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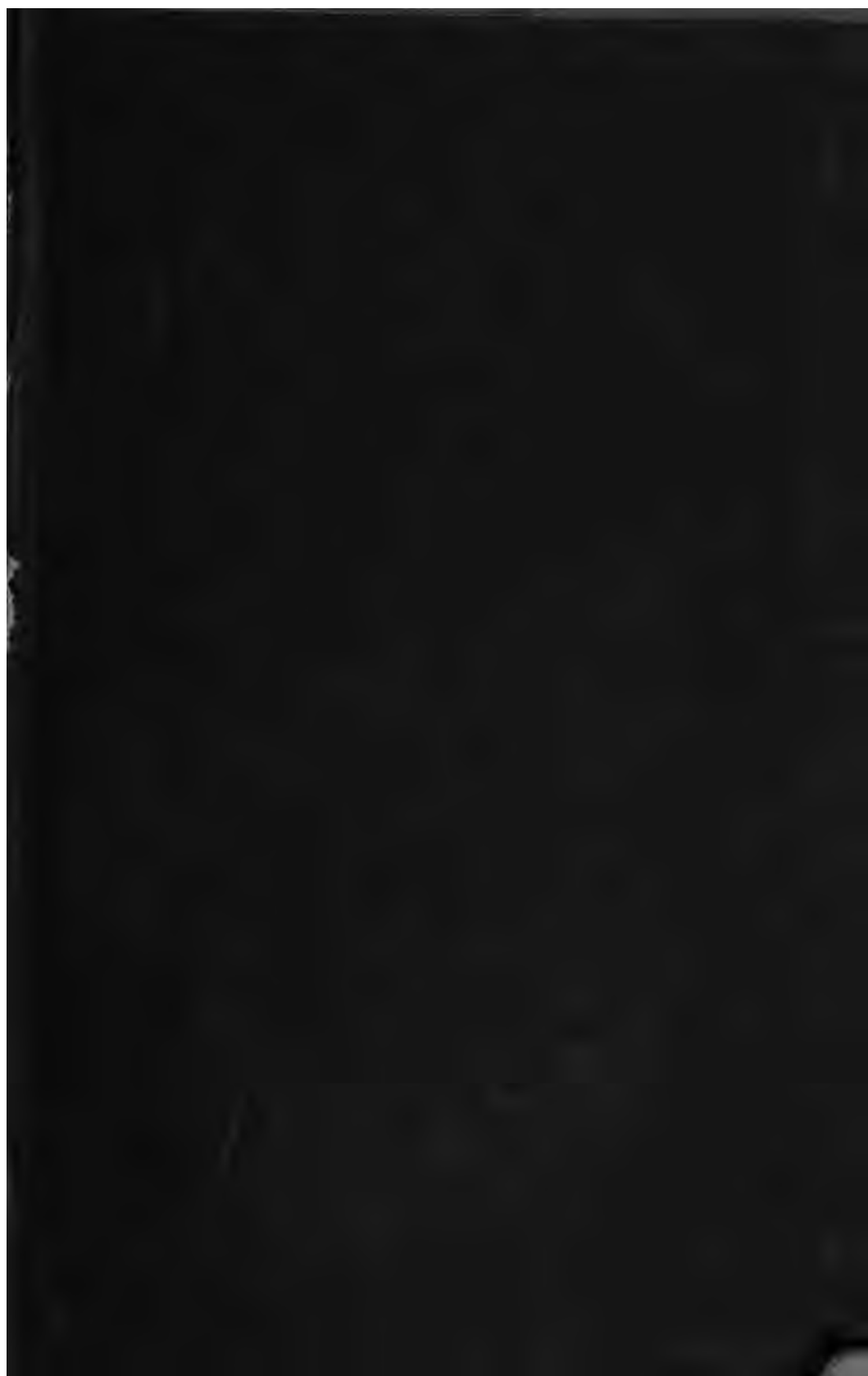
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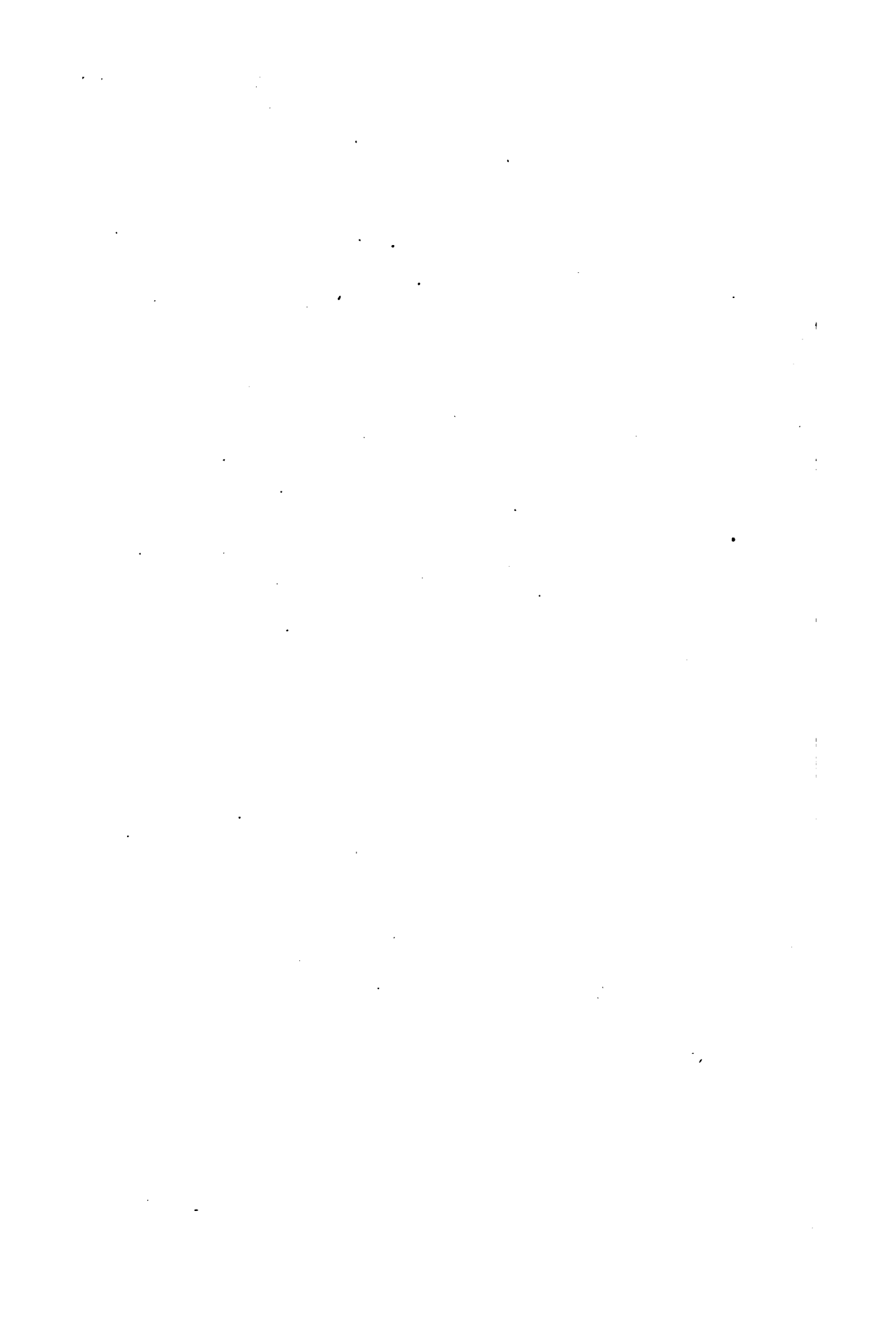


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FROM THE BEQUEST OF
SUSAN GREENE DEXTER





London
June 3rd 1548

The which was content in your
laste letter bearing word of the
Coy and your selfe of our selfe
that was under the name of

London
June 3rd 1548

James barrow
and
John barrow
and
John barrow

Myselfe to the contrary of your
laste letter bearing word of the
Coy and your selfe of our selfe
that was under the name of

James barrow
and
John barrow
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John barrow

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John barrow

THE BAXTER BOOKS OF ST. ANDREWS.

A RECORD OF THREE CENTURIES.

With an Introduction and Notes by
J. H. MACADAM, F.S.A. (SCOT.),

Editor, "British Baker."

'Das Bäckergewerbe habe schon seit vielen Jahrhunderten als achtbar dargestanden, und auch wir wollen darnach trachten, ihm Ehre zu machen. Ein jedes Mitglied sei verpflichtet eins gottesfürchtiges Leben zu führen und seine Gesellen und Lehrlinge ebenfalls dazu ansuhalten, in den Sitzungen des Gewerks friedlich zu berathen, bei gegenseitiger Klage dieselbe mit Bescheidenheit ansubringen, und sich pünktlich zu den Sitzungen einzufinden, überhaupt Alles zu thun, was die Ehre und den Nutzen des Gewerks auf eine ernstliche weise fördern Konne.'—*Minute Book of the Bakers of Stettin, 3rd May 1730.*

Have they not seen and wept over all the comedy and tragedy of an ecclesiastical metropolis, thrown up to rot piecemeal on the rocks of time? All the rolling, commingling tide of trivial and substantial—meditative teacher, scheming ecclesiastic, golfing aristocrat, shrieking fishwife, budding poet, earnest student, rolling along decade after decade, over the old streets, under the shadow of the old wall-flowers, to the moaning music of the old far-sounding sea.—J. Campbell Smith.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE records of the minutes of the proceedings of the Incorporation of Bakers of St. Andrews extend from 3rd June 1548 to 15th November 1861. They form an almost continuous connection between the pre-Reformation days and our own. When the first-recorded meeting was being held in the Gallowlayk the English overran the country, which still suffered from the disastrous effects of Pinkie, and in a few days after that meeting the fleet of D'Essé sailed past the town, to return with the Queen to France to become its Queen in due time for a short and happy period. When the records end, her descendant—a happier and more fortunate Queen—had reigned over a united England and Scotland for well-nigh a generation. There is a peculiar fitness in the records opening under Mary and terminating under Victoria. When the respectable burgesses of 1548 were transacting their corporate business Shakespeare had not been born, Scotland was a rude and distracted country, where the evils of the minority of a Sovereign, and that Sovereign a female, were felt in all their terrible force. Exactly two years before the records open the astonished bakers were numbered among the clamorous townspeople who demanded to see the body of the murdered Cardinal lowered from the Castle window, dressed in the pontifical robes, after 'the judgment and work of God' had been gravely accomplished by the last thrusts of James Melville's sword. The dawning light of the Reformation was creeping into the minds of the St. Andrews tradesmen, but many of them would turn away with grim thoughts that bright Spring morning, feeling instinctively that after-years would echo the yet unspoken verdict of Sir David Lindsay of The Mount:—

'Although the loon be well away,
The deed was foully done.'

But even as they turned away with dire forebodings some of those whose experience went back for eighteen years could tell of the dark February day when the pile of the gentle and cultured Patrick Hamilton became a light to lighten the benighted land:—

*Vivus lucis qui fulserat igne
Par erat, ut moriens lumina ab igne daret.*

And they could tell of the phenomenon of how, when a baker named Myrton, he who probably was elected Deacon in 1549, 'ran and brought his arms full of straw and cast it into the fire; whereupon there came a blast of wind from the east, forth of the sea, and raised the flame of fire so vehemently that it blew upon the friar who had accused him, and threw him upon the ground, burning all the forepart of his cowl.' Many of them, too, would be spared for ten years after the first-recorded meeting to see, in 1558, the burning of Walter Mill, the last Roman Catholic martyr, in 'a fire biggit on the north side of the abbey kirk, on the high land.'

Stirring as were the stormy scenes immediately before, at the time, and immediately after, the minutes begin, as interesting were many of the events which were witnessed by the bakers whose peaceful and trading interests are recorded here. Except for one or two references, no indications are given of the wild waves of civil, religious, and political history that surged so strongly over the ancient city; yet it is interesting to think of the connection that these men had through the three centuries with great historic events, and to think that as they left their shops and bakehouses they went to look upon the faces and forms of men and women whose names stand up so strangely and so powerfully before us. The opening minute is of the date June 1548, thirteen months before John Knox, Balnaves of Halhill, James Melville, and others who had held the Castle against the Regent and her French troops, were led to the French ships, and thence to the galleys. For a few years the graceful towers of the Cathedral reared against the sun as it disappeared behind gold and purple banks, but when Knox returned probably

some of the craft went with the populace that 'dung them doon;' many of them must have listened to the trumpet tones of the Reformer, and some would hear him expound even on that day when, wearing his furring of matriks and with staff in hand, he was assisted by honest Richard Ballantyne from the Abbey to the Town Kirk. One loves to think of the historic scenes that those honest burghers saw, generation after generation, and the great actors in them as they rode up the narrow streets of old St. Andrews. Parliaments and Assemblies were held within its walls, Kings and Princes were entertained, priests and nobles schemed and plotted, poor students and renowned *savants* met in stern debate, whilst the bakers peacefully carried on their trade, took apprentices, discussed their grievances, married, submitted themselves to Church discipline, and died. Those whose trade deeds are first recorded saw the pageantry when the fair Mary of Guise came home to the gallant and ill-fated James, and felt a patriotic and possibly a personal thrill of satisfaction when it was reported that the fair bride from *la belle France* had admitted that she had never seen so many fair personages of men, women, young babes, and children as she saw that day. In 1562 they saw her daughter, flushed with her reception on her return from the Throne of France, with Bothwell in her train, and few, if any, shadows on the path that was to darken downwards to Fotheringay. They had seen the beautiful face as it flashed upon them when she lived like a bourgeois wife with her little troop in South Street. They saw, too, the execution of the gay and gallant Chastelard, who carried in his mien the bearing of his maternal grand-uncle, the Chevalier Bayard, *sans peur et sans reproche*. Some of them might shake their heads over *The Purpose*, and whisper to their wives and each other of the Queen's dalliance that Randolph noted to his ridiculous mistress and her court. Captain Hepburn's indiscretion was not forgotten, and, baker-like, they hinted that there could not be smoke without fire. Then, when some of them might be 'King's men' and some of them might be 'Queen's men,'

they saw the grim Regent ride down the narrow streets that summer day when he caused Alexander Macker and his six companions to be drowned for piracy, or when, a year later, and still on his mission of eradicating evils, he hung the notorious Paris for his share in the tragedy at Kirk o' Fields, and another of his own name and clan, a Lyon King at Arms, for witchcraft and necromancy, and his companion in the black art, Nic Neville. The bakers would not be greatly surprised when they heard of the murder of 'the Good Regent' as he rode through the narrow and twisted street of Linlithgow, when Bothwellhaugh's revengeful shot spread sorrow through Scotland. They saw the lion-hearted Reformer who 'never feared the face of man' tottering in his old age through the busy streets, or walking, thinking great thoughts, as the sun sank red over the sea; others of them saw the young Montrose playing golf on the Links, and riding at neck-break speed away from his lessons. Some were startled by the news when their Archbishop was hanged at even at the Mercat Cross at Stirling underneath the lines

*Cresce diu, felix arbor, semperque vireto
Frondebis, ut nobis talia poma feras.*

Others tasted a similar fruit when the astonished burghers spoke in terror of another Archbishop punished to the death on Magus Muir. Kings and queens came often to the religious capital of their kingdom. Mary of Guise, Mary of Scotland, bright in their early years, had paid joyous visits to the grey town, that had donned her best to bid them welcome, and later the townsmen turned out to greet the grandson and son, as he came with the Regent Morton, and witnessed the gay guise when Skipper Lindsay warned the shifty Regent to dree his weird. The King came again in 1587, not led, but leading, not to a play of swords, but to one of words, bringing with him Guillaume Sallust, Sieur du Bartas, to listen to the eloquence and learning of Adamson, and the sturdy, unbending democracy of Melville. Yet again the bakers gazed on the face of the British Solomon, when he came, with saumon-like instinct, to visit his native place in

all the glory of his Britannic majesty. The magistrates of St. Andrews do not appear to have taken advantage of the Monarch's presence in the same way as did those of Edinburgh, who brought under his notice the dangerous custom of the baxters of that town storing heather and whins to heat their ovens, and the King ordered a proclamation against it. A writer, who appears to have been disgusted with the poverty of the country or more probably with having to withdraw himself from within hearing of the sound of Bow Bells, for he thought little of the country or its bread, wrote, 'Corn is reasonable plenty at this time; for, since they heard of the King's coming, it hath been as unlawful for the common people to eat wheat, as it was of old for any but the priests to eat the show-bread. . . . They would persuade the footmen that oaten cakes would make them well-winded, and the children of the chapel they have brought to eat them for the maintenance of their voices. . . . They keep no holidays, nor acknowledge any saint but St. Andrew, who, they say, got that honour by presenting Christ with an oaten cake after his forty-days' fast.'

James' grandson, Charles II., was the last kingly visitor to the cathedral city, and a baker's son, a scion of the most famous baking family connected with the place, Andrew Honeyman, received him on his arrival. The Honeyman family we will meet with often, from 1564 in unbroken continuity to 1789, but we may take our sole glance at its most famous representative here. Whilst the baking branch of the family was maintaining its connection with the craft of St. Andrews, through sons succeeding fathers, another branch was doing the same in the clerical profession as ministers of the parish of Kinneff; but the most famous descendant of the first baker progenitor was Andrew Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney. The information about his life is scanty, and the scattered references to his character and actions are not too complimentary. He is not mentioned in any of the Scottish biographical dictionaries. The poem on Master James Sharpe, in the *Analecta Scotica*, refers to Honeyman as having

been brought up upon charity, and the prelate is made to say:

I fear that Honeyman spak truth,
 When he call'd prelacy
 A plant of hell, that ne'er would thrive
 When in Christ's nurserie.

But Honeyman, like many more at that time, changed his opinion, and although he received Charles when parish minister of St. Andrews, he died Bishop of Orkney. When a man's religious convictions are altered he is either a pervert or a convert from the standpoint of the speaker, so to the Presbyterians Honeyman was a type of inconsistency, and in the Archbishop's legacy he is left the sea, as an emblem of his variableness. He is not considered worthy of indexing under his patronymic by Burton, but is designated by his episcopal title, where he is classified with a predecessor of 1202, who met with no gentle treatment from Harold the Earl, and with another who was oppressed by Patrick Stewart, and who had to write to James that he would require either to leave the country for debt or beg. Honeyman is well bracketed with these unfortunates. He was Presbyterian Second Minister of the Town Church from 1642 to 1662, and Episcopalian First Minister from the latter date to 1664. His connection with the trade is the occasion of a sneer in an anonymous life of Sharpe, printed in 1678, namely that his 'father was but a baxter to his trade, and of small means, yet living in a university town, he easily got his sons bred at schools and colleges, dedicating more than one scone of the baking unto the muses, for he had made all his four sons scholars, who were afterwards all ministers, yet such as might have profited the commonwealth more in following their father's trade of baking, than they have done the church in following the ministry; being themselves as cakes unturned, neither raw nor roasted.' William, who was admitted a freeman on 17th August 1598, appears to be the one of two of the seven generations of Honeyman's who did not have a son connected with the trade, and he was probably the ambitious parent who dedicated all his sons to the church, leaving to his brothers and cousins the duty of devoting their offspring

to the craft. Another family name appears in the Second Minutes of the Town Church in the person of Robert Honeyman, a brother of Andrew, the Bishop, who was Episcopal minister there from 1681 to 1686.

As we shall see later when dealing with the hereditary aspect of the trade, John Honeyman, the father of William, instead of having four sons connected with the Church, had no fewer than three, perhaps, admitted as freemen. The antipathy of the Presbyterian writers to the Bishop was no doubt due to his apostasy and to his friendship with Sharpe. In the memorable attack upon the latter in the High Street of Edinburgh, the Bishop received the shots that were intended for his superior. The two St. Andrews ecclesiastics were riding in the High Street in a coach on Saturday, 11th July 1668, when a man presented a pistol and fired. Honeyman, who had received the shot in his elbow, shouted out 'I am wounded.' The canny citizens of 'the guid toun' did not put themselves much about when they heard the shout and saw the commotion. Although the Archbishop shouted out to secure the villain, he was allowed to walk over the High Gate and down Blackfriars Wynd. Nor afterwards was any assistance given to bring the assassin to justice, although war was made upon man and woman to discover him. Yet the effects of that summer's day tragedy was long felt in Scotland. The Archbishop never forgot it, and seeing behind it the probability of a conspiracy against his power and life, he traced the perpetrator to discover instigators. It was a slowly-drawn-out tragedy, and cost two, if not three—and the third the greatest—lives, before it was expiated. First there was the baker's son, who never recovered from his wounds, and died in February 1676. The Records of the Privy Council state that he was wounded in the groin, and his arm was broken by five balls, and a Presbyterian expressed the pious opinion that 'God does, as it were, beat the pen out of his hand by a bullet that lighted on his arm and wrist.' Such was the end of the life that opened in the baker's house in St. Andrews, which led the

youth through the schools and colleges of his native town to occupy the pulpit of his forefathers' parish church, and as a colleague and zealous supporter of the Rev. Robert Blair. In those days he was zealous against that Episcopacy of which afterwards he was to become a martyr, so much so that in a pamphlet which he wrote against it, entitled *A Declaration for Presbyterian Government*, with such sharp teeth, says Row, that Messrs Blair and Wood, etc., behoved to ding some of them out, to be read in pulpits. Honeyman was admitted assistant and successor to Mr Samuel Cunningham, minister of Ferry-Port-on-Craig, in 1640, translated to be second minister of St. Andrews in 1642; became Archdeacon in October 1662, and was created Bishop of Orkney, 11th April 1664 (Selections from the Minutes of the Synods of Fife, 206-212). He was the author of 'A Survey of the Insolent and Infamous Libel, entitled *Naphtali*' (Edinburgh, 1668), and of 'Bourignonism Displayed, or a Discovery of Several Gross Errors maintained by Antonio Bourignon.' It was on 4th July 1650, that he presented the silver keys of the city to Charles II. at the West Port, and on the same occasion a more celebrated man, 'The flower of the Kirk,' the famous Samuel Rutherford, welcomed the Monarch at St. Mary's Gate, with a lecture on the duty of kings, not at all an unfitting subject for a Fourth of July oration. No doubt there were many of the trade relatives of Honeyman proud witnesses of a scion of the house welcoming an anointed king, and many of their fellow-tradesmen would look on with mingled feelings as they saw the last crowned King of Scotland who ever rode up the narrow streets of the old grey town.

But the visit of Charles is only an incident in the long history of distinguished visits to St. Andrews, and does not form one of the most interesting or most picturesque of them; it is only particularly interesting to us for the trade connection of the ecclesiastic who welcomed him, and presented to him the silver keys of the town. There were more famous visitors and more celebrated churchmen in whom the members of the

craft took an interest, for whom they left the oven-mouth or booth-door, as they came and went through the gates of the city. The Records are silent as to the great historic personages who gathered at Court or Assembly. No mention is made of the great Reformation that got so much of its impetus under the shadow of the Cathedral walls, important political movements, and the crises of national existence find no notice here. During the period in which the successive clerks were chronicling the matters of moment to the trade and its individual members, the nation passed from the Reformation to Reform Bill, from about Pinkie to after Inkerman, from Mary to Victoria, from fighting strenuously 'our auld enemies of England' to wedding with that realm, and to a firmly-settled United Kingdom. Yet few traces of such great events are found in the Records. Here and there are the faintest murmurs of national movements—a letter from the Court at Bath; a disturbance of the election of Magistrates in 'the '45'; a punishment for taking part in 'the last expedition' of 1648; a dull sound of Parliamentary reform and all that was conveyed therein—and these almost exhaust the influence of the fiery transforming elements that surrounded the three centuries of corporate life. Outside their trade gatherings these men were united by the closest ties of friendship and faith, or divided by the sharpest opinions on religion and politics, inside they were at one in conserving common rights, and differing, often vehemently enough, upon trade and civic subjects. The latter, and not the former, were proper matters of record, and recorded they were, and are here set down in print for the first time, to instruct and please those who can seek elsewhere for the more important works upon more momentous acts and facts. In the many great epochs that stirred the heart of Scotland these men had their say and did their part in private, but no testimony from them remains. Amongst the history-making events that must have formed the subject of many stressful discussions was that of the great Union negotiations. The bakers of the neighbouring Fife town of Dunfermline (like St. Andrews,

favoured of old by the Stewarts) signed a protest against an incorporation with England, because 'the same is destructive to the true interests of this Nation,' and they prayed that the Scottish Parliament would 'Support and Preserve entire the Sovereignty and Independency of this Crown and Kingdom, and the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, which have been so valiantly maintained by our Heroick Ancestors for near 2000 yeirs: That the same may be transmitted to succeeding Generations, as they have been conveyed to us; and we will heartily concur with you for Supporting and Maintaining our Sovereignty and Independency with our Lives and Fortunes conform to the Laws of the Nation.' There are no such side-lights on the opinions and feelings of the St. Andrews bakers, even the all-important change from Romanism to Protestantism is only marked by the disappearance of references to the altar and the chaplain that were maintained by the craft. Yet notwithstanding this paucity of historical incident, one cannot altogether dissociate the line of tradesmen from the times in which they moved, nor from the great men they saw or heard. Many of the company would be old men when the Records open, and their recollections would go back to the days of James III., and all the stormy scenes that had taken place in St. Andrews, and in Scotland since. But to go no further back than three years before that June day with which the first minute deals, they had seen riding or walking up the narrow streets, with their quaint buildings and old-time business air, Mary of Guise and her hapless daughter, Beaton in all his pride of power, Wishart going to his martyrdom through that power, gallant Norman Leslie and the stout Kirkcaldy of Grange; even in that month of June they could turn their eyes seaward and see a French galley, wherein a prisoner was prophesying to a fellow that as he could see the steeple of the place where he had first spoken in public to the glory of God, so he would be spared to come again and glorify His name in the same place. Eleven years thereafter the bakers, with the other townsfolk, crowded to hear the impassioned denunciations of John Knox, and

from thenceforth were no minutes required for the chaplain or the altar. The men whose names appear in the quiet records of business detail saw many of the famous men of Scotland and of Europe, some they recognised and some they did not, for their honours lay in the years when the winners had left St. Andrews long behind. They saw Adamson and Sharpe, Spotswoode and Calderwood, Major and Bellenden, Sir David Lindsay and Buchanan, the two Grahams, of Montrose and Dundee, the Admirable Crichton and Napier of the Logarithms, Robert Fergusson and Sir Walter Scott. These names stand for much that is different and much that is alike, they are pillars round which so many storms of political, moral, and religious strife broke in noise and bloodshed, they were representatives of waves of feeling and passion that washed over Scotland, and whilst they all lived and moved, fought and died, the deep moan of the German Ocean broke unceasingly against the shore, and the craft of the baking trade held its meetings and placidly recorded them in the books that lie before us, until the time came when they, too, should cease and so close a volume of history, that, like so many others, can never be re-opened.

In arranging for publication it early became evident that, interesting and necessary for historical continuity as were all the entries, it would have taken too much space, and would have rendered the reading wearisome, if they were printed in their entirety. Very many of them are identical, with the exception of dates and names, and this is especially so in the minutes of the ordinary election of office-bearers. Many simply record the admission of apprentices or freemen, and it has, therefore, appeared desirable to reduce the size and lighten the uniform character of the book by subtracting most of the commoner entries, and to give the information they conveyed by means of tables. No item has been omitted; the form only has been changed. It did not appear to serve any good purpose to leave the minutes of election in full, and it considerably reduced the size of the volume and also eased the labour of the readers to make

tables of the elections of deacons, positors, officers, freemen, and apprentices. The books contain minutes of the ordinary and special meetings of the craft in varying length; some are very short and formal, others extend to longer and considerable length. There is a strong presumption that another set of books was kept for the accounts of the Association. There are frequent references to the amounts of the income and expenditure of the craft, but no details are given. In the 'Black Book' and other books of the Coventry bakers—a transcript of which I have from the original, which were for a time in my possession through the courtesy of the Coventry Association of Master Bakers, to whom they now belong—there are few minutes such as those of St. Andrews, but they consist of full and detailed accounts of the income and expenditure, from which much interesting information of the history of the Company can be gleaned. It is to be regretted that those Scottish records are not supplemented by the financial accounts of the different positors and boxmasters, but we must be grateful that so much valuable matter has been preserved in almost unbroken sequence, constituting as it does one of the oldest and longest records of a bakers' association of which there is any knowledge. There is another interesting difference between the records of the Coventry bakers and those now printed; in the former, as in most of the English companies whose records have been preserved, there are ordinances or tables of rules for the government of the trade. In the St. Andrews manuscript there are no such tables of rules; the craft went from precedent to precedent, rescinding a rule as they found that it had become cumbersome, and enacting others as they found them needful.

The manuscripts date, as has been said, from 1548 to 1861, with but two short breaks, caused probably by the unsettled state of national affairs. There is no record when the craft was embodied at St. Andrews. In many of the Scottish burghs the trades lost their Charters of Incorporation in troublous times; the Edinburgh Baxters, in applying for a

Seal of Cause in 1522, stated that the original Charter was lost or amissing. There can be no doubt that earlier volumes of minutes existed than the first volumes of these three. No elaborate introduction is given, no oath or formula is inscribed upon the title page; the minute just proceeds as if it were engrossed upon the page of an opened book. One regrets that the earlier records have been lost, and that no single reference is made to them in those that have so fortunately been preserved, but one is still more grateful to the fate that has spared such a unique and valuable series in times when there might have been excuses if they had been destroyed.

Several years after the closing of the Incorporation of the Baxters of the Canongate, Edinburgh, I placed myself in communication with a son of the last Deacon, to learn if he had any of the property of the Incorporation in his possession. He had none, but he had a recollection that when a window was broken in the paternal bakehouse, and it was not convenient to get it repaired at once, a substitute was always at hand in some of the parchment deeds, or sheets of minutes, that had at one time been used by the extinct body! Even without the missing volumes that preceded those that are now published, the time covered is the longest, and the trade information is the fullest, of any bakers' society that, after many years' investigations, I have been able to discover. There has no separate history of any English Bakers' Company been printed, until now there has only been one in Scotland, and three or four in Germany. I have come across no history of any French corporation, except that which has been treated as a section of civic interest. In several local histories or studies on guild origins and developments, many interesting extracts of bakers' companies are given. Some of these are anterior to 1548. Mr Toulmin Smith, in *English Gilds* (Early English Text Society), gives the very interesting ordinances that were granted to the Exeter Company of Bakers, on 10th February 1483. His daughter, Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, published two papers some years ago, in an archæological review, upon the Bakers of York. These gave

what the authoress believed to be the most extensive set of bakers' ordinances then printed, but she did not appear to have been aware of the three Scottish authorities—Warden, Bain, and Ness. She does not mention them in the list which she admits to be incomplete, where she gives indications as to bakers in several towns. The York Records consist of two volumes that run those of St. Andrews very close for dates, namely, an Ordinary, that runs from 1594 to 1832, and a Book of Accounts, dating from 1584 to 1835. In the Black Book of Coventry, the Ordinance is allowed by the Mayor, Thomas Wotter, 25th October 1623. In a second book of the Fellowship, which appears to have been used as a cash-book, the first entry is dated 6th February 1683-4, and the entries continue until 6th May 1803. The third volume, which contains the register of admission as apprentices and freemen, bears that it was bought on 1st May 1700, by the then Masters of the Company; the entries are continued only till 11th December 1764. Two Compositions of the Bakers' Company of Kingston-on-Hull have been preserved, the dates being 1598 and 1618. Other English records are found in London, in *Liber Albus*, *Liber Custumarum*, *Liber de Assisa Panis* (1293-1438). But these, extremely interesting and valuable as they are, partake more of the nature of Municipal regulations than records of trade existence. There are many such in the archives of Scottish burghs, which were apparently considered the proper places to preserve them, for it is a curious fact that none of the instructions of the magistrates are copied into the St. Andrews Minutes, although several decisions of the Convener's Court are. The printed extracts from Scottish Incorporations compare favourably with those already mentioned. The most important are those of Dundee, in Warden's Burgh Laws, and of Aberdeen, in Bain's Incorporated Trades. These two Incorporations, as well as that of Glasgow, are still in activity, and admit members who possess the various necessary qualifications. The Metropolitan Incorporation, of which little is known and of whose history only the veriest fragments can

be gathered, is also in existence, but it is a close body, the membership being monopolised by two families. No records are in existence; they are supposed to have been destroyed by accident. The Dundee Bakers' Incorporation enjoys precedence over the other eight trades of the town. Its Locket Book dates from 23rd November 1554, and is thus, in age, a very good second to St. Andrews. Aberdeen has some very quaint regulations, entered in a Minute-Book which begins in 1632, but it possesses a list of Deacons from 1572, but as the latter came to an end in 1861, the palm of age must be awarded to the former. Only a selection of the minutes of its meetings have been published, and in this respect it is like its sister Incorporation of Dundee. Bain gives a very fair selection, but nothing like what might be. There are few materials either in England or Scotland for fairly complete histories of these trading bodies, and where they have been preserved the opportunity should be taken to utilise them. The Incorporation of Bakers of Glasgow is the only one in the United Kingdom that has had its annals published in an independent fashion, St. Andrews now follows, and it is desirable that Aberdeen and Dundee should complete the series, for it is extremely unlikely that the records remain of any other Incorporation of Bakers in Scotland. Although Glasgow has the pre-eminence in having had a history written of its Baking Incorporation, its records are neither venerable nor extensive. It is thought that many valuable documents were burned in the fire of 1652, which destroyed one-third of the city. The present records date only from February 1700.

The records of many of the guilds of Germany appear to have been well preserved, and yet none is of earlier date or more uninterrupted entries than those of the Fifeshire town. As in the civic archives of England and Scotland there are many regulations imposed upon the trade, so also do we find city and autocratic rules laid down in Germany for the conduct of the business. Many of these, as will be seen from the notes embodied in this work, were very similar to those in vogue in St. Andrews. Just as there were general lines

upon which guild life everywhere was conducted, so distance and time made little difference in many of the regulations that guided the bakers of Paris, Berlin, Munich, or St. Andrews. Parliaments and Town Councils had to see that the rights of the public were not infringed, and with equal good will the bakers of these and all other places saw that theirs were left intact. In some of our English accounts there are sums of money entered as having been expended on public and private festive occasions. Owing to the unfortunate want of detail in the boxmasters' accounts of St. Andrews, it is impossible to say if they, as an Incorporation, spent their common good on public occasions, although we have traces that some of the patrimony was spent in feasting, and some of the fees were regularly devoted to that purpose. But the craft could not have the picturesque ceremonies that were such prominent features in the Paris Corporation, or which marked so strongly the social side of the old German *Zunfte, Aemter, Gilden, or Innungen*. Many of these guilds are in possession of their minutes, but only a few have been utilised to any extent. Those of the Augsburg bakers date from 1602, but another book, *Das Meisterbuch*, dates from 1580. In the latter is a curious entry, under date of 1777, in which a master baker was fined twelve florins by his fellow-tradesmen because his second wife was delivered of a child four weeks after marriage. According to the Kirk Session Records, the bakers of St. Andrews in the sixteenth century provided plenty of opportunity for Kirk discipline, but there is no mention of the trade taking action on a delicate question of this nature.

The Vienna bakers, a body with a romantic history second to none, possess records which were begun in 1572; the second volume begins with 1723, and the third with 1778.

The books which give an account of the proceedings of the Baxter Craft in St. Andrews are three in number.

The first book contains a record of the trade from 3rd June 1548 to 15th June 1566, with a blank between 1559 and 1563. The covers are of parchment, and fastened together by three thongs. Part of the back cover overlaps the front



THE FIRST MINUTE BOOK.

1

one. The size is 11 inches by 9. The book is folded perpendicularly. There are only 14 leaves; evidently there had been more, as, besides the blank just spoken of, there is no record between 1566 and 1573, at which date the second book begins. The leaves have been rather loosely attached to the cover by thread. Otherwise it is in fairly good condition.

The second book begins with a record of the craft's doings at 3rd July 1573, and ends at 11th September 1800, without a break. It is bound in leather, and has the title 'The Baxters Book' stamped on both covers. Two iron clasps, such as we find on many Bibles, keep it shut. It is quite evident that the volume has been re-bound, as the back strip is leather of a lighter colour than the covers, which have been glued on to it. In the re-binding, some liberties have been taken with the folios. These have been pared away to a considerable extent to suit the purposes of the binder, so that portions of the writing have disappeared. The numbering is not by pages but by folios, of which there are 172. Numbers 67 and 86 have been repeated—doubtless by mistake—so that really there are 174 folios, making in all 348 pages. There is rarely a blank space to be met with. If such originally existed it was generally filled up by material of a later date. The size is $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. With the exception of a few faded parts, due to damp and the paring away of the edges already mentioned, the book is in very good condition.

The third book gives an account of the proceedings of the craft from 12th September 1800 to 15th November 1861. One-fourth of the book has not been written upon. Its size is $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 1. The title on front of cover is 'The Deacon of the Baker Trades Book.' It is bound in rough brown leather, and is in excellent preservation. On the inside of the first cover of each book a slip of paper is pasted, on which we find written:—'University Library. Presented by William Woodcock, writer, St. Andrews, for the purpose of Safety and Public Reference, 9th June 1885.' Mr Woodcock was

the last person employed as clerk by the Baxters, as the last entry is dated 1861, the books had evidently been in his keeping for 24 years. It was at the suggestion of David Hay Fleming, LL.D., that they were presented to the Library for the purposes above indicated.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CRAFT.

WE hear something in these days of State interference with traders, but the bodies that have the right of dictating now are few in comparison to those that were. In the early days of these minutes, bakers were subjected to the control of five chief institutions. Parliament, the Church, the Town Council, the Convener's Court, and the Craft, had all the right to say to the tradesman how he should conduct himself and his business. It is sometimes difficult to see where the power of the one ends and the other begins. Each was naturally jealous of its power and privileges. In 1635, a resolution of the craft was passed that no cause should be taken before any other court until it had been considered by the Deacon. The chief matter upon which bakers, as a trade, were subject to the Kirk was that of Sunday observance. There are two references to Sunday baking: one, on 15th June 1566, in which it was agreed to bake no sale bread on Sabbaths, under the penalty of eight shillings (which were to be given to the poor), and the other, upon 15th September 1583, when the fine was raised to forty shillings. About this time Kirk Sessions were particularly strict regarding the prohibition of Sunday trading, and certain trades were specially warned against the continuation of the practice. In the *Kirk Session Register of Perth* (The Spottiswoode Miscellany, Vol. II., p. 240), under date of 15th May 1581, the Assembly ordained the Sabbath day to be kept from all kind of buying and selling, and no dispensation to be used; and this act in special to be directed against baxters, brewsters, wine sellers, burn-bearers, fleshers, and merchants, with all other crafts and occupations. On 17th July 1587, a Perth baker, William Shepherd, confessed to breaking the Sabbath, and was

denounced in the penalty, and it was ordained by the Kirk Session that if ever he be found to set out his bread to sell in time of sermon, or any other time on the Sabbath day, he should be punished therefor in his person. The offence appears to have called for additional emphasis, for on 8th August 1587 it was ordained to keep the Sabbath day, especially in the mills, fleshers' booths, and baxters' booths and bakehouses, under the penalty of the Act of Parliament against the transgressors of the same. The increasing stringency of the observance of Sabbath may be noted from the Burgh Law that was ratified at a Head Court held in Dundee in 1564, permitting tavern-keepers, brewers, and baxters to keep their booths open on Sundays, except during the hours of preaching, although other craftsmen were to do no business at all upon that day, but to spend it on the meditations of God's Word. The penalty for infringement, after three admonitions, was twenty shillings fine, and those who had not the money had to stand four hours in the joughs. In the St. Andrews Kirk Session Register there are several entries of baxters and their wives being admonished and punished for selling bread. The first of these is on 15th November 1570, when a very apparent virago was penalised for a variety of offences, the first being for selling of 'candil and braed on Sundays.' Notwithstanding Church displeasure and civic regulations, the fleshers and the bakers continued to give trouble, and on the 15th of February 1593, the Deacon and several of his colleagues were admonished for occupying their bakehouses on Sundays. Not only were they prohibited from doing business on Sundays, but they had special responsible duties imposed upon them. Craftsmen had to see that their wives and apprentices went regularly to church on Sundays and week days, and if they did not fines were imposed upon the husbands and employers.¹ Guilds long

¹ 'Folowis the statutes maid and sett down this day, 4th October 1598, be the prouest, baillies, and counsall of the burgh of Abirden, to be kepit and observit be the inhabitantis theirof, subiect thervnto, efter the forme and tenour of the same, in all poyntis, quhill the feist of Michaelmes nixt to cum, vnder

preserved traces of their religious origin, and as long as they retained a strongly religious bias, the observance of Sabbath was not a matter of such importance as it became in post-Reformation days. The religious duties imposed by the Romish Church were far less irksome than those laid down by the grim followers of Wishart and Knox. When the records open, the connection between the craft and the Church is seen in the references to the altar supported by the trade, and by the fines and levies which were paid in wax to be burned before the shrine. The only trace of the Reformation is found in the disappearance of these references. Like the trades in all towns of such importance, the St. Andrews bakers had their patron saint, and contributed for the support

the panis thairin contenit. In the first, the prouest, baillies, and counsall ratefeis, affermes, and approves the gude and godlie statute maid oberfoir be thair predicessoris, anent the keping of thr sermone on the Sabbath and vlk dayes, bering that all maisteris of houshouldis within this burght sall repair to thair parochie kirkis, keip and obserue the sermone on the Sabbath day, als weill eftermone as afoirnone, and also the sermone on the vlk dayes, and not depairt theirfra vnto the end theirof, vnder the panis folowing, to be vplifit of the contravenaris, sa oft as thay may be noted and convict for thair absence fra the said sermone; that is to say, of euerie houshalder, burges of gild, or his wyff, remaning fra the sermone on the Sabbath day, threttene s. four d.; and of euerie frie craftisman or his wyff remaning fra the sermone on the Sabbath day, sex s. viii d.; and euerie burges of gild for his remaning fra the sermone on the vlk dayes, sex s. viii d.; and euerie craftisman for his remaning fra the sermone on the vlk dayes, thrie s. four d.; and that euerie husband and maister of houshald salbe answerabill for his wyff, incace of his absence fra the sermone, and pay the vnlaw incurrit be hir theirfor; and euerie craftisman to be answerabill for his servandis and prentessis, that thay sall keip the sermone on the Sabbath day, vnder the pane of ane vnlaw of thrie s. four d., to be incurrit be the maister for his servand or prenteis, that beis absent on the Sabbath day; and lykwayis, folowing the exampill of vther weill reformit congregations of this realme, statutis and ordanis that the wyffis of all burgessis of gild, and of the maist honest and substantious craftisman of this burght, sall sitt in the midst and bodie of the kirk in tyme of sermone, in all tyme cumming, and not in the syd ilis, nor behind pilleris, to the effect thay may the mair easilie sie and hear the delyverer and preicher of the word; and siclyk ordanis, that the wemen of the rankis forsaid, sall repair to the kirk, euerie ane of thame having a clock, as the maist decent and cumlie vtter garment, and not with playdis as hes bene frequentlie vsit; and that euerie ane of thame lykwayis sall hawe stuillis, sa monie as may commodiouslie hawe the same, according to the decent forme observit in all reformit burrowis, and congregations of this realme; and that the brether of gild salbe answerabill for thair servandis, anent the keping of the kirk on the Sabbath day.'

of his altar. This was maintained by moneys raised by entry fees, fines, and gifts. Their patron saint was St. Cuthbert—the same saint that the Dundee bakers honoured. The trade generally has shown a wonderful catholicity in its choice of patron saints. It will be observed that in some of the entries the reference is to St. Tobert; in others it is written St. Cobert. The Perth bakers honoured a somewhat obscure saint in St. Obert. His celebration was held on the 10th of December each year, and was accompanied with strange and fantastic ceremonies. The bakers dressed themselves up in curious costumes and carried torches. One of them was dressed in what was known as the Devil's Coat, and another rode on a ridiculously-decorated horse that moved about with men's shoes on its feet. On 16th December 1577, the elders ordained an act made against superstition on 27th November 1574 to be published on the following Sunday, and that those who took part in the play should be warned to appear before them. On 20th December a man appeared and confessed to striking one of the town's drums on St. Obert's Even and promised never to do so again. The saint in whose honour these strange celebrations were held is unknown to any of the Kalendars, but the Perth bakers kept them up until 1588, when they came to the resolution to refuse admission to their membership, and to banish from the town for ever, any one who took part in the play. The Edinburgh bakers founded an altar in St. Giles Church to St. Cubert, and the clerk was maintained by going in rotation to the house of each member.¹

¹ Some idea of the institution of trade altars in Churches may be had from the reference to that of Saint Cuberts, in the Seal of Cause granted to the Edinburgh bakers on 20th March 1522-3, to replace the original, which was lost in time of trouble. 'And also that the said Kirkmaisteris and brether of the said craft choise them ane sufficient chaplane at thair pleasure to make devyne servyce at thair said altar of Saint Cubert, upon ane competent pryce as they can agrie with the said chaplane, sicklyke as uther craftis dois within the said burgh; and that ilk brother of the said craft furnish the said chaplane orderly as he sall happin to cum about to theme; and quhen any persones of of the said craft happens to be chargit to forgather with the Kirkmaisteris and principal Maisters of the said craft to treit upon the common weill and profyte

Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities*, does not mention St. Cuthbert as the patron saint of bakers, but the latter may not have been honoured by English tradesmen. He gives St. Wilfred, St. Hubert, and St. Honor or Honoré—the latter being the general favourite of French bakers. In a footnote the same author quotes *Dekker's Wonderfull Yeaere*, 1603, ascribing the bakers' patronage to St. Clement, 'he worships the bakers' good lord and maister, charitable St. Clement.'



He also quotes Lewis Owen, *Unmasking of all Popish Monkes*, 1628, that St. Clement is the patron of bakers, brewers, and victuallers. I give an illustration of a bakers' coat-of-arms associating St. Clement with the craft.

thairof, and absent thame but rationabill cause, that persone to pay ane pund of wax to Saint Cubert's light at thair said altar; and also quhatever he be maister of the said craft that beis apprehendit bakand fals and rotten stuff, or insufficient to sell again to our Soverane Lordis leigis, sall pay ane pund of wax to thair said altar the first tyme, and for the secund falt two pund of wax, and gif he beis overtane in the third falt he and his bread shall be brocht before the Provest and baillies, and they to punish him thairfore as sall be thocht expedient with the avise of the Kirkmaister and worthiest of the said craft as offeirs: Item, that quhatsumever persones of the said craft happens till disobey the Kirkmaister and the worthiest uthir persones foregatherit with him of the said craft for the honour and common weill thairof sall pay forty shillings to Saint Geilles wark, and twa pund of wax to Saint Cubert's altar as said is: Item, that na maister of the said craft sall take ony childer in service thairat ane or mae fra this tyme furth, but gif they be prentices and pay thair devoties as effeirs, and that na baxter take nor reset ane uther manis servand of the said craft under the payne of fourtie shillings to Saint Geilles wark, and twa pund of wax to Saint Cubert's licht, or else to be expellit frae the occupatioune thairof.'

The journeymen bakers of Copenhagen honoured St. Catherine, founding a Guild in her honour in 1403.¹

The Guild of Exeter Bakers was called the 'Fraternity of our blessed Lady and Seynt Clement.' In Germany bakers have paid allegiance to a variety of saints, including St. Honoratus, Albertus, Ludovicus, Guiliemus, Scotus, and Donatus, and, as the special saint of the White Bakers, stands the Holy Elizabeth. Ingolstadt bakers had as patron St. Anthony, whom they honoured on 17th January. From the time of Karl IV., those of Vienna were known as the Brotherhood of St. Mark. St. John the Baptist was the patron of the bakers of Trier, St. Honoré of Rouen, and the bakers of Constantinople went back to the father of us all—Adam. The clerk of the altar acted as the secretary of the craft in the years preceding the Reformation, and the disappearance of the description marks the passage from the Old Religion to the New. The connection, as we have seen, between the Church and the trade did not perish, although few references to it are found in the trade books. The church remained the meeting-place of the bakers, and they held their rights as seatholders down almost to their last act of dissolution. The Church Courts usually contained a representative or two of the craft. The Kirk Session supervised their morals, and watched that their business keenness did not transgress upon their religious duties. One of the chief functions of the old guilds, a development from the purely religious organisations, was to see that each brother and sister of the fraternities was buried with due respect. In many of the Continental institutions the duties of the members were laid down with great minuteness, and the younger masters had definite functions to perform at funerals. Chief amongst these was that they had to act as the pall-bearers. Great importance was attached to the pall, and each corporation possessed one, either exclusively or in conjunction with one or more guilds. In this country the mort-cloths were kept

¹ Wilda, p. 343.

with jealousy as one of the chief possessions of the community. The only indication I have of a Bakers' Incorporation at Musselburgh, is a reference to the mort-cloth in Paterson's *History of the Regality*. In the Coventry MSS. there is an entry in the accounts under date of 25th November 1672, for mending 'the Pall, 1s.' The hire of it was a source of income to the Fraternity, for on 17th October 1715, the amount received for the use of the 'pawl' was ten shillings, presumably during the quarter; and again in December 1750, there is an entry of two shillings 'for the use of the paul.' Kirk Sessions appear to have done something in the business, for in the Session Book of the Parish of Kirriemuir, 3rd June 1716, there is an entry 'Received for the best Mort Cloath and Bell from John Neish, £2 10s od.'¹ In the trade 'book, bell, and candle' ban, the mort-cloth played an important part. The Hammermen of St. Andrews, like the Bakers, owned one, and in 1673, that craft, sitting in judgment upon one of its members, 'all in ane voyce debarrit' him 'from all meitings with them, or haveing any privatt or publict meitings with them, or haveing any privatt or publict meitings, from the vse and benefeit of the comone mort cloathis,' and debarred him from the trade for all time coming.²

There are two references to the mort-cloth in the *Baxters' Books*. First on 11th November 1619, a resolution was passed that no one outside the craft should be allowed the use of it until a sum of twenty shillings had been paid for the privilege, and if the Deacon authorised the use without the consent of four members of his Council he had to pay a similar sum. The second reference was on 23rd June 1657, when a common agreement was come to by the hammermen, wrights, tailors, shoemakers, fleshers, and bakers, to share the use of their mort-cloths. The use was to be proportionate to the crafts, and the first comer was to be first served. The bakers' contribution to the common good was in the form of a lately-

¹ Jervise, *Memorials of Angus and the Mearns*, Vol. II., p. 324.

² Fleming, *The Hammermen of St. Andrews*, p. 35.

made mort-cloth of black cloth. Changed funeral customs in this country have dispensed with the use of a special pall, but in several of the Catholic baking associations in Germany they are still in use. In the historic and celebrated Brotherhood of Munich the pall played an important part. It is recorded that a new one was purchased in 1609, and an elaborate one was bought in 1617, with a gold embroidered cross, with six shields, two with the Imperial Eagle, two with the Virgin against the sun, and two with the bretzels, at the cost of 160 florins; in 1637 another was urgently required and secured at the price of 146 florins, 5 sch., and several others were added to replace the worn out ones as required. At one time a fee was placed upon their use, but this was ultimately given up, and in the accounts where before the sums realised were wont to figure 'nihil' was written. In 1838 the craft agreed that if a stranger were buried by the trade, three thalers would require to be paid for the large mort-cloth and two for the smaller, along with settled fees for the bearers, but no charge was to be made in the cases of the men, women, or children who belonged to the guild. No income is now derived from their use, although the guild still possesses one large and one small white, and one large and small black, and ten half mantles. In the inventory of Ingolstadt are included a pall that has come down from the old guild and a new and gorgeous one, in gold, silver, and silk embroidery.

The office-bearers of the craft were the Deacon, the clerk, the positor, boxmaster or treasurer, the keepers of the keys, the officers, and the Deacons' Council. Occasionally there is a reference to a sergeant and a factor. The chief office was that held by the Deacon, which corresponded to the English Master, a term which is never used in Scottish trade guilds. It was an office of great importance and carried with it a seat in the Convener's Court and in the Town Council. The election took place annually. In the earlier entries the election was held in the spring, but before long it was changed to the month of September. In this custom they followed the

precedent of other corporate bodies both in England and Scotland, where the Michaelmas elections were, and are, the new year of the body.¹

The bakers of York met in St. Anthony's Hall and elected their Masters and Searchers on the Monday after the feast of St. James the Apostle.

In Kingston-upon-Hull the choice was left with the bakers. The first of their Ordinances of 1598 was that 'they shall from henceforth have emongst them one warden and two searchers, to be chosen yearly by most voyces amongst them selves upon the Monday sennet after Michaelmes daie, And that two shalbe of eleccion for warden, whereof the one shalbe chosen, and fower of election for searchers whereof twoe shalbe chosen.' (*A Composition of Bakers, 1598.*)

The mode of election is shown in a petition which was presented to the Convener's Court by the Deacon of the Weavers. This claimed that it had been the uniform and

¹ In *The Office of the Mayor of Bristol* it is provided by rule 16, Item, it hath be vsid, the said iiij day after Michelmas daie, and fro thens forthe, the seide Maire to let somon all the maisters of the Bakers, Bruers, Bochers, and of all other craftes of the Towne, to come byfore hym, and then to go and assemble them att their halles and places accustumed, to the lleccion of their maisters for the yer folowyng; and therupon to bryng their seide Maisters and present them before the Maire, there to take their othes in the Maire's presence, after the form conteyned in the Rede boke.

It is also ordered and agreed by the said Fellowship, That at all tymes hereafter from tyme to tyme, and from yere to yere, it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the most anncient men of the same Fellowship between the number of Seaventeene, and Thirteene of them and not above Seaventeene; nor under Thirteene of them, to elect and chuse the new Masters of the Fellowship to serve in that Office for the yere following; And that from tyme to tyme the sayd Anncient men, or some of them shall nominate foure of the most likely and sufficient men of the same Fellowship unto Mr Maior of this city (for the tyme being); Among which foure sufficient men, the said Maior to have his way and choise of one of them (which he thincketh best) to be the head Master of the Fellowship for the yere following; And the seconde Master to be chosen by the said Anncient men And also; that from henceforth for ever yf any pson or psons of the said Fellowship of Bakers, salbe lawfully elected by the said anncient men, to be second Master of the said Fellowship; and shall Refuse the same; the pte so refusing shall forfeyt Forty shillings to be levyed of his goods and Chattels; To the use of the said Fellowship; and that upon such Refusall a new Election shalbe made by the said Anncients.—*The Black Book of Coventry, 1623.*

immemorial practice of all the trades of St. Andrews to elect their deacons in the following manner, viz., the deacon of each trade gave a leet of names of candidates out of which the members had to choose their deacon; but if the body disapproved of the names upon it, they had a right of appeal to the Deacon Convener and the deacons of the remaining six trades. This body of appeal had the power of supporting the list issued by their brother-deacon, or to add another name to it if they considered right. A more democratic spirit appears to have been abroad at this time, for a party had been formed to cancel this practice and to establish the principle that the leet should be made up and voted upon by the trade at large. The movement appears to have originated in the weaving craft, but the Deacon of that body appealed to the Convener's Court, and pointed out that an innovation of that nature must be productive of disagreeable consequences and create confusion and constant disturbance in the trade. He also conservatively suggested that it was taking away from the Deacon a power which, for generations, the predecessors of the craftsmen had deemed advisable to confide in the head of each craft. This protest was sustained by the Convener's Court upon the 5th June 1781, and a prohibition was inserted in the books of all the trades prohibiting any alteration upon the method of nominating the deacons. Although these extracts refer to the immemorial practice, the subject was one which had agitated the trades a few years before, for on 8th September 1780 there were two candidates for the deaconship, one of whom was standing for re-election. The voting was equal, three votes being cast for each candidate. The Convener gave his casting vote in favour of Robert Walker, and against this decision the disappointed candidate, Andrew Duncan, protested, on the grounds that the Deacon of Trade was the only competent judge, and that, therefore, he had the casting vote which he had given to himself. At the elections in 1792 Duncan again returned to the charge, and he appears not to have admitted the establishment of the immemorial custom established by

the resolution of the Convener's Court. In laying his protest before the trade he represented that the practice of the Deacon submitting his leet, and if the trade were dissatisfied with it of calling in the voting power of the Convener and the members of his court, was a practice which had prevailed for a long time, but was one which was greatly to the prejudice and conducive of bad agreement amongst the members. He, therefore, proposed that this should be abolished, and that the Deacon's list, if it were not satisfactory to the members, should be amended by the trade, and that, in the event of an equality of votes, the presiding Deacon of the Craft should have the casting vote. This resolution was adopted by the Craft, and they ordained it to be a standing order for all time. An echo of Parliamentary reform is audible in the proceedings of a meeting on 22nd March 1784, which appeared to recognise the general wish and opinion of the country in favour of a more representative election, not only of trade officers, but also members of municipalities and of Parliament. In this popular movement the bakers of St. Andrews were prepared to share, and they accordingly appointed a deputation, consisting of the Deacon and the Boxmaster, to meet with committees appointed by the other St. Andrews trades to choose and elect a delegate to represent them at a Convention to be held at Edinburgh.

The election was very frequently a unanimous one. On other occasions the successful candidate was elected by plurality of votes. On more than one occasion there was an equality of votes, as is indicated by the differences regarding by whom the casting vote was to be exercised. Sometimes the office was held for a long number of years by the same occupant; at other times there does not appear to have been the same desire for holding it, which, considering the number of times that discipline had to be exercised in consequence of the threats and assaults upon the Deacon, is not surprising. In 1704, John Johnstone was elected by a plurality of votes, but he only accepted office on the distinct understanding that he should not be re-elected the following year. In 1728 at a meeting of the Convener's Court, a decision was arrived at

and ordered to be engrossed in all the books of the Trades, that in consequence of the many differences, debates, and controversies that arose over the election of the office-bearers, that in all time coming and for the better establishment of peace, concord, and tranquility, no votes or approbation were to be given to any office-bearer who had held office for three successive years. The Court also recognised that the holding of such office frequently meant a serious burden upon the occupiers, and they, therefore, discharged all those who had been in office for the two preceding years.

In 1687 we have an instance of a Royal interference with the election of a deacon. A general meeting of the Trades was convened, at which were present the Convener of the Trades and the Deacons, who were also members of the Town Council, and it was reported to the ordinary members that at the last Council Meeting a letter had been read addressed to the Magistrates of St. Andrews by James II. The tenor of the communication was to suspend all elections in Royal burghs until his Majesty's pleasure should be declared. The letter was dated from Bath upon the 8th of September, and in accordance with it, the Baking Trade set aside the election of John Duncanson, and continued in office his predecessor, Peter Duncanson. At this time¹ James II. was engaged in a Royal progress in the South and West of England, and was in the middle of his contest regarding the election of the President of Magdalen College, Oxford. He had left the Queen at Bath and proceeded to Oxford, but could not prevail upon the Fellows of the College to violate their regulations, and consequently he returned greatly angered, and rejoined his Queen at Bath. He and his advisers were already beginning to harbour designs for filling up all the municipal offices throughout the country by the election of adherents of the Crown. The City of London received a new charter, in which the Crown reserved the power of dismissing the masters, wardens, and assistants of

¹ Macaulay's History of England, chapter 8.

all the trading companies, and over eight hundred citizens were turned out of office. The Tories were out of favour at the Court, and their places were filled with Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians. The following year the Dutch Ambassador, writing to his States, reported that in many towns the public functionaries had within one month been changed twice, and even thrice. All over England the municipalities were up in arms, and Westminster Hall saw an increase of business from corporations that caused every other litigation to be pushed into the background. Most of these Town Councils were not so pliant as the Town Council and Trades of St. Andrews. Peter Duncansoun continued in office until after the Revolution, but in 1689 John, who had been evicted from the office, was again chosen.

Another of the few indications of the great historical events that moved outside the narrow circle of trade interests, is indicated by a minute in which reference is made to a complaint in the Court of Session, at the instance of Andrew Williamson and others, referring to the illegality of the election of Magistrates and Councillors in 1745. Williamson craved that this election should be satisfied, but the baker craft, in the fear that if it were satisfied it might influence the election of the municipality and trade officers of 1746, with whom the generality of the city seemed to be well satisfied; whilst the trade recognised that the election in 1745 was subject to some informalities, by reason of the 'wilfull absence of some of the then magistrates and councillors,' considered themselves obliged, in a judicious manner and as a body corporate, to approve of the said election. Wilful absence was not such a romantic proceeding in St. Andrews as was being out in 'the '45' north of the Tay.

The right of voting at the election, which was embodied in the freemen of the trade, was a highly-prized one, as may be learned from the resolution passed in 1789, when, in consequence of the trade suffering through the members failing to pay their dues, it was agreed that no one in arrears with their fees should have any voice in the election of the office-

bearers. As in all well-constituted societies and bodies, the dignity and authority of the Deacon were strenuously maintained. There are repeated entries enforcing obedience and respect for the supreme officer scattered throughout the records, the first being enacted upon the 5th June 1550. The spelling and style stand in striking contrast to that of the last entry dealing with the maintenance of the honour due to the Chairman, on 12th May 1812. The former entry occurs nine years to a day before the 'ding down' of the Cathedral, and reads: 'The quilk day, viz., Quinto Junii Anno, etc., 1550. It is ackin be ye bredren off baxtorie and thay ar sourin be ye facht and trecht tactis socrosanctis dei evangeliis to stand ferme and stabyll with yare decane in all thingis yat is ffor ye weyll fayr off year craft and ye toune, onder ye payne of VI. merkis to be geuyn to ye hawyn werk.' The latter entry is in the more direct and less picturesque terms of the 19th Century, and condemns William Hutton, a member of the trade, who did 'at a public meeting of the trade, in the most riotous and disorderly manner, insult and attack the Deacon when presiding at that meeting, and gave him, and several other members of the trade, a great deal of very insulting and abusive language, and tore in pieces, in presence of the trade, an obligation which he had previously granted to the trade relative to the letting of his bakehouse in Argyle, and as the trade are of opinion that his conduct has been extremely improper, outrageous, and insolent, therefor they did and hereby do fine and amerciate the said William Hutton in the sum of £5 sterling, and until he make payment of the said fine remove and set him aside and deprive him of any vote or seat in trade.'

Long after the Reformation the duties of the Council of the Deacon were stated to be to 'concur, verify, and assist the Deacon with their council and assistance in all things concerning the glory of God and the weal of the craft.' Offenders against the Executive head were severely punished. In 1601, a craftsman named John Livingstoun was convicted of sundry disturbances against the Deacon, and he was

ordered to ask that officer's pardon and to pay a fine of 40s, and was prohibited from baking until he made the amends. The Deacon did not appear to lie upon a bed of roses, and a general resolution was passed that if any member of the trade offended or injured the Deacon, or his successors, he was to be subjected to a fine of £10. About this particular period insubordination appeared to be rife amongst the members, for in 1611, David Kynneir, yonger, was fined 40s, and forced to ask the Deacon's pardon and forgiveness for wrong and offence done, the particulars of which are not recorded, with the exception of what appears to have been an enormity, 'the cutting his weycht brod streingis.' The following year another craftsman injured the Deacon in the common Corn Market, and was ordered to pay 40s, and ask the Deacon's forgiveness. One of the longest entries dealing with the maintenance of the dignity of the Deacon's office occurs upon 3rd May 1624, when Charles Small was charged with the filthy slandering and evil report made by him against the Deacon. The offence was committed in the presence of the Provost, Magistrates, and a large number of the inhabitants of the city, and occasioned great indignity and disgrace upon the Deacon. Small's offence was that he had blamed the Deacon for fining and punishing him and his father-in-law for baking too big a loaf, which, no doubt, was a very grievous offence in the eyes of the craftsmen, but as Small could not verify his imputation, he was punished for his slanderous remarks and the act in vindication of the Deacon's dignity was again affirmed. But the dangers incurred by the Deacon did not stop at slanderous speeches and loud brawling. In 1656 John Morton was convicted of drawing a knife and threatening to leave the body of the Deacon upon Gallow Hill. No record exists of the cause of the misdemeanour, and one is left to hazard the opinion that it was in consequence of the political movements of the time, or to be content with the suggestion that it was only the fiery expression of some disturbers occasioned by trade disputes, which would, no doubt, be very readily forthcoming. Curiously enough,

Morton does not appear to have been punished for his threats, as the brethren satisfied themselves by passing a general resolution that if he or any other brother attempted the like in time coming, he or they would be immediately deprived of their liberty in all time thereafter. The fact that no fine or punishment was imposed, and that the enactment was of such sweeping application, almost establishes the idea that the occasion of the trouble had been a public one rather than a private and trade question. Another obstreperous craftsman was fined in the person of William Kinlowie, who had offended the dignity of the Deacon by giving him the lie, and giving expression to such words that the Recorder contemptuously states 'they were not worthie to be putt in wreit,' and the worst of it was that when his case was considered on 18th September 1675, he was still contumacious, and would neither acknowledge his fault nor submit himself to the Deacon, and the trade, therefore, debarred him from all the privileges and liberties of the craft, and he was forbidden to bake any sort of bread, whether great or small, and no fellow-tradesman nor servant was to be allowed to help him to do so or to give him any assistance in buying or in selling. Kinlowie appears to have been at the meeting, for the passing of this resolution brought him to his senses, and it is recorded that, notwithstanding the clause of seclusion, he submitted himself to the Deacon in Council, and gave satisfaction and was immediately restored to his former status.

The dignity of the Deacon as a judge of craft was also rigorously maintained. The Deacon and the Council in 1635 agreed that no member of the Trade should, after that date, pursue or intend any action, that really pertained to the jurisdiction of the Deacon and his successors, before any other judge, until he first had offered his complaint to the Deacon and been refused therein. The *Black Book of Coventry* has a somewhat similar law, entitled: 'For goynge to lawe one agaynst an other. It is also ordayned and agreed, That if any of the sayde fellowshippe be at contencon stryfe or debate one agaynst an other, eyther for dett, or for any other cause

whatsoever (lawfull to be determyned by the fellowshipe) That then the partye grieved shall not further complayne, sue, vexe, moleste nor trouble the other ptie in the law, before the master of the same companye have had the hear-ynge of the cause, and the determynacon and endynge of the matter in controversie (if it maye be) which if he cannot doo, then to geve lycence to the partye greeved to take his remedy at the lawe, upon payne that every psone so offendynge shall forfait & paye for everye offence sixe shillings eight pence, to thuse of the fellowshipp.'

In a similar manner the same company sought to support the dignity of their President by ordaining 'That if any of the sayde fellowshipe do at any tyme use any maner of evell speaches, or any spytfull or disdaynfull wordes, or any other naughtie and unsemelye talke, agaynst the masters of the companye, for the tyme beyng, or be disobedyente to them, or in presence of them will not holde their peace at theyr comandement, but will styll be Stowte and obstynate, after twyce admonican by the mr. geven, That then every suche psone so offending shall forfait and paye to the master of the companye 13s 4d to the use of the fellowshipe.'

Nearly every Association whose records have come down to us contain many entries upholding the prerogative and dignity of their heads. Not only do the records proper of these corporations contain general and stringent regulations, but there are many instances of particular offences committed against the honour or personal security of the office-bearers, and in many cases the punishment has been inflicted by the civic authority. When the latter body was called in to adjudicate the praise and blame were frequently dispassionately distributed. On 26th January 1573-4, a baker named Scott was found by the Glasgow Town Council to be in the wrong for preventing the entry of the Deacon into his booth to examine the weight of the bread, and at the same time and in the same manner, another baxter, Williame Neilsoun, was found guilty of injuring the same Deacon, but the Deacon was also found to be in the wrong for striking the offender.

With so many obstreperous and pugnacious members, it is not surprising that at times difficulties were experienced in getting members to accept the office of Deacon. A heavy burden for the maintenance of peace was often placed upon their shoulders, for they were made responsible not only for their own hot tempers and fiery deeds, but for the turbulent spirits that constituted their craft. In Glasgow in 1595 an Act was passed whereby the Deacons of the Trade became responsible to answer within twenty-four hours' warning for any charges made against their crafts, and to give up any of the members who might happen to be insolent or troublesome to the quietness of the town.

To assist the Deacon and other officers in the discharge of their delicate and often provocative and dangerous duties, a number of members were appointed as a Council, or, as we should now put it, as an Executive Committee. The number varied, often in proportion to that of the trade, and at one time there were so few carrying on business that the whole of them were appointed upon the Council. It is not until 25th of March 1574 that there is any reference to the body, and then it is announced that the Deacon, but with the consent of the brethren, appointed six members to it. A fine of eight shillings was levied upon a member for absenting himself from meetings. No information is given as to its institution or as to the duties, but in 1600 their duties are very definitely stated. The members promised, bound, and obliged themselves to concur, fortify, and assist the Deacon with their council and assistance, whenever they should be required, in all things concerning the glory of God and the welfare of the craft, under pain of perjury and violation of faith. The form of the obligation is suggestive of the earlier days of the organisation, and was, no doubt, a survival of the religious phraseology which at one time was so much affected. In their conservatism the trade clung fondly to old forms and phrases. Centuries afterwards, and even when there was only the shadow of its power and dignity left to the one in question, the Latin nomenclature of the Council election was

preserved. Dr Lujo Brentano points out that the functions of the Council were somewhat similar to those exercised by the Court of Assistants of a later day. At first the duties that ultimately devolved upon them were exercised by a quorum of the members. The first notice of any assistants occurs in connection with the Grocers' Company of London, where, in 1397, six men were chosen to assist the Warden. It is not until the sixteenth century that assistants are met, with one or two exceptions. It is interesting to notice that that date coincides with the appearance of the Council at St. Andrews, and that the number of its members was also six.

The attention of the trade was frequently occupied with the maintenance of discipline in its ranks. It is peculiar that in the St. Andrews trade the regulations were all of a civil or trade character, and no notice is taken at all as to the moral or religious character of the members. In most of the Continental Guilds there are strong prohibitions against non-churchgoing and immorality. Aberdeen has a distinguishing entry, in which several persons bound themselves together not to play cards. Dundee passed severe laws regarding the conduct of its members and servants, and even went the length of passing an edict that if any master freeman of the craft should happen to fall or commit the vice of fornication, immediately after knowledge of it became common property, he was to be fined the sum of 6s 8d, whilst apprentices were very summarily dealt with by an Act, which bracketed with equal culpability any apprentice who put violent hands on his master or mistress, contracted marriage during his apprenticeship, or committed fornication or adultery, with loss of all benefits of apprenticeship. For many moral and religious offences the apprentices and servants of St. Andrews figured in the Courts of the Church, but the reprimands and punishments of the Trade Court extended chiefly to offences against fellow-members and against the common weal. Regulations were made for the proper conduct of the trade's business, and strict rules were laid down that all the business of the meetings was to be done decently and in order. The personal safety of

the Deacon had to be provided for, but the common feeling of brotherhood was also observed by many general rules. There is a directness in the legislation of 3rd October 1591, in which it was unanimously agreed that if any brother of the craft should injure, molest, missay (or miscall), or offend the Deacon, officer, or any brother of the craft in word or deed, he should pay £10 of a fine, which was to be levied immediately upon his readiest gudis and geir. Sometimes comprehensive and general rules were laid down as an expression of opinion arising from particular infringements, and many of the members were punished by fine or otherwise, and the Court ratified the judgment by extending similar penalties to all members who might be guilty of similar offences. At other times, the trade, apparently actuated by a sense of responsibility, met and legislated upon the general condition of the society without indicating any particular offenders. In August 1592, there is an entry stating that the Deacon with his Council and certain of every bakehouse met to consider the condition of the trade, and it was agreed 'ffor samekle as yaiar troublit daylie throw complaintis of breither ffor mispersonyng and iniuryng vtheris, Thairfore ffor avoyding of ye lyk heireftir and that thai leive in brotherlie love, All in ane voice ordanis an that quhatsumewir brother sall iniure or offend ony bthir or ye deakin be worde or deid sall pay xls money onforgiffin.' The good order of the craft was a matter that involved the honour of each member, and every year, upon the election of the Deacon, all those who were present took an oath, by the uplifting of their hands, to give obedience and assistance to that officer during his term of presidency. There were a great number of instances in which one member had grounds of complaint against another. In those hot and turbulent times quarrels sprung up with unexpected quickness. The quality and character of their breads, their conduct towards each other regarding their servants and apprentices, their personal bearing at kirk and market, and their relations in trade and social life, all offered plenty opportunities for disturbances. Many of these were

carried to the Council of the Craft, and on 13th September 1613, it was decreed that in order to prevent frivolous complaints if the party making them was not able to substantiate them, he was to be fined the same amount as would have been imposed upon his antagonist if the charge had been substantiated.

Many of the charges were very commonplace, and most of them are plainly stated, but a few possess an old-world colouring that assists us in conceiving a revival of those far-off times. Away back in 1593 the trade met to hear a charge at the instance of William Balfour against David Duncan, who had called the whole of the servants in James Brown's bakehouse 'common thieves,' and he was supported in his complaint by Henrie Jamesoun and the rest of the servants, thus showing that the journeymen had also the right of appeal to the Deacons and freemen in matters appertaining to their well-being and repute in the trade. The defendant was also a servant, so that it appears as if the case occupying the attention of the masters was simply one of a bakehouse squabble. Whether there were extenuating circumstances proved in this distinctly libellous charge to which Duncan pleaded or not, no punishment was inflicted upon him, but he was put under a caution with all other servants not to commit a similar offence under pain of a fine of 10 marks to the funds of the craft. No doubt, at that time, the children in the streets of St. Andrews were familiar with the truth underlying the juvenile defiance 'Sticks and stanes will break my banes, but names will never hurt me,' but it was not only nicknames and opprobrious terms that caused complaints, for a jury of the trade considered a complaint in 1592 of a journeyman, Archibald Dupling, who complained against another, Androw Carmichiell, 'for rowging out ye said Archibaldis heare owt of his beard.' This entry gives us an indication that the judicial functions of this nature were somewhat complex. The Deacon was the presiding officer, but he had with him two representatives from each bakehouse in the city. The complaint was upheld, but there is an indication that for the civil

offence the culprit had to appear before the Provost and Magistrates. But in addition to that the trade judges required that he should pass from them to the place where the offence had been committed, and there beg his victim's forgiveness. This appears to have been the sole punishment which the craft imposed upon him, but he was laid under the severe caution that if the like occurred again he would simply be expelled from the bakehouse in which he was working, and debarred from taking service in any other bakehouse in the city. Sometimes the offence did not go the length of assault, but was confined to threats. On one occasion, one member was found guilty of having molested and injured another by words 'boisting [threatening] till hafe puttin handis on him.' Sometimes the wives and families were introduced into these disturbances. One transgressor secures a record in a minute where he is recorded as having struck the son of a freeman, is convicted for transgressing the rules of the craft in not advising the Deacon that he had taken and feed a servant, and also for allowing his wife to assist another man's wife to bake and set up meat in their bakehouse, he knowing that the latter action was against the order of the trade. Not only in their own rights as widows, but also as assistants of their husbands in the trade, women played an important part. This would naturally bring them into conflict with customers, competitors, and servants, and one serviceman was censured and threatened with expulsion from all the bakehouses in St. Andrews if there were a repetition of the offence for injuring, molesting, and blaspheming the wife of one of the freemen. In 1640 another female member of the trade entered a complaint against John Braid and his wife for taking away from her her apprentices and customers. Both of these were serious offences, and, therefore, Braid was compelled to pay 40s for the offence against Elizabeth Buchanan, and other 40s for breaking an old regulation against carrying bread through the town, and he was ordered to be discharged from baking bread until the penalties were acquitted. A serious charge of 'filthie slandering and evill report' was made in 1624 on the part of