone, though their style is more straightforwardly Beaux-Arts than the office block just described. Facing Stockwell Street, the main body of the building is ten bays wide, with a central gable of two bays holding tripartite oriel windows flanked by three bays of single windows on each side. These in turn are flanked to the north by a smaller gable bay of double windows and to the south by a tower of three-part windows topped by an
eight-sided dome. Prodding upwards, at attic level either side of this dome, are two large chimney-stacks. Most of the attic floor sits behind dormer windows, which peek through the openings of a balustrade at roof level on Stockwell Street and the Bridgegate. The two windows in the central gable shelter beneath their own semicircular pediments, either side of an aedicule at the parapet carved with the City Arms. Perhaps surprisingly, given the opulence of the exteriors, the plans reveal how the residential parts of the scheme were made up entirely of modest single room and kitchen houses, though these houses did benefit from indoor WCs, and the rooms themselves were exceptionally well proportioned [Fig.166].

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department and the Town Council (General Committee, 11 January 1900; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 26 November 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 10 December 1903; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 28 January 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 10 February 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 10 March 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 28 April 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 12 May 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 26 May 1904; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 6 January 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 20 January 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 3 February 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 7 April 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 19 May 1905; Special Committee on Allocation of Expense of Office of Public Works, 26 May 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 2 June 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 4 August 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 1 September 1905; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 6 April 1906; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 17 August 1906; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 7 September 1906; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 21 September 1906; Sub-Committee on Southern District Properties, 5 October 1906; Sub-Committee on Central District Properties, 7 December 1906; Sub-Committee on Central District Properties, 1 February 1907; Sub-Committee on Central District Properties, 1 November 1907; Sub-Committee on Properties, 6 December 1907; Sub-Committee on Properties, 17 January 1908; Sub-Committee on Properties, 7 February 1908; Sub-Committee on Properties, 21 February 1908); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1905, see Glasgow City Archives 2/610); Tradesmen's Contracts (1905, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Box 5).
751-779 CUMBERNAULD ROAD (1904-6)

Twelve tenements with shops

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurers: Duff & Henderson.
Mason: John Green & Co.
Joiner: Duncan Buchanan.
Glazier: Duncan Buchanan.
Slaters: John McQuat & Son.
Plasterer: Joseph Graydon.
Painters: John Lindsay & Son.
Plumber: Thomas Sproat.

On 9 November 1898, the General Committee appointed a special sub-committee to find real estate outside
the city centre, suitable for the purposes of Section 12 of the 1897 Act.\textsuperscript{615} The Sub-Committee on
Dwellings for the Poorest Classes soon targeted Alexandra Park as a potentially cheap reserve of available
land. On 12 January 1899, accordingly, this sub-committee's members resolved to approach the Parks
Department with a specific enquiry. A few weeks later, on 1 February 1899, members met with the Sub-
Committee on Eastern District Properties, recording their desire at this time to annex some 72,963 square
yards of open ground on the east side of Alexandra Park. On 8 March 1899, accordingly, a Joint-Meeting of
Sub-Committees of Parks and City Improvement Departments as to Ground at Alexandra Park determined
to have the ground transferred. The meeting also approved a feuing plan envisaging a scheme of two-
storey, detached houses with gardens. A few months later, on 15 June 1899, the Corporation read a
description of the plot. According to the City Engineer, it now comprised 72,640 square yards of ground,
stretching 799 feet along the north-west side of Cumbernauld Road, to the immediate east of Alexandra
Park. McDonald estimated the ground’s value at £3027.

On 20 October 1899, the land by now having been acquired and restored, seemingly, to its original area of
72,963 square yards, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties discussed proposals for an
architectural competition to secure designs for the erection of dwellings. This proposal was accepted, at
least for the time being. On 11 April 1900, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties studied
ground plans submitted by Dykes & Robertson and Alexander Petrie, plans aimed at providing an
altogether more intensive brand of accommodation – three-storey buildings without garden plots - than that
conceived in the original, aforementioned feuing plan. As such, they were instantly more popular with most
members of the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties. Their moves to proceed were quickly
overruled by the General Committee, however.

Instead, on 14 February 1901, the General Committee appointed a special sub-committee to discuss with the
Parks Department the issue of proposed densities. One month later, on 15 March 1901, members learned of
the Parks Department’s grudging acquiescence to a scheme of three-storey buildings. On 11 July 1901,
accordingly, the General Committee decided to have some of the ground – now regularly being referred to as

\textsuperscript{615} See page 23.
the ground at Kennyhill - laid out as a scheme of three-storey tenements with shops. Buildings containing a near equal spread of one, two and three-apartment houses, for rent at between £5 and £13, would be erected between Cumbernauld Road to the south-east and the Caledonian Railway to the west, the whole scheme being arranged around a new, as yet untitled road. Furthermore, the General Committee decided, rather belatedly given the minutes detailed earlier, to put the design of the project into private hands by way of an architectural competition.

The Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties set about organising this contest on 24 July 1901, members proposing on that day to post public advertisements and set aside prizes of £100, £50 and £25 for the three best entries. They also suggested the winner be employed as architect for the physical realisation of the design's various sections, as and when they came to be built. On 28 November 1901, consequently, in anticipation of these various operations, the City Chamberlain received instructions to remove the ground's sitting tenant: a dairy farmer with grazing livestock. The General Committee agreed on 13 February 1902 to appoint J. J. Burnet - at that time the President of the Glasgow Institute of Architects - as advisor to the adjudication panel. This panel was also ordered to prepare for inspection the plans by then arrived. Burnet's first act, on 24 April 1902, was to suggest the immediate appointment of a measurer. This individual might then be set to work estimating costs for the various designs. A measurer by the name of Andrew Purdie was employed on 8 May 1902, though only for the duration of the competition.

On 10 July 1902, Burnet furnished the General Committee with a report on the 56 sets of competitive plans by then submitted. After an exclusive viewing on 17 September 1902, members of the Special Sub-Committee on Competitive Plans for Buildings on Lands of Kennyhill asked Burnet to reconsider four designs, in addition to the three he had already pointed out as the best. Members also suggested Burnet get the measurer to supply him with estimates. Deliberations eventually concluded on 10 December 1902. By this time, Burnet had prepared a brief analysis of the seven designs according to the following categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motto</th>
<th>Land for houses (%)</th>
<th>People per acre</th>
<th>1 room houses</th>
<th>2 room houses</th>
<th>3 room houses</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Red Seal</td>
<td>30.84</td>
<td>320.58</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windswept</td>
<td>37.41</td>
<td>541.90</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Baths</td>
<td>29.06</td>
<td>501.78</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideal</td>
<td>22.23</td>
<td>322.27</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>28.88</td>
<td>429.09</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenny</td>
<td>32.92</td>
<td>521.19</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennyhill</td>
<td>36.12</td>
<td>598.71</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>707</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second part of Burnet's analysis was based on the following categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motto</th>
<th>People in 1 room houses</th>
<th>People in 2 room houses</th>
<th>People in 3 room houses</th>
<th>Total nos. of people</th>
<th>People per house (ave.)</th>
<th>Total cost (£)</th>
<th>Cost per house (£)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Red Seal</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>1052</td>
<td>2461</td>
<td>5.75</td>
<td>69,691</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windswept</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>1645</td>
<td>1629</td>
<td>4160</td>
<td>6.63</td>
<td>105,461</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Baths</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>1672</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>3852</td>
<td>7.38</td>
<td>81,435</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideal</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>1128</td>
<td>2474</td>
<td>8.60</td>
<td>66,870</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>1448</td>
<td>1330</td>
<td>3294</td>
<td>7.38</td>
<td>87,852</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenny</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>92,140</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennyhill</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>4593</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>101,006</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using these figures and some undisclosed advice from the Chief Sanitary Inspector Peter Fyfe, members of the aforementioned special sub-committee selected 'Kenny' as the best design. 'Kennyhill' and
‘Windswept’ were placed second and third respectively. The members pointedly refused, however, to commit the Corporation to any building programme in compliance with said plans. Given this reticence, it must have struck observers as predictable when, on 18 December 1902, the Corporation ruled out the designs’ adoption as models for its operations at Kennyhill, though it did ratify the competition result and reveal the names of the winning architects: Robert W. Horn came first, with Stewart, Paterson & Arthur of Glasgow and John McLaren of Edinburgh behind him.616

Not before 13 October 1904 did the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties discuss the scheme again, agreeing on this day to convene for a special meeting six days later. After much procrastination, including a visit to the site at Kennyhill, a decisive meeting finally took place on 18 November 1904, when members of the same sub-committee approved a design by McDonald for eight tenements of houses for the poorer classes. A relative report estimated the cost of this scheme at £8725. Incidentally, on 3 February 1905, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties allocated to another dairy farmer the land not taken up by these operations. Tenders for the building work arrived on 28 February 1905. Three days later, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties accepted offers from most of the contractors listed above, though members waited until 17 March 1905 before they decided upon a plumber. Encouragingly, these tenders put costs at £8340, nearly £400 less than McDonald’s estimate. Before construction commenced, however, the Dean of Guild’s Court insisted upon some unspecified adjustments to the entrances of ‘Block B’. The City Engineer’s amended designs eventually met with approval on 7 April 1905.

Somewhat confusingly, the scheme was reported as finished on 17 November 1905, despite the fact that problems with the water supply were to continue well into the following year. On 2 March 1906, furthermore, the Carron Company agreed to fit mantel registers into a scheme on that day referred to as ‘...presently being erected’. The tenements were again being referred to as ‘finished’ on 6 July 1906, when the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties discussed a petition for washing houses from the tenants already said to be living there. Costing £287, these washing houses were eventually realised by James Fraser & Co., built in the back greens according to designs by the City Engineer. The tenements in front of these greens were definitely finished before the end of 1906. Referring to the Kennyhill scheme in a report written that year, Menzies talked of two blocks ‘...of the same description, but in some respects superior to those at Haghill and Baltic Street. The cost of the ground at Kennyhill was much less than that of the other two sites named; the Kennyhill tenements were therefore built only three storeys high instead of the usual four storeys...the larger block of houses at Kennyhill contains 45 houses, and was reserved for, and let to, the poorest class whose income was certified not to exceed 26s per week...some houses in the smaller block were let to tenants of the same class”’.617

616 See Appendix 1, page 242.
617 Menzies (1906, pp.4-5). See pages 186 and 206 for details of the schemes at Haghill and Baltic Street. According to an earlier report by Menzies (1905, p.6), the first two blocks contained 33 single-ends and 48 two-apartment houses. Immediately behind the three blocks of original buildings on Cumbernauld Road, three new roads and a fourth block containing five tenements designed in an identical style were passed by the Dean of Guild’s Court on 28 May 1914 – see Glasgow City Archives 1914/256. Given the intrusion of First World War, this addition may even have been postponed until 1919-27, during which time the Kennyhill and Riddrie Housing Scheme was built nearby according to plans by R.W. Horn, by then the Department of Housing’s Chief Architect. See Appendix I, page 242. According to Williamson, Riches and Higgs (1990, p.441), the road in front of the City Improvement Department’s original Kennyhill tenements was named Cumbernauld Road in 1920, having just been constructed along a newly straight course.
As completed, the three blocks - twelve tenements in total - are faced in red rough-hewn sandstone, with bays of flat, mainly bipartite windows interspersed either side of a single bay per tenement of tripartite oriel windows [Figs.167 and 168]. In most cases, this bay is topped by a folksy-looking triangular gable, faced in harling and covered with a jut-eaved roof - an affectation designed, it seems, to make otherwise standard tenements appear more like cottages. Inside, according to drawings after the original plans, there were three houses per floor - two rooms with kitchens and one single-end - suggesting a total of nine houses per close, or 56 for the entire development [Fig.169]. On each level above the ground floor, the single-end was placed at the front of the building, behind the aforementioned bay of oriel windows, and was equipped with an alcove containing a scullery and two bed recesses, one of them large enough, almost, to be deemed a separate room. The two-roomed houses flanked the single-end, and stretched from the front to the rear of the building, their kitchens overlooking the back greens. Each of these rooms was kitted out with a bed recess.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department and the Town Council (General Committee, 9 November 1898; Sub-Committee on Dwellings for the Poorest Classes, 12 January 1899; Joint Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Acquisition of Ground for Dwellings for the Poorest Classes and Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 1 February 1899; Joint-Meeting of Sub-Committees of Parks and City Improvement Departments as to Ground at Alexandra Park, 8 March 1899; Corporation, 15 June 1899; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 20 October 1899; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 11 April 1900; General Committee, 12 April 1900; General Committee, 14 February 1901; General Committee, 15 March 1901; General Committee, 11 July 1901; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 24 July 1901; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 28 November 1901; General Committee, 23 January 1902; General Committee, 13 February 1902; General Committee, 27 February 1902; General Committee, 24 April 1902; General Committee, 8 May 1902; General Committee, 10 July 1902; General Committee, 5 September 1902; Special Sub-Committee on Competitive Plans for Building on Lands of Kennyhill, 17 September 1902; Special Sub-Committee on Competitive Plans for Building on Lands of Kennyhill, 10 December 1902; Corporation, 18 December 1902; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 13 October 1904; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 19 October 1904; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 27 October 1904; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 18 November 1904; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 3 February 1905; Sub-Committee on
Eastern District Properties, 28 February 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 3 March 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 17 March 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 7 April 1905; Special Committee on Allocation of Expense of Office of Public Works, 26 May 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 6 October 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 17 November 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 19 January 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 2 March 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 6 April 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 6 July 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 21 September 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 19 October 1906; General Committee, 21 February 1908); Minutes of the Water Department (Sub-Committee on Works, 18 December 1905); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1905, see Glasgow City Archives 2/678, 2/847); Tradesmen's Contracts (1905-8, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Box 5).
On 18 November 1904, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties recommended the acquisition - from the city’s Gas Department - of 2059 square yards of ground on the west side of Howard Street, Bridgeton, extending 193 feet along this particular thoroughfare and 97 feet along Franklin Street. Members were to erect dwellings here for the poorer classes, under the auspices of Section 12 of the 1897 Act. On 6 January 1905, accordingly, McDonald was ordered to prepare designs, though the land actually still belonged, officially at least, to the Gas Department. It was finally transferred on 2 February 1905, and the very next day, the City Engineer submitted two sets of sketches for new dwellings, the second of these being immediately approved despite concerns from some members of the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties about a lack of bed screens in the proposed development’s single-ends. The doubters’ fears were confirmed on 17 February 1905, when the General Committee sent the drawings back for reappraisal. On 3 March 1905, consequently, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties studied and approved a set of amended designs, instructing McDonald then to make ready his specifications. This done, the tenders for building work arrived on 2 June 1905. A fortnight later, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties selected offers from most of the contractors listed above, though the members’ decisions on the painter and tiler contracts followed a little while later. Initially, estimated costs for the new scheme totalled in at £4822.

On 4 August 1905, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties read a report by Menzies, calculating the actual building site at 1299 square yards, some 760 square yards less than the area first said to be
available. The four tenements would contain 32 two-apartment houses and sixteen single-ends, with rents ranging from £4 10s. to £8 10s. per week. The Manager’s report was immediately approved, but was sent back for reconsideration two weeks later by the General Committee. A stubborn Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties re-approved the report on 1 September 1905. This second endorsement proved decisive, it would seem, because the scheme – built using Locharbriggs sandstone - was first being referred to as finished as early as 19 January 1906, when the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties arranged for the supply of kitchen ranges from Dobbie, Forbes & Co.

As completed, the tenements were four storeys high and – facing Howard Street – sixteen bays wide, these bays consisting of single, double and tripartite oriel windows. Older photographs suggest the material for the areas around the windows was a different, slightly lighter stone than the Locharbriggs sandstone used for the buildings’ main facings. [Fig.171]. This was most pronounced at the chimneys, where the different colours of the stones were used to create a jolly pattern. These chimneys are no longer with us, having gone the same way as the timber-framed sash-and-case windows and, seemingly, the original stone window surrounds; a recent cleaning looks to have turned all the buildings’ facings to a queasy homogeneous pink [Fig.170]. The interiors have probably been converted too. Originally there were three houses on each floor of each tenement – one single-end and two houses with a room and a kitchen [Fig.172]. These houses provided basic, but perfectly acceptable accommodation for a person living alone, as can be seen by a photograph from circa 1907 of one of the buildings’ single-ends [Fig.173]. For families, though, the houses must have been decidedly cramped.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department and the Town Council (Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 18 November 1904; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 6 January 1905; Corporation, 2 February 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 3 February 1905; General Committee, 17 February 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 3 March 1905; Sub-
Committee on Eastern District Properties, 17 March 1905; Special Committee on Allocation of Expense of Office of Public Works, 26 May 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 2 June 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 16 June 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 4 August 1905; General Committee, 18 August 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 1 September 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 19 January 1906; Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1905, see Glasgow City Archives 2/759); Tradesmen's Contracts (1905, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Box 5).
16-24 WINNING ROW/250-256 EAST WELLINGTON STREET (1906-7)

Four tenements

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: Robert Reid.
Masons: James Fraser & Co.
Joiners: Wallace & Bryce.
Slater: Alfred Robertson.
Plumber: Robert Thomson.
Plasterers: Wemyss & Livingstone.
Painters: Hobbs & Samuels.

On 6 January 1905, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties read a letter from an as yet unnamed landowner offering to sell the City Improvement Department a plot of ground on East Wellington Street in Shettleston. Two weeks later, this land having been deemed suitable for the erection of dwellings for the poorer classes, in accordance with Section 12 of the 1897 Act, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties instructed McDonald to prepare a block plan illustrating the site's suitability for the building of tenements. The City Engineer's drawings arrived back on 3 March 1905. They consisted of a layout plan for four tenements on 1100 square yards of ground now specified as being at Winning Row, between East Wellington Street and Westmuir Street. Satisfied with this, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties recommended the ground be purchased for £425, with an annual feu duty of £3 16s. The vendor - an individual by the name of Thomas Winning - accepted this offer some time prior to 7 April 1905.

On 19 January 1906, the Manager reported that the site's old buildings had been cleared of tenants. McDonald was then ordered to prepare further designs, this time for blocks of three-storey tenements containing one and two-apartment houses. The City Engineer's drawings arrived back on 16 March 1906, when they were immediately approved subject to certain, unspecified alterations. The General Committee delayed this approval, however, until it received an estimate of the full cost of the proposed development. McDonald's estimate arrived on 6 April 1906, though its consideration was delayed for a further two weeks. In the meantime, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties instructed the City Engineer to prepare alternative designs for a scheme of more intensive, four-storey tenements. McDonald returned with his new drawings on 20 April 1906. The Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties decided, however, to stick with its original plan for four tenements of three storeys. Standing on 1424 square yards of ground at the corner of Winning Row and East Wellington Street, the scheme would cost about £5600 to build and would contain one and two-apartment houses. The tenements would be faced with stone to the front and brick to the rear, and would yield £21 per annum in rent, after expenses.

Despite the evident detail of these plans, the Corporation postponed operations on 26 April 1906, citing a need for more descriptive proposals. On 18 May 1906, accordingly, McDonald supplied the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties with further particulars regarding the 36 houses already

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620 See page 23.
recommended. Rents for the individual dwellings would range from £5 10s. to £8 17s. per annum. The City Engineer also pointed out that a scheme of brick and render might be built for some £1925 less than one faced in stone. Hearing this, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties immediately approved the cut-price tenements, ordering McDonald to prepare detailed drawings in anticipation of the getting of tenders. These arrived on 17 August 1906. Three weeks later, on 7 September 1906, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties accepted offers from the contractors listed above, meaning that costs now totalled in at £3446. Construction began at once, but faltered following an objection from the Dean of Guild's Court regarding the new scheme's WCs. The City Engineer quickly resolved this problem – though no details were minuted as to what changes he made - and building work started once more. A year or so later, on 16 August 1907, the Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties dealt with the provision of bedsteads, implying a set of buildings very close to completion.

The buildings consist of two tenements facing Winning Row and two facing East Wellington Street [Fig.174]. The individual tenements are made up above ground level of one bay of tripartite oriel windows flanked on each side by a bay of slim single windows and a bay of normal single windows. The oriel windows are crowned at roof level by triangular pediments very similar to those found at 751-779 Cumbernauld Road, and it is interesting to note David Walker's claim that the interior layouts for the Winning Row tenements also replicate those found at Kennyhill, though this cannot be confirmed due to the plans being missing from the Dean of Guild's Court collection at Glasgow City Archives. 621 Nevertheless, there are enough similarities in the architectural details of the exteriors of the two buildings to suggest one of McDonald's assistant designers – possibly Robert W. IZorn - may have been responsible for both developments. 622

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Department and the Town Council (Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 6 January 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 20 January 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District, 3 March 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 7 April 1905; Special Committee on Allocation of Expense of Office of Public Works, 26 May 1905; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 19 January 1906; Sub-Committee on Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 16 March 1906; General Committee, 16 March 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 6 April 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 20 April 1906; Corporation, 26 April 1906; Corporation, 3 May 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 18 May 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 17 August 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 7 September 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 19 October 1906; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 16 August 1907; Sub-Committee on Eastern District Properties, 20 September 1907; General Committee, 21 February 1908); Tradesmen’s Contracts (1906, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Box 5).

622 See Appendix 1, page 242.
21-59 HIGH STREET/84-90 BELL STREET (1910-11)

One office block with shops and warehouses

Architect: A.B. McDonald.
Measurer: John Baxter.
Builders: John Train & Taylor.

As with other sites already mentioned, the steading at the north-eastern corner of Bell Street and High Street was first eyed for redevelopment as part of Carrick's mega-plan for the whole area between Bell Street, High Street, Nelson Street and Trongate. It also featured, naturally, as part of McDonald's block plan for the same area, first submitted on 3 October 1894. As we have seen, the planning for this area eventually went to a competition between three outside architectural firms. On 22 February 1900, by way of a specification, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties decreed the new buildings proposed for the corner of Bell Street and High Street should be four or five storeys high, with shops on the first two floors and dwelling houses above. Three houses were to be made adaptable for conversion into yet more business premises, should the need arise. The General Committee studied competition entries on 6 July 1900, with the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties taking its turn six days later. Eventually, on 14 September 1900, this same sub-committee heard a report from William Crawford Menzies explaining that, as all three competitors had tended to concentrate on those parts of the block encompassing Nelson Street, Bell Street and High Street, the measurer, William Mackie, was able to work out estimates for buildings on those roads only. On 28 November 1900, consequently, Thomson & Sandilands – the architectural partners eventually chosen to plan the entire area's development - were instructed to disregard all steadings other than those on Nelson Street.

The corner of Bell Street and High Street next came under consideration on 18 November 1904, when McDonald submitted a plan showing how this plot might best be reconstructed. Seeing this, the Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties recommended that outside architects be invited to design a scheme in conjunction with operations then proceeding around the corner on Nelson Street. The Corporation immediately rejected this idea and the matter fell out of consideration once more.

When, on 17 September 1909, the General Committee finally came to deliberate over the plot again, it was only in response to a directive from the Corporation that work be found for Glasgow's growing army of unemployed labourers. By this time, the City Improvement Department's operations were entirely confined to the maintenance of existing properties, the building work on the last scheme of housing – at Winning Row – having been completed in 1907. Nevertheless, in a report to the General Committee, Menzies was

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623 Nelson Street was renamed Albion Street in 1903.
624 See page 231.
625 See page 198.
able to highlight the suitability of two areas of ground, both of them ripe for proactive development. Measuring 3250 square yards, the first of these sites was on the corner of High Street and Bell Street, this being all that remained of the original 88 acres purchased under the Act of 1866. The plot’s old buildings survived, the Manager explained, only due to dallying by councillors over the decision on whether or not to sell the ground to those charged with finding a site for the proposed Central Police Office, an idea first mooted as early as 9 August 1900.626 Menzies contended that, in addition to providing the desired construction jobs, new business accommodation might reap substantial returns for the City Improvement Department. The General Committee agreed, approving Menzies’ recommendation forthwith and ordering plans from the City Engineer. McDonald submitted two sets of designs on 8 March 1910. The first of these envisaged a scheme costing £28,000, covering 1500 square yards with a five-storey office block and back buildings, with all of these given over to shops and warehouses. The second set of designs proposed a scheme covering 1380 square yards and costing £14,300, made up of four tenements of two and three-apartment dwelling-houses, with shops on the ground floor. The Sub-Committee on Properties elected to go with a curbed version of the first scheme, assigning McDonald to the designs but only £25,000 to the total cost.

On 19 May 1910, accordingly, members accepted an offer for the demolition and removal of old buildings at 29 Bell Street and 7 High Street. Tenders for the various types of building work arrived on 6 July 1910. One week later, however, the entire contract was given to a single firm, much to the annoyance, apparently, of the Scottish Building Trades Employers Council. Regardless of this, operations commenced at once. On 2 September 1910, the Sub-Committee on Properties rather optimistically set a completion date of 25 April 1911. Predictably, building work was still ongoing as late as 16 June 1911. As finished, the block is five storeys high, with twelve bays of mainly triple windows on High Street and a further seven on Bell Street, all faced in red sandstone [Fig. 175]. The style is Beaux-Arts classical, derivative—especially about the corner towers—of J.J. Burnet’s office block (1905, demolished 1971) for William McGeoch & Co. on West Campbell Street, and also of J.A. Campbell’s final work: the Northern Insurance Co. building (1908-9) on St. Vincent Street. McDonald’s work lacks the audacious verticality of these forerunners; in terms of overall composition, it more closely resembles J.A. Carfrae’s Boroughmuir School in Edinburgh, a building it actually prefigures by a year.

Sources: Minutes of the City Improvement Trust/Department (General Committee, 18 November 1874; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 9 August 1894; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 3 October 1894; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 11 October 1894; General Committee, 23 November 1894; Sub-Committee on North Central Properties, 27 November 1894; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 23 November 1899; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 22 February 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 9 August 1900; General Committee 6 July 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 12 July 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 14 September 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 28 November 1900; Sub-Committee on Northern District Properties, 18 November 1904; General Committee, 18 November 1904; General Committee, 29 July 1908; General Committee, 6 February 1909; General Committee 17 September

626 See Appendix 1, page 246.
1909; Sub-Committee on Properties, 17 December 1909; General Committee, 4 February 1910; Sub-Committee on Reconstruction of Bell Street, High Street and Trongate Area, 8 March 1910; General Committee, 18 March 1910; Sub-Committee on Properties, 6 May 1910; Sub-Committee on Properties, 19 May 1910; Sub-Committee on Properties, 3 June 1910; Sub-Committee on Properties, 17 June 1910; Sub-Committee on Properties, 6 July 1910; Sub-Committee on Properties, 13 July 1910; General Committee, 19 August 1910; Sub-Committee on Properties, 2 September 1910; Sub-Committee on Properties, 16 December 1910; Sub-Committee on Properties, 20 January 1911; Sub-Committee on Properties, 3 February 1911; General Committee, 17 February 1911; General Committee, 24 February 1911; Sub-Committee on Properties, 3 March 1911; Sub-Committee on Properties, 10 March 1911; Sub-Committee on Finance, 25 April 1911; General Committee, 25 April 1911; Sub-Committee on Properties, 5 May 1911; Sub-Committee on Properties, 16 June 1911); Tradesmen's Contracts (1911, see Glasgow City Archives D-TC 3/28, Box 5).
Appendices

1) Biographies of Relevant Architects and Assistants:

DAVID ANDREW (fl.1895-1915) is first recorded as architect for a drill hall in Market Road, Carluke, which opened some time before 27 December 1895. By 3 September 1896, though, he was employed in the office of Alexander Beith McDonald (q.v.), the City Engineer. This may or may not be the D. Andrew jnr. who later saw designs passed by the Dean of Guild's Court on 21 April 1898 and 25 August 1898, respectively for nine tenements on Duke Street for the builders Wilson & Chalmers and a five-apartment villa on Southbrae Avenue for Alexander Hay, a grocer. In 1900, D. Andrew jnr. made his first appearance in the Glasgow's Post Office Directories, listed as working privately out of business premises at 248 West George Street. The same year, in April, he oversaw alterations to the aforementioned block of tenements on Duke Street. Blocks of three and four tenements followed in 1902 at 51 Bishop Street and on the corner of Camphill and Langside Avenues. In December 1905, D. Andrew jnr. was architect for the alterations to a warehouse on the corner of Ingram Street and South Frederick Street. From 1907 onwards, he was listed in the Post Office Directories as a Friend of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and from 1909 to 1912, he was architect for the conversion into a cottage hospital of St. Francis Maternity and Nursing Home. Not until circa 1914 did D. Andrew jnr. F.R.I.B.A. change his business address, moving to 185 West Regent Street. The next year, the Post Office Directories gave him no listing at all.

Main Sources: Building News (27 December 1895); Dean of Guild's Court Collection (1898 onwards); Post Office Directories (1900-15).

FRANK BURNET (1848-1923) was born in Melrose, Roxburghshire, and educated first at Melrose Parish School, then at Glasgow School of Art. After a year’s travel in Egypt and Palestine, he went into business on his own in 1878, having worked for seven years in the office of John Carrick (q.v.), where he was an assistant in connection with the Dean of Guild’s Court and the New Buildings Department. Although Carrick traditionally receives sole credit for the two lodging houses the City Improvement Trust built just before Burnet’s departure from the Office of Public Works - at Calton and North Woodside - it seems inconceivable that the younger architect had no hand in these designs, both submitted in March 1877 and both marking such a Baronial departure from the usual approach of the City Architect as to make them virtually unprecedented within his oeuvre.627

Fig.176: Frank Burnet in 1900 (Mitchell Library).

627 See pages 80 and 84.
Burnet founded his own practice in 1878 at 180 Hope Street, Glasgow – an address still occupied by the present day firm of Burnet-Bell – and cut his teeth with a series of tenement developments in Dalmamock, Parkhead, Woodside and elsewhere. Many of these works were Baronial in character – for instance, the turreted, red sandstone block of tenements at 385-393 Dumbarton Road (1885) – and emphasised the development of Burnet's tastes away from Carrick-style classicism, though 1886 did see the former assistant designing Kelvinhaugh Primary School on Gilbert Street: a palazzo.

Having worked previously as an assistant, William J. Boston became Burnet's partner in 1889, and gradually the firm's commissions grew more prestigious. Burnet & Boston also continued to prosper as tenement speculators. On 18 October 1893, for instance, Burnet was very nearly successful in a bid to buy land from the City Improvement Trust to build houses for workmen, land eventually used to site Morrin Square (1893-8, demolished circa 1960s). In 1897, Burnet & Boston designed a warehouse at 151-159 George Street and a commercial building at 188-192 St. Vincent Street. They also produced the first in a long series of bonded warehouses on Borrow Street for Mackie & Co. The following year witnessed the start of operations at Castle Chambers on Renfield Street and West Regent Street, completed in 1900 by the builders, Morrison & Mason Ltd. The building, designed for wine and spirit merchants G. & J. MacLachlan in a Baronial-Baroque manner, typifies Burnet & Boston's adherence to the stylistic grooves being cut at that time by J.J. Burnet and J.A. Campbell. It also demonstrates Burnet's willingness to trust in a design by his talented young assistant, James Carruthers. Indeed, Carruthers' work at Castle Chambers may even have clinched the reputation of Burnet & Boston as one of Glasgow's most dependable firms.

On 8 September 1898, Burnet was asked to cast an experienced eye over the entrants' drawings for a City Improvement Department-sponsored competition to shape the rebuilding of the west side of King Street. Burnet helped choose a design by John McKissack (q.v.), but more importantly, he very probably used the opportunity to remind city officials of his own firm's competence. On 22 December 1898, significantly, Burnet & Boston were chosen to design tenements for the City Improvement Department at Ilaghill. Unlike the commission given to McKissack, Burnet's assignment did not require him to prove himself in open competition. In 1899, again without the nuisance of a prior contest, Burnet & Boston began work on the City Improvement Department's famous and well-loved tenement development at the Bell o' the Brae, completed four years later in a witty Scots Renaissance manner. Gomme and Walker actually credit Boston with the designs for these tenements, though it was the senior partner who signed the finished drawings. The firm also secured the commission to design workers' dwellings at 386-434 Baltic Street (1900-1). In between times, Burnet & Boston finished commercial buildings at 142 St. Vincent Street (1899) and 19-23 West Nile Street (1900).

This period's most palpable achievement, St. George's Mansions at 63-89 St. George's Road and 10-28 Woodlands Road – an earnest but inferior French Renaissance salute to J.J. Burnet's Charing Cross.
Mansions (1889-90) – was designed for the city’s Statute Labour Department in 1900. It took two years to complete, during which time Burnet & Boston became Burnet, Boston & Carruthers, after the aforementioned assistant was promoted to partner. This rearrangement of personnel was celebrated with the design for a monotonous red rock-faced warehouse on Howard Street (1901-2). There then followed a red sandstone tenement development, built for the city’s Police Department at 52-68 Woodlands Road and Ballyol Street (1902-4), very close to the aforementioned St. George’s Mansions.

In 1903, the firm began work on the huge but uninspired Gordon Chambers at 87-94 Mitchell Street for the publican David Ross. Burnet, Boston & Carruthers also commenced with two upper storeys of Baroque additions to the commercial building for Scottish Amicable at 31-39 St. Vincent Place. Both commissions were completed by 1906. The following year, in collaboration with the famous Doulton & Co. firm of sculptors, Frank Burnet designed the French Renaissance-style, Carrara stoneware Hamilton Fountain in Maxwell Park, Pollokshields (unveiled 1908, dismantled late 1980s).

With Carruthers’ departure, the firm became Burnet & Boston again in 1908 and enjoyed a comfortable if unremarkable run of success over the next decade and a half, with commissions including the J.A. Campbell-inspired former Royal Exchange Assurance Building on West George Street (1911-13), and near the Victoria Infirmary, the cheery former tram depot Battlefield Rest (1914-15). In 1914, no doubt in a commission related to the one at Battlefield, Burnet was solely responsible for the eastern extension to the former Glasgow Tramways Corporation offices on Bath Street. He died in 1923, midway through operations to build a large warehouse on City Improvement Department land at the corners of Trongate, Stockwell Street and Osborne Street. William J. Boston continued with the firm until his death in 1937, though its fortunes grew gradually more dependent on the work of Burnet’s sons.

Main Sources: ‘Glasgow Contemporaries at the Dawn of the XXth Century’ by Anonymous (Glasgow 1900); Builder (12 February 1937); ‘Architecture of Glasgow’ by Gomme and Walker (London 1987).

JOHN CARRICK (1819-1890) was born on 6 May 1819 in Denny, Stirlingshire, and brought to Glasgow in 1823. In 1831, he served an apprenticeship with the architect John Bryce, brother of the more esteemed David Bryce of Edinburgh. He later assisted John Herbertson – a former pupil and future colleague of David Hamilton - before devoting time to travel in England and continental Europe.

In 1839, Carrick returned to Glasgow, setting up practice with James Brown, a friend from Edinburgh. Before disbanding circa 1854, a couple of years after Brown became heir to a large estate in Currie, the firm of Brown & Carrick built a number of speculative terraces in Glasgow, to its own and others’ designs. Most notable amongst these were Somerset Place (1840), just off Sauchiehall Street, built according to designs by John Baird snr., and the composite arrangement at Sandyford Place, again just off Sauchiehall Street, built from 1842 onwards. The firm was also responsible for tenements on Eglinton Street and

633 See page 67, footnote 457.
634 See page 68.
William Street, ecclesiastical buildings such as the Renfield Street United Presbyterian Church (1849, demolished 1970s), the Free Church on Eglinton Street (1849-50, demolished 1970s) and the Free Church on Paterson Street and Morrison Street (1850-1, demolished 1970s), and business premises for Orr & Son at the corner of Union Street and Gordon Street (1850-1). The last of these buildings is the only one attributed exclusively to Carrick.

On 5 April 1844, despite continuing in private practice, he was appointed the city’s Superintendent of Streets, with one clerk and an office in the South Prison. In marked contrast to his partnership with Brown, Carrick was personally responsible for the condition of pavements, lanes, closes, thoroughfares, drains, common sewers, dungsteads, ashpits, office houses, etc. In the same year, more importantly, he succeeded the aforementioned John Herbertson as Prison Architect. On 14 July 1853, a little before the dissolution of his private practice, his annual salary was increased to £100.

From this time forward, Carrick began widening his sphere of duties to include such prestigious projects as the design of eight police stations in various zones of the city. The first and most impressive of these was at 55 Cranston Street. The Cranstonhill Police Station (1857, demolished in 1971), was a two-storey palazzo, richly decorated with sculpture and statuary, and as such, atypically ostentatious within the Carrick oeuvre. More reticent is his contemporaneous two-storey, Flemish-style commercial block at 73 Trongate, adjoining the Carrick-altered Tron Kirk, as are the various other police stations: for example, the former Eastern District Police Buildings on Tobago Street (1868-9), the Yate Street Police Office on the Gallowgate (1877, demolished 1980), the former Marine Police Office on McAlpine Street (1882) and the Northern Police Office on Maitland Street, Cowcaddens (1890, demolished 1972).

The Glasgow Police Act of 1862 changed Carrick’s title to Master of Works, and on 7 November 1862, he officially became the first City Architect. This appointment brought several new duties, combining as it did the posts of Master of Works, Burgh Surveyor and Municipal Engineer. During his 28 years in office, the City Architect designed scores of buildings, including police and fire stations, public baths and model lodging houses, as well as markets, hospitals and model tenements. As Master of Works, he was also responsible for the surveying, laying out and formation of all public and private streets and courts, as well the causewaying and construction of all sewers in public streets. Prodigious as it was, Carrick’s architectural output was subtle, undemonstrative and steadfastly conservative in design. Having withdrawn from the ranks of private architects circa 1854, it seems telling that he stayed faithful to the styles employed while in partnership with James Brown. Nevertheless, Carrick did develop away from the showiness of the Cranstonhill Police Station – a self-conscious application of the palazzo format, designed possibly to parade the modish acuity of a still relatively untried architect.
The City Architect’s later public buildings demonstrate a more utilitarian classicism. The Kelvingrove Mansion Museum (1874, demolished circa 1910) and the former Meat & Cattle Markets on Graham Square - which opened on 26 August 1878, the day before the Anderston Model Lodging House on Hydepark Street – are infused with a stern, Roman Doric classicism. In fact, the Doric gateway of the latter building is the only thing still extant after a ‘refurbishment’ of 1998-2000. The North Woodside Baths and Washing House (1880-2), the Candleriggs entrance facade to the City Halls (1882-6), the Renaissance-style Gorbals Public Baths on Gorbals Street (1884, demolished circa 1980) and the former fire station at 509 St. George’s Road (1887) are robust and functional, but also satisfyingly poised, suggesting lessons learned first-hand from J.T. Rochead – with whom Carrick maintained a friendship before the older architect’s death in 1878 - and second-hand from David Hamilton, via John Herbertson and Thomas Gildard (q.v.).

With a conscientious eye on the public purse, Carrick habitually took care to match tidily classical exteriors with plans and interiors of the simplest functionality. His occasional, half-hearted sorties into Flemish or Baronial styles – the aforementioned alterations to the Tron Kirk and the first City Improvement Trust tenements on Saltmarket (1886-7) are good examples – testify more to his willingness to appease the voguish tastes of the conservationist lobby than to an enduring sympathy on his own part. John Carrick was put forward as a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects on 4 December 1876, with the advocacy of Charles Barry, John Macvicar Anderson and John Honeyman. He was also a member of the Glasgow Institute of Architects and the Institute of Civil Engineers in London. He died at his home on 6 Park Quadrant at 11.15am on 2 May 1890, having suffered for many years with an affliction of the chest. He is buried in the Necropolis.

Main Sources: Glasgow Herald (7 May 1890); Builder (10 May 1890); Building News (15 August 1890); Gildard (circa 1894); Royal Institute of British Architects Journal (May 1990); Letter to the Author from David Walker (20 September 1999).

THOMAS GILDARD (circa 1820/2-1895) was born in Bonhill, Dumbartonshire. He spent his childhood in Luss, the son of an innkeeper from England, before moving to Glasgow in December 1838. He then worked until 1843 in the office of David Hamilton, where his employment coincided with the erection of such classical masterpieces as the Western Club on Buchanan Street (1840-1) and the Union Bank on Ingram Street (1842, demolished 1876).

Hamilton’s office closed circa 1844, and it is unclear what Gildard did after leaving. He may have gone to assist John Carrick (q.v.), who had become an employee of the city in 1844, though he also maintained his private architectural business. Brown & Carrick’s speculative development at Sandyford Place, aforementioned, was still being built as late as 1856, two years after the departure of Brown. The middle part of this decade saw Gildard enter into partnership with his brother-in-law, Robert II. M. Macfarlane. In

435 See page 88.
436 See page 18.
1856, they designed Belgrave Terrace on Great Western Road - an Italianate scheme very similar in manner to Brown & Carrick's work around Sauchiehall Street. The following year, Gildard & Macfarlane were responsible for the Italian Renaissance former Britannia Music Hall (later known as the Panoptican) at 109-115 Trongate. Details of other commissions taken on before Macfarlane died in 1862 are difficult to come by, though David Walker suggests the firm was passably successful. The 1868 edition of a magazine called the Architect's, Engineer's and Building Trades' Directory notes two buildings, probably private residences, designed presumably by Gildard on his own: Ardcnvohr House and Sealicld Tower in Ardrossan.

In the same year, 1868, Gildard became an assistant to the City Architect, a post he retained for the next 27 years. The 1840s and 1850s-based classicism of most local government architecture and all but two of the City Improvement Trust buildings designed before 1886 suggest Gildard may have abetted Carrick in the institution of a traditionalist Roman manner. According to one biographer, "...somewhat conservative in most things, Mr. Gildard is in art and architecture a classicist of the old school, and has little sympathy with the fashion of the passing hour". Carrick is thought to have been responsible for most of the design work coming from his office, and yet a creative confederacy seems entirely credible, simply because the City Architect and his assistant were close friends as well as colleagues, with Gildard often paying social visits to his boss's retreat in Prestwick. On 1 August 1890, tellingly, Gildard's annual salary was reported to be £200 - the same as principal assistant David MacBean (q.v.). He supplemented these earnings with work as the Glasgow correspondent for several architectural journals, including the Building News and the British Architect. Gildard also served a term as Vice-President of the Architectural Section of the Glasgow Philosophical Society until December 1888, and was also for a time the President of both the Glasgow Architectural Society and the Glasgow Architectural Association, having been a founder member of this second organisation. Most saliently, he was President of the Glasgow branch of the fledgling Scottish Institute of Architects when Alexander 'Greek' Thomson delivered his famously scathing attack on the Gothic designs of George Gilbert Scott for a new University of Glasgow.

A genial, popular man and a skilled raconteur, Gildard is best remembered not for his buildings, but for the charming personal reminiscences he compiled and occasionally published on the careers of his most prominent friends and associates: Alexander 'Greek' Thomson, the Mossman family of sculptors, David Hamilton and - following the City Architect's death in 1890 - John Carrick. Touchingly, these memoirs were produced during the last five years of Gildard's life. He died at his home on Berkeley Street on the morning of 5 December 1895, having been confined to bed for the previous three weeks, possibly with complications brought on by his worsening asthma. He is buried in the Necropolis.
Main Sources: Bailie (12 June 1889); Building Industries (16 December 1895); Royal Institute of British Architects Journal (1895-6); 'Architecture of Glasgow' by Gomme and Walker (London 1987); Letter to the Author from David Walker (20 September 1999).

ROBERT WILLIAM HORN (circa 1870-1932), a native of Glasgow, became an assistant in 1884 to Hugh and David Barclay - brilliant, classicising architects of St. George's in the Fields on St. George's Road (1885-6) and numerous school buildings in and around the city. Horn stayed with the firm for five years as an assistant. He then enrolled at the Glasgow School of Art and the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, just as the architectural teaching in both these institutions was being immersed in ideas imported from L'École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He passed his architectural qualifying exam in 1894, and it may have while studying that he picked up his career-long enthusiasm for competitions. The ambition inherent in such a pursuit was evident on 8 February 1895, when Horn was reported to have delivered a paper to the Glasgow Architectural Association on 'The Development of School Planning' in which he described in glowing terms the modern habit of basing the school building around a large central hall - a type mastered by H. & D. Barclay. Horn became an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects on 11 March 1895. His advocates in this bestowal included Campbell Douglas, a prominent member of the aforementioned Glasgow Architectural Association, and the ubiquitous John Honeyman, a governor at the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College where the new associate had studied. Horn was later made a Fellow.

His most prominent obituaries report him as entering Glasgow Corporation in 1895 or 1896, suggesting he may have been taken on as a replacement for Thomas Gildard (q.v.). In 1898, however, presumably while in practice as a private architect, he came third in an open contest to design the City Improvement Department's scheme for operations at King Street. He had more success towards the end of 1902, though his winning entry to design the scheme at Kennyhill was put to one side at first. The outside advisor to the adjudication panel for this competition was none other than J.J. Burnet, a known influence and confidante to Alexander Beith McDonald (q.v.). Burnet's advocacy can only be speculated upon, but Horn was definitely in place as the main assistant in McDonald's office some time before 28 April 1904, when he submitted a memorandum on an application by the Glasgow Clarion Scouts to lease premises at the City Improvement Department's development at Goosedubbs. Significantly, the City Engineer's chief assistant, William B. Whitie (q.v.), is known to have left the office in 1902 to pursue a private practice.

638 Builder (8 February 1895, p.108).
639 Builder (21 December 1895, p.459).
640 See page 59.
641 See page 223.
642 See page 218.
Once installed, it seems likely Horn had some involvement in the design of the first twelve tenements built at Kennyhill, despite the fact the plans submitted on 18 November 1904, 21 March 1905 and 21 May 1905 were actually signed by McDonald.\(^{643}\) A further five tenements were designed in an identical manner in 1914, though the drawings were again signed by McDonald. Nevertheless, it is difficult to say exactly when this second set of tenements was built. Horn's close proximity to the first stages of the project suggests he may even have been the architect bridging the gap between this and the second phase, perhaps as part of the Kennyhill scheme's 1919-27 expansion, long after McDonald's death.

Back in 1904, Horn remodelled the Old Ship Bank building on the corner of Saltmarket and Bridgegate, possibly in relation to simultaneous City Improvement Department operations on Jail Square and St. Margaret's Place.\(^{644}\) Working under the close supervision of the City Engineer, he also designed the former Kingston Halls and Public Library on Paisley Road, opened on 8 September 1904.\(^{645}\) Faced in red Locharbriggs sandstone and completed in a fashionable, later Beaux-Arts Baroque style, this building looks to have been planned in reference to Burnet's influential, L-shaped Athenaeum (1886) on West George Street and Buchanan Street. It is also interesting to note how the building is laid out with its reading rooms divided according to sex, rather like the system of separate entrances for boys and girls at a typical school by H. & D. Barclay.

Horn visited the Cheap Cottages Exhibition at Letchworth in 1905, submitting his report in October of that year.\(^{646}\) A few months later, on 12 February 1906, McDonald presented the city's Finance Department with feuing arrangements for the erection of tenements and villas at Riddrie. Horn probably had some involvement in the preparation of these plans, especially as - from 1919 onwards, while employed as the Department of Housing's Chief Architect - he was later responsible for designing tenements and Arts and Crafts-style cottages for the Kennyhill and Riddrie Housing Scheme. Horn's boss from 1919 to 1923, the Director of Housing, Peter Fyfe, had suggested as early as 1899 that the city press ahead with its plans to build cheaper houses for the working classes in out-of-town areas, plans which led eventually to the acquisition of greenfield steadings in Kennyhill.\(^{647}\) And Fyfe is known to have had consultations with Burnet shortly before he selected Horn's design as the winning entry in the aforementioned competition of 1902 to draw up plans for tenements at the new site.

Horn’s predilection for competitions continued in the meantime. The year of 1908, for instance, saw him winning a commendation for his theoretical design for London County Hall (1912-22), though Ralph Knott was eventually taken on as architect for this project. Before becoming Chief Architect, in 1919, of the newly-formed Housing Department, Horn is said by at least one obituary writer to have been involved in the design of public schools, halls, churches, hospitals and warehouses, though his name appears not to have featured on many finished drawings. In 1920, though, he drew up the initial designs for houses in the new Mosspark estate – the first scheme in Glasgow to be laid out according to garden-suburb principles.

\[^{643}\text{See page 223.}\]
\[^{644}\text{Jail Square is known today as Jocelyn Square. See page 214.}\]
\[^{645}\text{Builder (17 September 1904, p.298).}\]
\[^{646}\text{See page 66.}\]
\[^{647}\text{See pages 43 and 223.}\]
Three years later, following Fyfe's retirement in June 1923, Horn was made Assistant Director of Housing. He succeeded John Bryce as Director in August 1928, staying in this post until his sudden death in Glasgow on 4 January 1932. His assistant W.B. McNab became Director of Housing on or around 11 April 1932. 648

Main Sources: Builder (22 January 1932); Royal Institute of British Architects Journal (1932).

**DAVID MACBEAN (1852-1916)** was the son of a farmer. He was born near Inverness and served his architectural apprenticeship with a firm in that town. He entered the office of John Carrick (q.v.) in or around 1877, very possibly as a replacement for Frank Burnet (q.v.). MacBean was reported to be one of three assistants to Carrick on 30 April 1886, when his salary increased from £125 to £150. It seems likely he had a high level of involvement in the production of designs coming out of the City Architect's office from this time forward, including the City Improvement Trust's tenements at 107-143 Saltmarket (1886-7) and 67-105 Saltmarket (1889-90), as well as the former fire station at 509 St. George's Road (1887) and the Northern Police Office (1890, demolished 1972) on Maitland Street. 649

MacBean had reached the position of principal assistant by the time Carrick died in 1890. In this capacity, he was responsible for guiding, supervising and assisting departmental draughtsmen in the preparation of plans and ensuring these plans met the requirements of various regulations set by the Dean of Guild's Court. As of 1 August 1890, his annual salary was £200, putting him on a level with Carrick's long-term assistant and ally, Thomas Gildard (q.v.). The City Architect died during pre-production work for the City Improvement Trust's tenements at Robb's Close (1890, demolished *circa* 1980s), enabling MacBean to sign the finished drawings with his own name, publicly revealing the extent of his personal authorship. 650

He took a similar level of responsibility from the incoming City Engineer, Alexander Beith McDonald (q.v.), when designing the City Improvement Trust's tenement at 4-12 Graeme Street (1890-1, demolished 1996). 651 Comparing these buildings with those completed before the death of Carrick, the flat-faced, single-window-based fenestration of MacBean's signature work seems tellingly alike. The similarities

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648 Glasgow Herald (12 April 1932, p.12).
649 See pages 88 and 90.
650 See page 96.
651 See page 99.
continued with the oriel-free City Improvement Trust tenements at 3-39 Trongate (1890-2) and 73-101 High Street (1891-3). Though it was McDonald who signed the finished designs, MacBean was certainly involved in the second of these developments and probably both.

He seems thereafter to have faded into the background, the City Engineer quickly abandoning the 1840s and 1850s manner of Carrick and gradually expanding his practice to take on a series of younger, more forward-looking assistants. Though MacBean often represented the City Engineer at committee meetings and worked heavily behind the scenes on City Improvement Department tenement developments at Bain Street and Gallowgate (1896-9), Stobcross Street, Clyde Street and Piccadilly Street (1897-1900, demolished *circa* 1961), Stobcross Street and Clyde Street (1897-8, demolished *circa* 1961) and Arcadia Street, Greenhead Street and Templeton Street (1896-1901), he was never again so visibly at the forefront of the office's design work. Even so, he stayed with the Office of Public Works until his sudden death while on holiday at Kingussie on 8 July 1916. His health was said to have been unsatisfactory for several months prior to his death, owing to heart trouble.

Main Sources: Glasgow Herald (18 July 1916); Builder (28 July 1916).

ALEXANDER BEITH MCDONALD (1847-1915)

was born in Stirling. His father was a glazier and a member of the local town council. McDonald attended Stirling High School before beginning work as a civil engineer in Glasgow in 1862, first serving his apprenticeship with the firm of Smith & Wharrie, then working for a year as senior assistant. Later, at the University of Glasgow, he studied engineering, mathematics and natural philosophy.

On leaving Smith & Wharrie, McDonald worked as a contractor before joining the engineering staff of the city's Office of Public Works on 1 June 1870. He became personal assistant to John Carrick (q.v.) soon afterwards. His duties ought to have centred around engineering, but working with the City Architect, McDonald also became increasingly responsible for the provision of Parliamentary plans, sections and estimates. During this time, whenever Carrick's absence or ill health required him to do so, McDonald

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652 See pages 92 and 101.
653 See pages 160, 163, 166 and 168.
consulted such notables as Sir John Fowler, co-designer of the Forth Bridge (1882-90), and Sir Joseph Bazalgette on engineering matters affecting the streets and drainage of Glasgow. In 1886, he took charge of the engineering and surveying works required by the Glasgow Improvement Acts, including assisting Carrick in the formation of Alexandra Park. He also arranged and disposed of the feuing lands adjoining Kelvingrove Park and Queen’s Park, both parks having been laid out by Carrick in consultation with Sir Joseph Paxton.

On 6 October 1890, soon after Carrick’s death, and after the offices of the Master of Works and City Architect had been separated, McDonald was appointed City Engineer and Surveyor, taking "...charge of architectural work so far as that [which] may not at any time be ordered to be entrusted to outside architects". John Whyte was appointed Master of Works at the same time. Starting on an annual salary of £600, one of McDonald’s first tasks was the designs for the City Improvement Trust’s developments at 3-39 Trongate (1890-2), a project initiated by Carrick and completed, probably, with some input from David MacBean (q.v.), the late City Architect’s most senior assistant at the time of his death. McDonald stayed in his post for 24 years, during which time – despite his lack of architectural articles – he was responsible for the design of most of Glasgow’s civic buildings, many of them providing amenities for areas transformed by the City Improvement Trust. His greatest achievement, though, is thought to be the design of the Glasgow Main Drainage Scheme, which, at the time of its completion, was the largest of its kind anywhere in the world except London.

McDonald’s buildings include a palazzo-style police office and barracks on Oxford Street and Nicholson Street (1892-5), both thoroughfares lengthened by the City Improvement Trust in the 1870s. Most notable of his public buildings was the People’s Palace in Glasgow Green, an Italian Renaissance, part Baroque design of 1893-5, completed three years later by Morrison & Mason, the same builders as realised William Young’s design for the City Chambers (1882-90). The Town Council began pursuing the idea of a museum specifically for the people of the east end as early as 1866, the year in which the City Improvement Trust was formed. The idea appears to have stemmed from theories about the need for an improvement in the cultural facilities available to local residents, to go along with analogous improvements about to be made to the area’s housing. Contemporaneously, McDonald designed and oversaw the construction of the gaudily Baroque former Sanitary Chambers on the corner of Cochrane Street and Montrose Street (1895-7), a building in which the City Engineer must later have spent a fair amount of time, given his work for the City Improvement Department. The former Central Fire Station on the corner of High Street and Ingram Street - a composition similar to McDonald’s earlier design for the Family Home on St. Andrews Street (1893-6) - followed in 1898. In 1903, not a stone’s throw from the Family Home, McDonald produced a more sophisticated design for the Franco-Flemish former Central Police Office on the corner of St. Andrews Street and Low Green Street - another of the roadways altered by the

634 See page 14.
635 See page 92.
636 Builder (19 August 1893, p.144).
637 Williamson, Riches and Higgs (1990, p.160).
638 Scots Magazine (March 1986, p.603).
639 Glasgow Herald (24 January 1898, p.11).
640 See page 108.
improvement scheme. The following year, he designed public baths for Maryhill and Parkhead, on Gairbraid Avenue and Helenvale Street respectively.

In 1905, together with the then President of the Glasgow Institute of Architects, John Keppie, McDonald became embroiled in an undignified row over his selection of drawings by William B. Whitie (q.v.), a former assistant, for the competition to design the Mitchell Library on North Street. Charges of favouritism were stoutly denied and eventually seen off, though the whole affair does tend to remind us of the good opinion McDonald must have had of his most able assistants, Whitie and Robert William Horn (q.v.). Whitie, for instance, is said to have been closely involved in the City Engineer's designs for the prestigious People's Palace project, mentioned earlier. Horn, meanwhile, was entrusted with the important job of designing the former Kingston Halls and Public Library on Paisley Road, opened on 8 September 1904. In 1907, MacDonald designed and saw built the Baroque, splendidly squat former Fruit Market on Bell Street. One of his last buildings was the Baroque former South Side Fire Station at 180 Centre Street, on the corner of Wallace Street, started in 1914 and completed in red Locharbriggs sandstone after his death. In June 1914, McDonald was succeeded as City Engineer by the former Master of Works, Thomas Nisbet, who – it is interesting to note - returned to the system last seen under Carrick, combining the two offices.

McDonald died at his home on Kersland Street on 31 October 1915, succumbing to injuries suffered after falling from a tram in Sauchiehall Street the day before. His body is interred at the Western Necropolis. A quiet, modest man, said to possess a quaint sense of humour, McDonald was most remarkable for his ability to absorb the advice of others. Like many architects working in Glasgow at the end of the nineteenth century, the City Engineer was charmed by the Beaux-Arts aesthetic imported from Paris circa 1886 by J.J. Burnet, J.A. Campbell and others, including the aforementioned John Keppie, partner of the even more regularly cited John Honeyman. Unlike most of his peers, McDonald had the opportunity to work very closely with Burnet on several occasions. On 10 June 1891, for instance, the City Engineer read a glowing and knowledgeable report on Burnet's plans for the new train station at Glasgow Cross, to be built for the Caledonian Railway Company. Having spoken to Burnet, McDonald also explained his reasons for yielding to the railway company's wish to demolish a row of old buildings and shops on Trongate, despite the City Improvement Trust's earlier decision to leave these standing. A direct, if debateable line of inspiration from Burnet to McDonald can be traced to the following year, though admittedly it seems initially to have been taken in from afar. The gallery system used by the City Engineer for his City Improvement Trust tenements at Morrin Square (1893-8, demolished 1960s) may have been influenced by the balconies at Cathedral Court on Rottenrow (1892, demolished 1971), designed by Burnet for the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company, but it probably had just as much to do with the need to respond to stipulations held within the Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892. On 27 December 1894, however, McDonald was given leave by the Sub-Committee on South Central District Properties to consult directly with the Caledonian Railway Company, to ensure that a screen wall scheduled for erection on the corner of Trongate and Chisholm Street worked in pleasing visual harmony with the City Improvement Trust's new tenements at 3-39 Trongate (1890-2). Behind the scenes machinations – largely unrecorded, it would seem

661 Low Green Street is known today as Turnbull Street.
662 See page 95.
663 See page 117.
- led eventually to a nifty little edifice by J. J. Burnet, erected circa 1899-1900. Burnet also designed the contemporaneous tenements at 15-27 Saltmarket, again built after McDonald had been sent to pester the Caledonian Railway Company into meeting various conditions required by the City Improvement Trust for the feuing of its land.

Given these sorts of connections, and the fact that McDonald was present at the tail-end of a period of great eclecticism in Glasgow's architecture, it is not surprising to find the City Engineer developing a designer of some versatility. This is best illustrated by the stylistic breadth and modishness of the buildings he completed for the City Improvement Trust and the City Improvement Department. From the French Renaissance of 3-39 Trongate - designed in the very shadow of Carrick's death - and the Doric severity of 73-101 High Street (1891-3), to Baronial developments at 5-25 King Street (1894-8) and elsewhere, to the ambitious Beaux-Arts of 133-155 Stockwell Street (1904-6) and the office block at the corner of High Street and Bell Street (1910-11), McDonald tried his hand at many styles without ever disgracing himself, nor particularly excelling.

Main Sources: Bailie (25 November 1896); Bailie (4 May 1910); Glasgow Herald (2 November 1915); Building News (10 November 1915).

JOHN MCKISSACK (circa 1844-1915) was probably born in Glasgow. He was educated at St. Enoch's School and presumably served an apprenticeship in the city before starting in business as a private architect sometime in the later 1860s. He was in partnership with the slightly younger William Gardner Rowan by 1874, when the pair designed the Whiteinch United Free Church in a simple Gothic style. In a move no doubt inspired by the City Improvement Trust's work at Oatlands and Overnewton, the church was erected by the industrialist Gordon Oswald as a precursor to the planned development of Whiteinch and Scotstoun into residential areas for his employees; in 1885, Oswald hired Alexander Petrie, mentor to Robert Douglas Sandilands (q.v.), to design rows of workers' cottages. 1874 also saw McKissack & Rowan putting together the design for a blandly Gothic former Paisley Road United Free Church on Edwin Street, Kinning Park. The building was finished in 1876. The year before, McKissack & Rowan began work on the William Stark and Alexander 'Greek' Thomson-inspired former Pollokshields West Church on Shields Road, a building completed in 1879. In 1878, they designed St. Francis-in-the-East on Boden Street, Bridgeton, and in 1882, the former Mure Memorial Miners' Church on Swinton Road in Baillieston. The former St. Martin's Episcopal Church on Dixon Road, Govanhill, followed in 1885. The next year, McKissack & Rowan started two churches, both in a Romanesque manner: the Queen's Park Baptist Church on Queen's Drive and the former Strathbungo Parish Church, Pollokshaws Road. According to most commentators, the second of these buildings - finished in 1887 - was designed by McKissack alone; he happened also to be a member of the congregation.

664 See page 57.
665 See pages 92, 101, 125, 220 and 232.
The partnership had been dissolved by 1890, when Rowan designed the Trinity United Presbyterian Church on Glencairn Drive, Pollokshields, finished in 1891 and destroyed by fire in 1988. Rowan's continued specialisation in church design - most successfully exemplified by the Arts-and-Crafts-inspired St. Margaret Tollcross on Braidfauld Street (1900-1) and the Glasgow-Style Eastbank Parish Church in Shettleston (1901-4) – suggests his was the leading influence on the partnership prior to its dissolution. McKissack & Rowan also designed a 'Greek' Thomson-influenced St. John's Methodist Church (1880, demolished early 1970s) on Sauchiehall Street and numerous other ecclesiastical buildings in Blantyre, Grangemouth, Bo'ness, Scone, Tarbert, Greenock, Clydebank, Galashiels, Loch Fyne and even London, where they were responsible for the St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (1882) on Brockley Road. Secular buildings were relatively thin on the ground, though McKissack did find time in 1886 to design the McKechnie Institute in Girvan. Hospital and police buildings followed later in Dunoon.

McKissack was in business on his own from circa 1889 until 1898, though his work after the break with Rowan tended towards the prosaic and unimaginative, lending further credence to the idea that he was the less talented partner. In 1893, tellingly, he fended off 23 opponents to win a competition to design the City Improvement Trust's complex of fourteen tenements on Osborne Street, King Street and Parnie Street. This contest was the first the Trustees organised for outside architects and was marked by the humdrum timidity of the judges' criteria, these being painstakingly decided upon by committee after committee. Alas, simply by winning it, McKissack rather categorised himself as a bland and cautious designer. Not that this was any bar to his putting together a comfortably successful practice. Before taking on his son, James, as a partner in 1898, McKissack was architect of the Flemish Renaissance former Eastbank Academy on Shettleston Road, a two-storey building with wings, opened in 1894. Then followed the two large warehouses on the west side of King Street (1898-1902), built again for the City Improvement Department. McKissack's second son, John, joined the partnership in 1899. In 1903, after completing the work at King Street, John McKissack & Sons designed the mildly Baroque former Strathclyde Public School on Carstairs Street, Dalmarnock, as well as more tenements for the City Improvement Department, this time at 64-80 Lancefield Street. Later, while working together with Neil C. Duff, they designed the Beaux-Arts classical former La Scala cinema on Sauchiehall Street (1908-12). Perhaps this was a sign of things to come. After John McKissack's death in 1915, the firm found increasing success as a designer of exotically stylised bingo halls and cinemas.

Main Source: Builder (3 September 1915).

WILLIAM REID (fl.1890-1918). As of 1 August 1890, Reid received an annual salary of £75 for his work as an assistant in the city's Architecture Department. He was still employed in the office of A.H. McDonald (q.v.), the City Engineer, on 3 September 1896, though he seems not to have been resident in Glasgow until 1898, when the Post Office Directories list him as living at 9 Caird Drive. By 1902, Reid had
taken over private business premises at 196 St. Vincent Street. Though there is no indication the two architects worked together, this building was occupied at the same time by William B. Whitie (q.v.). On 31 July 1902, the Dean of Guild’s Court passed Reid’s design for a five-storey tenement on the corner of Sandyford Street and Clayslaps Street. This was followed in 1903 by a design for the Art Nouveau frontage of the Griffin Bar (originally the King’s Arms) on Hope Street. Indeed, judging by the Dean of Guild’s Court Collection at Glasgow City Archive, the majority of his work in these years consisted of shop alterations, hoardings and stable buildings. On 31 March 1904, however, Reid guided the design of a four-storey warehouse for a trader by the name of P. McAnulty on the corner of Renfield Street and Cowcaddens Street through the Dean of Guild’s Court. By 1907, he was being listed by the Post Office Directories as a member of the Glasgow Institute of Architects.

Main Sources: Post Office Directories (1898-1918); Dean of Guild’s Court Collection (1900 onwards).

ROBERT DOUGLAS SANDILANDS (1854-1913) was born in Lesmahagow, the son of a wright and wood merchant. After arriving in Glasgow in March 1875, he served as a pupil to Alexander Petrie, later architect of workers’ cottages in Scotstoun for the industrialist, Gordon Oswald. In March 1880, while still apprenticed to Petrie, Sandilands received a Certificate of Honour from the Royal Institute of British Architects for his measured drawings of Dunblane Cathedral.

Sandilands left for Paris in September 1880 and the following month was enrolled at L’École des Beaux-Arts, where he studied for five years under professors such as Julien Guadet. Sandilands also took the opportunity to travel around Europe, sketching and absorbing the architectural styles of different countries. He returned to Glasgow in 1885 and struck an adaptable partnership with John Thomson (q.v.) a year or so later. Prestigious commissions quickly followed for ecclesiastical, commercial, municipal and domestic buildings in Glasgow and elsewhere. For starters, the firm completed work at the United Presbyterian Church in Whithorn, designed in 1884 (presumably by Thomson) and finished in 1892.

In 1890, Thomson & Sandilands became architects for the sprawling City of Glasgow District Asylum complex at Gartloch Road, having won the initial competition with a design by Sandilands; the scheme, completed in 1897, makes use of Scots Baronial designs throughout. The former Royal Insurance Company building at 106-112 Buchanan Street was designed in 1894 and completed in yellow Dunmore sandstone in 1898. In between times, the firm designed the St. James School on Green Street, Calton (1895) – a plain construction with English Baroque touches, completed for the local School Board on land very probably cleared by the City Improvement Trust. In 1896, rather trailing in the wake of Scots Renaissance
experiments by J.J. Burnet at the Pathological Institute of Glasgow Western Infirmary (1894-6), Sandilands designed a gaudily Baronial residence - Sherbrooke Castle on Nithsdale Road and Sherbrooke Avenue, Pollokshields - for the builder, John Morrison of Morrison & Mason, occasional contractors for the City Improvement Trust.

Sandilands finally brought his extensive Beaux-Arts training into play the following year, composing the winning drawing for a competition to design the red Locharbriggs sandstone former Govan Town Hall on Govan Road – "...the purest Beaux-Arts building in the city" according to Gomme and Walker. An immensely successful period then followed, with four commissions for the municipal authorities in quick succession. In the single year of 1900, Thomson & Sandilands designed the Glasgow Parish Council Chambers at 266 George Street, the office block at 2-58 Albion Street for the City Improvement Department and the former Combination Poor Law Hospital (now Stobhill Hospital) on Balornock Road. Finished in 1902 and 1904, respectively, the first two of these projects are conventionally Baroque in character, though they also benefit from a willingness to experiment. The building on George Street, in particular, derives elements of its design from J.J. Burnet’s influential Waterloo Chambers on Waterloo Street (1898-1900), especially in the way it combines coupled Ionic columns with a Doric entablature. Conversely, the design for the Stobhill Hospital complex, completed in red brick in 1904, displays hardly any character at all, so plain are the majority of the elevations. It seems Thomson & Sandilands’ ability to quote a low price was the firm’s best asset when it came to architectural contests. The aforementioned design for the City Improvement Department was the cheapest of the four proposals to reach the final selection and so must have impressed the parsimonious Alexander Beith McDonald (q.v.), the city official whose office the employment of an outside architect was intended to alleviate.

In 1903, Thomson & Sandilands designed an office block at 26-36 Bell Street, again for the City Improvement Department and again in a stripped down Baroque style. It was completed in 1905, the year before Sandilands was made a Friend of the Royal Institute of British Architects, following a proposal by T.L. Watson, John Keppie, C.J. MacLean and, significantly, J.J. Burnet. Hutchesons’ Grammar School for Girls, probably the most confident and assured of the firm’s many compositions, followed in 1910. English Baroque in style, it was completed in 1912, the year before Sandilands died suddenly at his home in Pollokshields - 'Kames House', 45 Albert Drive - on 10 December 1913. At the time of his death, he was Vice-President of the Glasgow Institute of Architects. He was also a member of the Merchants’ House, the Gorbals Benevolent Society, the Society of Deacons and Free Preses and the Incorporation of Masons, having been appointed Deacon of this last organisation in 1903.

Main Sources: Glasgow Herald (11 December 1913); Builder (19 December 1913); 'Architecture of Glasgow' by Gomme and Walker (London 1987).

669 See page 198.
670 See page 208.
WILLIAM SHARP (fl. 1890-1906) was an assistant in the city’s Architecture Department from at least 1 August 1890, when he was reported as receiving an annual salary of £120. He was still employed in the office of Alexander Beith McDonald (q.v.), the City Engineer, on 9 June 1897. Sharp’s first appearance in the local Post Office Directories came in 1898. He maintained a listing until 1906 with houses first at 6 Leven Street, then across the road at 11 Leven Street. From 1899 to 1903, working together with McDonald, Sharp was architect for the Baroque, brick and stone-faced Whitevale Street Baths in Calton, an area heavily endowed with contemporaneous housing provided both indirectly and directly by the City Improvement Department – see tenements at 74 Kirk Street (1895, demolished *circa* 1980s), 3-11 Bain Street (1895-6), 91-105 Cumberland Street (1895-8, demolished *circa* 1964) and 94-108 Arcadia Street (1896-1901).

Main Source: Post Office Directories (1898 onwards).

JOHN THOMSON (1859-1933), the eldest son of Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson, was born at 3 Darnley Terrace in Shawlands, Glasgow, and educated first at Langside Academy, then at the old Glasgow High School on John Street. He was apprenticed to Robert Turnbull – ‘Greek’ Thomson’s last partner – soon after his father’s death in 1875. Thomson studied under Richard Phene Spiers at the Royal Academy Schools in London from 1881 onwards. He then worked briefly for William Flockhart, a Scots architect based in London who was working at that time in a Dutch Baroque manner, as can be seen, for example, at 108-110 Old Brompton Road in South Kensington (1886).

Thomson was refused entry to his father’s firm after returning to Scotland sometime around 1884. He went into business *circa* 1886 with Robert Douglas Sandilands (q.v.), the firm’s first job being the completion of the architecture work for the United Presbyterian Church in Whithorn, commenced in 1884 after a design, presumably, by Thomson. Thomson & Sandilands then embarked on a long and largely fruitful career, much of it detailed in the preceding biography of Sandilands. One of the firm’s last projects was the former Queen’s Park School on Grance Road (1912), designed (though never fully completed) in an English Baroque manner similar to the aforementioned Hutchesons’ Grammar School. Thomson & Sandilands also worked together on some renovation work at the fruitmarket at 87-99 Candleriggs (1912). After his partner’s death late in 1913, Thomson completed work on an office block at 32-44 Queen Street (1912-14).

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671 Cumberland Street is known today as Arcadia Street. See pages 132, 139, 144 and 168.

672 See page 251.
The firm later became Thomson, Sandilands & McLeod and completed a good number of interesting and stylish commercial buildings throughout the 1920s and 1930s, though Thomson himself had retired by the time he died at home at 'Ingeneuk' on Monteith Road in Newlands on 14 August 1933. He was a member of the Glasgow Institute of Architects and at one time a silver medallist with the Royal Institute of British Architects.

Main Sources: 'Glasgow Contemporaries at the Dawn of the XXth Century' by Anonymous (Glasgow 1900); Glasgow Herald (15 August 1933); Biographical File at the British Architecture Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

WILLIAM BROWN WHITIE (1871-1946) was a native of Galashiels who served his apprenticeship with an architect in that town. He was also reputedly a pupil both of John Gordon and John Carrick (q.v.), suggesting he must have been in Glasgow before 1890, though the Post Office Directories indicate he had no private Glasgow address before 1902. On 3 September 1896, however, he was reported to be working in the office of Alexander Beith McDonald (q.v.), the City Engineer.

Whitie is thought to have had a hand in McDonald's design for the People's Palace (1893-8) in Glasgow Green, but his real breakthrough came in 1899 when the Dean of Guild's Court accepted his Italian Renaissance design for Springburn Public Halls on Millarbank Street and Keppochill Road. Though erected as part of an agreement with the Corporation, this building was actually paid for by the Reid family, owners of the engineering firm, Neilson Reid & Co. It opened on 10 May 1902. Prior to this, in 1901, Whitie designed a block of workmen's dwellings on Duncan Street in Pollokshaws for Sir John Stirling-Maxwell and the St. Mungo Boarding House on Ringford Street, off Flemington Street, but the next couple of years saw him restricted to minor works: stables, alterations to houses and an addition to the Rutherford U.F. Church on Armadale Street and Roselea Drive.

In 1902, presumably as a prelude to starting up in private practice, Whitie moved to premises at 196 St. Vincent Street. Two years later, he transferred up the road to 219 St. Vincent Street where he stayed for the next 40 years. In 1903 he secured the commission to design the Springburn District Library on the corner of Ayr Street and Vulcan Street. The library took four years to complete, during which time Whitie also designed a house in Bishopbriggs called 'Gark' and a tenement block at Glenpark Street, Glasgow. In 1906, despite submitting plans for a disappointingly stolid application of the English Baroque, he saw off 75 competitors to win the architectural contest to design the new Mitchell Library on North Street. The competition - assessed by A.D. McDonald and John Keppie - sparked great controversy, with some sections of the architectural press focusing on Whitie's background as a former assistant to the City Engineer, implying bias on the part of the judges. On the other side, a significant minority of interested councillors loudly questioned the architectural merits of the winning design. Nevertheless, the result stood and the building eventually opened on 16 October 1911.
The only other major commissions for this period appear to have been the Empress Playhouse (1910, latterly known as the New Metropole, demolished in 1989) on St. George's Road, Glasgow, and a new primary school building for Greenock Academy (1910) in Finnart Street of that town. Whitie was President of the Glasgow Institute of Architects in 1921 and 1922 and President of the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland from 1934 to 1936, having been a founder member of that organisation. When installed as President, he spoke of his dedication to another founder member, Robert Rowand Anderson, though this allegiance does not seem particularly evident in any of Whitie's architectural designs. Perhaps it was more patent in his approach; Whitie's obituary writer, A. Graham Henderson, described his work as "...marked by good planning and refined and careful detail". Whitie was also a Friend of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

As well as the former Askit Laboratories in Possilpark (1933-4), he is said to have designed a residential hotel called 'Springburn' and a private house called 'Whitehouse'. Regrettably, firmer details of the look, character and precise whereabouts of these buildings are nigh-on impossible to find. Whitie died on 9 October 1946.

Main Sources: Quarterly Journal of the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland (May 1946); Letter to the Author from David Walker (20 September 1999); Biographical File at the British Architecture Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

OTHER ASSISTANTS: on 30 April 1886, an assistant named Mr. Wyllie had his annual salary increased from £80 to £120 for his work with Thomas Gildard (q.v.) and David MacBean (q.v.) in the office of the City Architect. Together with Gildard, MacBean, William Reid (q.v.) and William Sharp (q.v.), Alexander Thomson was working in the same office on 1 August 1890, when his annual salary was reported as being £80.
2) Completed Planning Improvements (Glasgow Improvement Acts 1866 and 1871): 675

Lengthened Streets: Bell Street (lengthened east beyond High Street); Cumberland Street, Calton (now Arcadia Street, lengthened south to Greenhead Street); High Street (lengthened north to Cathedral Square); Canon Street (now Ingram Street, lengthened east to High Street); James Street (lengthened north-east to Bridgeton Cross); John Knox Street (lengthened north to Cathedral Square); Kirk Street, Gorbals (lengthened west to Nicholson Street, obliterated in the 1950s); Low Green Street (now Turnbull Street, lengthened north via James Morrison Street to London Road); Moncur Street (lengthened east to Green Street); Norfolk Street (lengthened east to Gorbals Cross); Oxford Street (lengthened east to Nicholson Street); Risk Street (lengthened north to Kirk Street, Calton, now Stevenson Street); Rutherglen Loan (now Rutherglen Street, lengthened west to Portugal Street, obliterated in the 1950s); Sister Street (now Orr Street, lengthened north to Little Street, now Crownpoint Road); Thomson's Lane (now Claythorn Street, lengthened north to Claythorn Street).

Widened Streets: Bedford Street; Bell Street; Buchan Street (obliterated in the 1950s); Claythorn Street; High Street; Gallowgate; Graeme Street (now Bell Street); John Knox Street; King Street; King Street, Calton (now Millroad Street); Kirk Street, Calton (now Stevenson Street); Kirk Street, Gorbals (obliterated in the 1950s); Main Street, Gorbals (now Gorbals Street); Moncur Street; New Street, Calton (now Stevenson Street); Nelson Street (now Albion Street); Park Lane (now Kerr Street); Rottenrow; Rutherglen Loan (now Rutherglen Street); Saltmarket; Saracen Lane (now East Campbell Street); St. Andrews Street; Spoutsmouth; Steel Street; Stirling Street (now Blackfriars Street); Thomson's Lane (now Claythorn Street); Trongate; Watson Street; Weaver Street; Welsh Street (now Kent Street).

Diverted Streets: Gallowgate; High Street; John Knox Street; Rutherglen Loan (now Rutherglen Street); Saltmarket.

New Streets: Bain Street; Collins Street; James Morrison Street; McLeod Street; Moir Street; Molendinar Street; Moncur Street; Osborne Street; Walls Street; Watson Street; Wishart Street, plus four streets around Cathedral Square, one between North Frederick Street and North Hanover Street and numerous unnamed lanes.

New or Improved Places: Bain Square (now Bain Street); Bridgeton Cross; Cathedral Square; Gorbals Cross; St. Andrews Square; Stirling Square (now Blackfriars Street).
### 3) Targeted Areas (Glasgow Improvement Acts 1866 and 1871): 676

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lettered Label</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Addresses Effected</th>
<th>Slums Cleared for Streets</th>
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<tr>
<td>A and B</td>
<td>Bridgeton Cross</td>
<td>James Street; Main Street, Bridgeton (now James Street); Dalmarnock Road; London Road; Bridgeton Cross</td>
<td>4751 square yards</td>
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<td>C and D</td>
<td>Sister Street (now Orr Street) and Park Lane (now Kerr Street)</td>
<td>Sister Street (now Orr Street); Park Lane (now Kerr Street); Marlborough Street (now Orr Street); Little Street (now Crownpoint Road)</td>
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<td>E, F, G, H and X</td>
<td>Calton</td>
<td>Great Hamilton Street (now London Road); Bain Street; Claythorn Street; Bain Square (now Bain Street); Kent Street; Moncur Street; Main Street, Calton (now Well Street); Green Street; Thomson’s Lane (now Claythorn Street); Rusk Street; Kirk Street, Calton (now Stevenson Street); New Street, Calton (now Stevenson Street); King Street, Calton (now Millroad Street)</td>
<td>19,276 square yards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, M, B, C, D and Q</td>
<td>Gallowgate, High Street, Blackfriars Street, College Open, the Vennels and Havannah</td>
<td>Gallowgate; Watson Street; Graeme Street (now Bell Street); Spoutsmouth; Molendinar Street; Duke Street; High Street</td>
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<td>Bell Street and South Albion Street (now Albion Street)</td>
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<td>R and S</td>
<td>South Side of Trongate</td>
<td>Trongate; King Street; Saltmarket; London Street (now London Road); Osborne Street</td>
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<td>Greendyke Street; London Street (now London Road); Low Green Street (now Turnbull Street); James Morrison Street; Saltmarket; St. Andrews Street</td>
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<td>Stirling Square (now Blackfriars Street); South Albion Street (now Albion Street); Canon Street (now Ingram Street); High Street; Shuttle Street</td>
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<td>High Street, Rottenrow, Drygate and John Knox Street, etc.</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Gorbals</td>
<td>Main Street, Gorbals (now Gorbals Street); Kirk Street, Gorbals (obliterated in the 1950s); Buchan Street (obliterated in the 1950s); Norfolk Street; Govan Street (now Ballater Street); Gorbals Cross; Nicholson Street; Rutherglen Loan (now Rutherglen Street); Portugal Street (obliterated in the 1950s); Bedford Street</td>
<td>13,072 square yards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Bridgegate and East Clyde Street</td>
<td>Bridgegate; East Clyde Street</td>
<td>Transferred to the Markets Commissioners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>North Frederick Street, etc.</td>
<td>North Frederick Street; Dempster Street</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Cumberland Street, Calton (now Arcadia Street)</td>
<td>Cumberland Street, Calton (now Arcadia Street); Greenhead Street</td>
<td>1110 square yards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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676 Minutes of the City Improvement Trust (General Committee, 1 October 1879).
4) Reconstructions and Planning Improvements (Glasgow Improvement Act 1897):

Reconstructions: The Bell o’ the Brae (Burrell’s Lane, Duke Street, George Street, High Street); Goosedubbs Area (Aird’s Lane, Bridgegate, Goosedubbs, Stockwell Street); Jail Square Area (Bridgegate, Jail Square, St. Margaret’s Place, Saltmarket); King Street Area (King Street, New Wynd, Old Wynd, Osborne Street, Trongate); Nelson Street Area (Bell Street, High Street, Nelson Street, Trongate); South Side Area (Adelphi Street, Muirhead Street, St. Ninian Street).
5) Related Acts of Parliament:

Common Lodging Houses Act 1851;
Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act 1851;
Dwelling Houses (Scotland) Act 1855;
Glasgow Police Act 1862;
City of Glasgow Union Railway Act 1864;
Glasgow Improvement Act 1866;
Glasgow Police Act 1866;
Labourers' Dwellings Act 1866;
Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act 1868;
Glasgow Improvement Act 1871;
Glasgow Police Act 1872;
Glasgow Police Act 1873;
Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act 1875;
Glasgow Police Act 1875;
Glasgow Police Act 1877;
Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act 1879;
Glasgow Improvement Act 1880;
Housing of the Working Classes Act 1885;
Glasgow Central Railways Act 1888;
Glasgow Police Amendment Act 1890;
Housing of the Working Classes Act 1890;
Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1892;
Glasgow Bridge, etc. Act 1894;
Glasgow Improvement Act 1897;
Glasgow Building Regulations Act 1900;
Glasgow Corporation (Water, City Improvement and General) Order Confirmation Act 1902;
Finance Act 1909;
Housing and Town Planning, etc. Act 1910.
6) Maps of the High Street Area of Glasgow Before, During and After the Improvements:

Fig. 183: High Street and the surrounding area before the improvements, 1864 (Mitchell Library)
Fig. 184: High Street and the surrounding area during the improvements, 1890 (Mitchell Library).
Fig. 185: High Street and the surrounding area after the improvements, 1913 (Mitchell Library).
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