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GLASGOW MEMORIALS

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THE TRONGATE IN 1849.
From Drawing by William Simpson.

GLASGOW MEMORIALS

BY
ROBERT RENWICK

DEPUTE TOWN CLERK

WITH ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS

GLASGOW
JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS
PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

WHEN George Chalmers, in the third volume of his *Caledonia*, published in 1824, gave an account of Glasgow and its ecclesiastical arrangements, he had to supplement information obtainable from a limited command of ancient manuscripts by accepting the statements of local historians who had little opportunity of consulting original sources, and the learned author was thereby betrayed into a few inaccuracies. Gathering historical particulars in those days was no easy task, but in the eighty and odd years which have since intervened, facilities in that direction have accumulated, and with the extended knowledge brought within our reach most of the mistakes of previous writers may now be safely avoided. In systematic research the Maitland Club broke ground, in 1832, with the publication of extracts from the Municipal Records.

But it was in connection with the Church that Glasgow as a municipality came into existence, and the publication of *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* in 1843 did much to clear up the annals of the city from its foundation till the Reformation. This work was followed three years later by the issue of a volume (*Liber Nostre Collegii Domine, etc.*) edited by Dr. Joseph Robertson and containing a

most valuable collection of documents bearing chiefly on ecclesiastical affairs. Professor Cosmo Innes, who edited the *Registrum*, subsequently took in hand *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, which the Maitland Club issued in 1854. Other works devoted to the production of original material, including National Records published from the General Register House in Edinburgh, and specially the excellent series of Charters and Records of the City of Glasgow edited by Sir James D. Marwick, LL.D., are enumerated in the appended List of Authorities.

A glance over that List will show how large a body of new matter has been made accessible in print during the half century that has elapsed since Cosmo Innes and Joseph Robertson rendered their monumental service in the publication of Glasgow Records.

Within the last few years I have occasionally contributed to the newspapers articles bearing on such aspects of Glasgow and its institutions as seemed to me to be worthy of elucidation and likely to be acceptable. Many facts not generally known, and derived from both published and unpublished sources, were thus brought into fuller notice, though, for preserving coherency in narrative, there were frequent repetitions of particulars which may be found in one or other of the many meritorious works on local history already in existence. The present volume is based on articles the bulk of which appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* and the remainder in the *Glasgow Evening Times*. The editors of these journals have courteously consented to the republication of the articles, which now appear in an altered and expanded form, the opportunity having been taken of introducing new matter to a considerable extent. In dealing with some subjects perhaps too much brevity has been

exercised, but in most of these cases the reader is referred to authorities where further details are given.

For the illustrations reproduced from *Glasghu Facies* thanks are gratefully tendered to Mr. David Murray, LL.D., who with characteristic liberality lent the blocks from which they have been printed. Two of these illustrations—the seals on page 103—have been frequently attributed to Bishop John Wishart, but they are evidently the seals of Bishop Lindesay.

R. R.

GLASGOW, *December*, 1907.

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I.

TRONGATE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

AT the time when King William authorised Bishop Joceline of Glasgow to have a Burgh that descriptive term had lost much of its original signification of a Fort, under the protection of which a market could be safely held. It had rather come to imply a market town, equipped with all the usual trading and judicial accessories. In accordance, therefore, with the practice of the period the privileges conferred by the Glasgow charter¹ relate specially to a weekly market and the customs derivable from it. By one of William's statutes it was commanded that all merchandise should be presented at the market and market crosses of the King's burghs and there offered to the merchants, the custom dues being paid to the King.² Each royal burgh had its shire or district, the produce of which must come to its market; and the Bishop's charter was granted for the purpose of affording corresponding benefits to him and his successors, as territorial lords. In its relation to the district latterly known as the barony and regality of Glasgow the Bishop's burgh occupied the same position as the King's burghs bore to their respective shires; and while in the latter burghs the customs belonged to the King, in the burgh of Glasgow they were payable to

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 1, 2.

² *Ancient Laws*, p. 61.

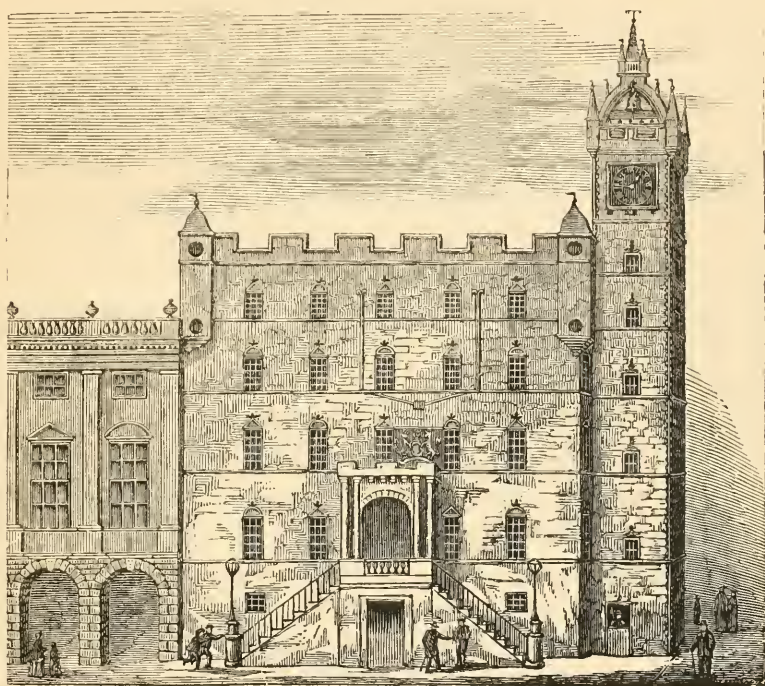
the Bishop. In both classes of burghs the organisation was similar and most of the early laws were indiscriminately applicable to each.

That a primitive community of artificers and traders had already settled on the banks of the Molendinar Burn, near its confluence with the Clyde, need not be doubted, and it may even be conjectured that initiatory markets had been tried before authoritative sanction was secured by charter. But when the administrative and judicial machinery of the new burgh was fairly set in motion, accommodation for the officials and their work would be required, while increased commerce would bring an influx of strangers and lead to the erection of additional booths and dwellings. Adjoining the market cross was placed the tolbooth, originally the place for collecting the toll or custom payable by those bringing produce and goods to the market, and eventually the headquarters for municipal and judicial procedure; and next to this structure stood a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Regarding the erection of the tolbooth and chapel no contemporary record has been preserved,¹ but it happens that there exists a writing, dated within two or three years of the charter, whereby Bishop Joceline granted to the monks of Melrose "that toft in the burgh of Glasgow which Ranulf of Hadintun built in the first building of the burgh, to the use of the house of Maylros."² It is not likely that Melrose Abbey had more than one property in Glasgow, and therefore it may be assumed that the twelfth century toft

¹The tolbooth shown in the illustration was erected on the site of its predecessor, in 1626. Vacated in 1814, when the new jail and courthouses at the Green were occupied, the main building was shortly afterwards removed, but the original steeple still remains.

² *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 5.

was the possession referred to on 10th May, 1454, as the "land of the lord Abbot of Melros," lying on the south side of the street which then led from the cross to the chapel of St. Tenu, latterly known as Trongate or its continuation.¹



THE OLD TOLBOOTH.

For nearly four hundred years after its foundation the Burgh kept within narrow limits, as these were defined by the placing of ports or gates. The South Port was in Saltmarket Street, or as it was anciently called Walker-gait, indicating perhaps the thoroughfare leading to a Walk-mill frequented by walkers and other workers in cloth. Places adjacent and situated on the banks of the Molendinar and

¹ *Lib. Col.* p. 174.

Camlachie Burns, which joined each other near the port, long retained the names of Milndam, Milnhill, and Crooks of the Milndam, indicating that at one time a mill or mills were in operation in the vicinity. In sixteenth century writings the South Port is usually styled Nether Barras-yet,¹ probably because the gate was formed of wooden bars. Leaving the port and keeping on the right bank of the united burn, a track which developed into the modern Bridgegait led to a bridge over Clyde which had existed in one form or another since at least the thirteenth century. The West Port was situated in Trongate and the East Port in Gallowgate. The latter stood on the west side of Molendinar Burn till the year 1646, and even at the time of its final removal, in 1754, it was only about 400 yards east of the cross. The North Port was placed at a much greater distance from the cross than were the others, but included in this stretch was the area which prior to the Reformation was almost exclusively possessed by the clergy and country lairds, as well as the intermediate portion where, in the thirteenth century, the Friars Preachers laid out their gardens. It is supposed that the few buildings erected by the burgesses in High Street, north of the market cross, previous to the Reformation, reached no farther than the Grammar School on the one side and the place of the Friars Preachers on the other.

The street branching west from the cross extended beyond its port to a chapel dedicated at some remote but unknown date to St. Tenu, the mother of St. Kentigern, and for this reason it was usually designated St. Tenu's-gait. The chapel has given its transformed name of St. Enoch to the square which has absorbed its site, and accordingly its approximate

¹Gallowgate port is called "the Eyst Barresyet" in 1531-2 (*Glasg. Prot.* No. 1112).

position is well known. So early as the year 1426 a property lying to the west of St. Mary's Chapel is described as lying on the north side of the great street extending from the market cross to the chapels of St. Thomas the Martyr and "St. Tanew."¹ Our Lady-gait is another name which sometimes occurs, as in 1548-9, when a tenement is described as lying "in via Sancte Teneu alias Beate Marie semper Virginis."² In 1530 what appears to be the same property is described, in the vernacular, as "lyand in our Ladye gait, on the northt syid of the sammyne."³ About the middle of the sixteenth century the present name Trongate, so called on account of the tron or weighing apparatus being placed there, comes into notice,⁴ and it gradually superseded the name St. Tenu's-gait as applied to the portion of the street within the port. Previous to 1588 the port was placed at the head of the Old Wynd, but in that year the town council, "calling to mind how necessar, profitable and comlie it wilbe, to the decoratioun of the toun, to transport the West Port, presentlie ruinous, and to be repaired of new, to the Stokwalheid, and sua to includ the haill rew and houssis betwix and thair within the toun," resolved to make the change. This was done by selling the site, as staked off, to Robert Chirneside of Possil, under an obligation to erect buildings of a specified design. The piece of ground thus given off measured 18 ells across the street and 24 feet in breadth. One half of the 24 feet was to be within and the other half without the port. The port was to be of such dimensions as the town council should determine; "with powar to the said Robert Chirnesyde to big als

¹ *Lib. Col.* p. 244. The name of St. Kentigern's mother has many variations in spelling.

² *Ib.* p. 39.

³ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1051.

⁴ *Lib. Col.* pp. 3, 67, 117.

heich and braid abone the said port as he sall think expedient, and that it sall nocht be lesum to him to big ony laiche windois quhill he be jeist heicht, except sum slitt windois of halfe futt wyde, being stenschorit." Some discussion afterwards arose as to the quantity of ground sold, in the course of which it was mentioned that the port was 12 feet wide, but the question was settled by the town council repurchasing the site in 1613.¹ The port stood till 1751, but on 22nd January of that year the proprietors on the south side of the street represented that they were about to take down their buildings and to reconstruct them in a line with some new tenements, "and before that can be done the said port must be taken down, and that they will come in the councill's will for the value of the stones." The town council agreed to take down the port, the petitioners paying the value of the stones, and the new line of street being fixed by the magistrates, dean of guild and deacon-convener.² Beyond the port the street was for some time called Westergate, but for the last 150 years that name has been superseded by the present Argyle Street. In 1757 the site of the Black Bull Inn, erected by the Glasgow Highland Society within a year or two after that date, is described as lying on the east side of the new street called Virginia Street and the north side of the "street called St. Enoch's-gate, thereafter called Wester-gate, now called Argyle Street."³

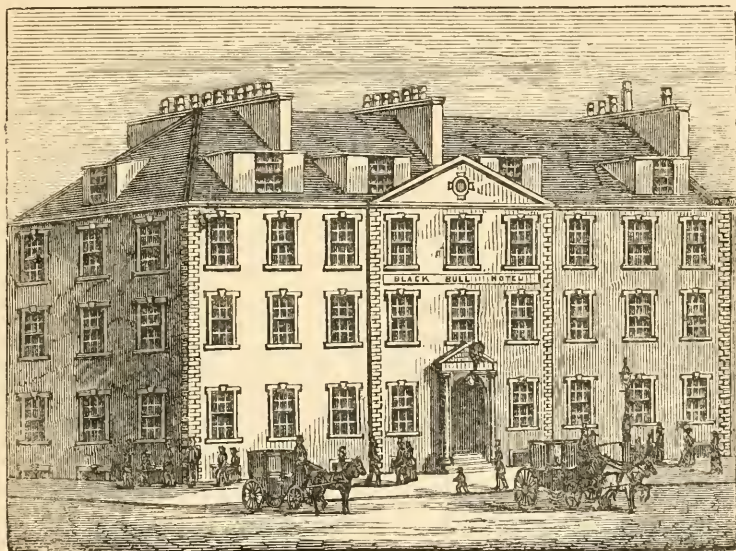
North of St. Tenu's-gait were two crofts, Long Croft and Palzeoun or Pallioun Croft, divided from each other by the Cow Lone, now Queen Street, leading to the Wester Common. Long Croft extended westward from the High

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 125, 131; *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 3275, 3313.

² *MS. Counc. Reg.* p. 145.

³ *MS. Sas. Reg.* 1757, p. 58; 1760, p. 56.

Street tenements, and had as its north boundary a passage separating it from the lands of Ramshorn. This passage, in the line of the present Ingram Street, is called "Ranaldis Wynde" in writs dated 1470 and 1511,¹ and subsequently it was at different times known as Grammar School Wynd, Back Cow Lone and Canon Street. Pallioun Croft, through



THE BLACK BULL INN, ARGYLE STREET.

which the lower part of Buchanan Street now passes, had on its west side St. Enoch's Burn, at this point forming the boundary between the burgh and the lands of Blythswood, and on the north was Meadowflat, long held by the Bishops' rentallers in connection with Ramshorn.² These crofts were

¹ *Munimenta*, i. p. 23 ; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 3399.

² Ramshorn and Meadowflat, embracing what is now George Square and the site of the Municipal Buildings, were purchased by the town council in 1694. See particulars in *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1096, 3302, 3399 ; *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 251-64.

possessed by various owners, in "rigs" generally running north and south along the whole depth, and before being appropriated for building purposes were used for the raising of crops. A barn for the storage of grain or other produce, and a malt kiln, required in the process of brewing beer, were the usual adjuncts of these small holdings. This accounts for the frequent references to such erections in protocols and title deeds.

A croft and cemetery surrounding the old chapel of St. Tenu, with a tower and its grounds at the corner of Stockwell Street, lay between St. Tenu's Street and the Old Green which stretched along the north bank of the river. East of Stockwell Street tenements was a croft called, in a writ of 1454, Muthall Croft, in another of 1487 Mutalcroft,¹ and in sixteenth century protocols Mutland Croft. This land, like the other crofts, was possessed by various owners, including the Friars Preachers and the Hospital of St. Nicholas, the latter drawing feuduties from its "rigs" in the croft till the present day.² The western portion of the croft belonged to the Lindsays of Dunrod and Kittokside, an ancient Renfrewshire family long connected with Glasgow as owners of property and otherwise. Robert Lindsay of Dunrod was provost of Glasgow in 1560-2. In giving off their lands for building purposes the Lindsays reserved the two passages from Trongate to Bridgegate known by the alternative names of Old and New Wynds or Lindsay's Wester and Easter Wynds. The New or Easter Wynd appears to have been formed about the year 1573. In that year David Lyndsaye of Kittoksyde feued to John Paterson, skinner, a piece of Mutland Croft, "three rigs in breadth,

¹ *Lib. Col.* pp. 174, 200.

² See Rental in *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 626-30.

excepting a passage three ells broad," and the feuars became bound "to uphold the gate of the close for preserving the croft from all damage of animals and destruction of crops till another tenement or house is built on the north."¹ The magistrates had about that time issued general regulations against sheep being pastured in the burgh roods, and they ordained that "thair be na swyn nor geis haldin nor pasturat within the burro rudis about the town bot haldin bund in houssis." Notwithstanding such regulations the records show that "lows swyn" were occasionally found "gangand on the gait,"² and this explains the precautionary obligations imposed on the feuars. Lindsay's "rigs" adjoined those on the east belonging to Sir David Mayne, a notary, whose predecessor is commemorated in the designation of a wynd called in a writ of 1548 "the vennel of John Mayn."³ This wynd, called Maynes Wynd, Mains Wynd, or Back Wynd, existed till recently, but has been closed as a thoroughfare under the authority of the Improvements Act of 1897. Eastward of Maynes Wynd was the Alley, on each side of which were the New Kirk yards, at one time possessed by the prebendaries of the Collegiate church of St. Mary and St. Anne, on the site now occupied by the Tron Kirk. In the year 1680 the town council purchased a ruinous tenement, which had been three years previously destroyed by fire, with the view of forming a lane "for free passage from the Saltmercat to the Trongait, tending to the

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1998, 3054.

² *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 47, 63, 74, 285. By an old burgh law swine and geese found trespassing and doing damage could be slain and eaten, the first process with the geese being to take off their heads and "festen the nebbis in the erd" (*Ancient Laws and Customs*, p. 179).

³ *Lib. Col.* p. 115; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1924.

benefeit of the rest of the housis thereaboutis, for moir easie and quick service in caice of any sudden or accidentale fire hereafter (as God avert)."¹ The lane thus formed was at first called Gibson's Wynd, afterwards Princes Street, and as now widened bears the name of Parnie Street.

Buildings gradually spread over Mutland Croft, one of the more notable being the Wynd Church, built, says M'Ure, "by the citizens upon King James the VII. his toleration, anno 1685, for the behoove of the presbyterian persuasion."² It was situated between the New Wynd and Maynes Wynd. The building having fallen into decay, the congregation removed to a new church, which had been erected in St. Andrew's Square, and the "thatch roof," timber, glasswork, and iron-work were sold in 1753 and the ground ordered to be cleared, with the view of the site being used for a "green" or vegetable market. Another building, however, was erected there and opened as the Wynd Parish Church in 1762. In 1807 the congregation left for St. George's Church, and thereafter the Green Market occupied the site till 1852 when accommodation for that market was provided in the Candle-riggs Bazaar.

For nearly forty years after the erection of the first Wynd Church the three narrow lanes already described continued to be used as the principal accesses between the Trongate and Bridgegate, but inconvenience was felt, and the civic authorities set about a street improvement scheme. Candle-riggs Street, running through Long Croft between Trongate and Grammar School Wynd, had been opened in 1720, and a continuation, in the line of that street, southward to Bridgegate seemed desirable. A council minute, dated

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 277 ; *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 375.

² M'Ure, p. 202.

25th April, 1722, narrates that the town had, "with great charge and expense, purchased several lands and yeards in the Tronegate opposite to the Candlerig Street," and were making farther purchases for the purpose of forming the southward street, "not only for beautifying the city, but also for the better accommodation of the inhabitants and people resorting thereto, and for the more easie passage from one street to another." It was agreed that the new street should be built in a straight line so far as could be done, that it should be thirty feet in width betwixt the "strand or gutter" on each side, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet farther betwixt the gutters and house fronts, making thirty-five feet in all; that the height should be three stories and garrets, built "in a decent and uniform manner and after one and the same moddell," and that the fronts should be of "ashler work," and the front windows six feet in height and three feet in breadth.¹ The street thus formed was named King Street, it being probably considered in those days of Jacobite unrest that there was safety in not being too specific. About the same time Gibson's Wynd was extended so as to connect King Street with Saltmarket, and the name was then changed to Princes Street.

The price at which steadings in King Street and Princes Street were disposed of to purchasers in 1724 was £1 Scots (1s. 8d. sterling) per square ell. Under the reconstruction scheme authorised by the act of 1897 it was anticipated that the return on expenditure would be equal to a selling price of £12 to £18 per square yard, an increase in value of more than a hundredfold, after making due allowance for monetary variation. It happens that one of the properties in King Street, recently purchased by the

¹ *MS. Council Reg.* xx. pp. 496-7.

Corporation, had been in the possession of successive generations of the same family since 1727, or three years after the street was opened,¹ a very exceptional circumstance in connection with house property in a commercial city.

¹ Purchase No. 23 ; acquired by James Nisbett, late deacon of the wrights in Glasgow, 1727, and sold by J. More Nisbett of Cairnhill in 1898.

II.

ROTTENROW AND HIGH STREET

AS compared with the trading premises near the cross, dwellings in the upper part of High Street, came into existence at a much earlier period and under very different conditions. Rottenrow, or as it is termed in ancient writings Ratounraw, from which High Street branched southwardly, is perhaps the oldest thoroughfare in the city, belonging as it does to the earlier Glasgow which preceded the twelfth century burgh by a period both remote and uncertain. The prefix "Rat" is believed to come from the Celtic *Rath*, a fort or homestead; "raw" is the Scottish synonym for street, and with these it was easy to arrive at the colloquial Ratounraw, a common street name in the ancient towns of Scotland, and simply meaning the street or road leading to the fort. At Ratounraw accordingly the city of Glasgow may be assumed to have had its beginning, and here some primitive chief and his warlike tribe may have received from Ninian, the evangelist, that glimmering of civilisation which, if twelfth century tradition can be relied on, had not wholly disappeared at the coming of St. Kentigern. For those shadowy times one has little more than conjecture to depend on, but there is some ground for believing that part of the original rath remained conspicuous till the end of the sixteenth century.

On 27th July, 1599,¹ the town council instructed workmen "to tak the know of grummell at the Drygate heid to the Greyn and uther places of the towne to full up the hoillis about the towne." Drygate was the street forming the eastward continuation of Ratounraw, and its "heid" was at the point where High Street intersected both. "Know



DRYGATE, WITH MANSE

of grummell" literally meant a little hill of gravel or soil, just the material of which an old fort would consist. The "know" must have been of considerable dimensions seeing it was to be applied in filling up several cavities about the town, and it seems not unjustifiable to conclude that it was no other than the remains of the old rath. The bishops' castle, first heard of in the thirteenth century, was situated farther north though its palisaded enclosure may have extended as far as the rath and even appropriated part of its earthwork.

As the clergy connected with the cathedral increased in

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 195.

numbers additional buildings would be required for their residences, and the want of farther accommodation seems to have been felt at the end of Bishop Bondington's episcopate, 1233-58, as the canons then agreed that if any one of them should be elected bishop he should remove his "palladium" which stood without the castle and give its site, with adjoining ground, for houses to the canons. Palladium here, and likewise in a similar resolution passed when the next vacancy in the bishopric occurred,¹ seems to have meant palisaded enclosure, and in the course of time the houses of the clergy occupied not only the spare ground surrounding the castle but also much of the building space along both Rottenrow and Drygate.² The latter street when it first appears on record, in 1410, is called Dreggate,³ a form which does not support the theory, suggested by its later rendering of Dry-gait (Latinised *Via Arida*),⁴ that the street was so named because it crossed the Molendinar Burn by a bridge, a convenience which some of the other "gaits" did not possess. Like the other principal thoroughfares Drygate had a port or gate which appears to have been placed at the bridge.

¹ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 208, 213.

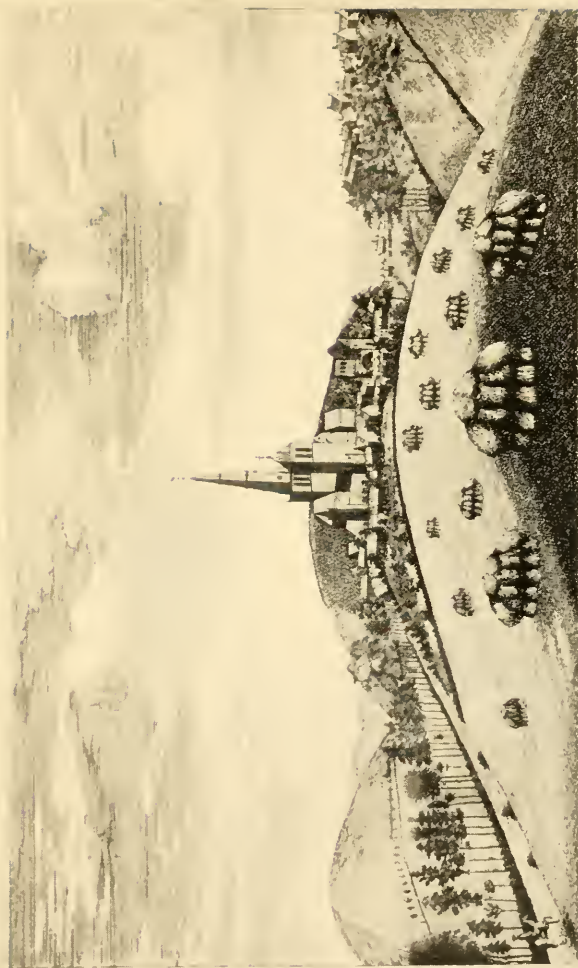
² For sites of the prebendal manses and other buildings in the Townhead district, see Plan appended to *Glasgow Protocols*, vol. xi.

³ *Lib. Col.* p. 238; also in 1424, p. 242, and in 1454, p. 175.

⁴ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 174, 505. Sometimes it is called the street from the Quadrivium to the east bridge (*ib.* No. 92). Quadrivium was the Latinised designation of the space at the intersection of the four streets, High Street and Castle Street running north and south and Rottenrow and Drygate running east and west. *Dreggy*, *dergy* and *dirgie*, according to Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, meant a funeral service. Possibly Dreg-gait (or Dreggy-gait), in the vicinity of the old cemetery, was a street originally associated with funeral processions and ceremonies.

Rottenrow port was situated a few paces west of the present Weaver Street. Outside the port, a little more than a century ago, a barn here and there, for the storage of crops was all that was visible in the way of buildings. At one time indeed the district was outside the burgh, jurisdiction being exercised by a bailie appointed by the subdean, a cathedral dignitary whose endowments embraced more than 40 acres of land in that locality. On this territory falling to the crown, under the annexation act of 1587, King James had it at his disposal, and in 1613 he conveyed it to the community of Glasgow as a reward for their public services. Described in the charter as barns and yards lying outside the Rattoun Raw port, 8 acres of land in Denesyde, 3 acres in Crubbis, 30 acres in Provansyde, and 3 acres at the back of the barns on the north side of the highway, the donation has the appearance of greater substantiality than it really possessed. Most of the land was in the possession of feuars or rentallers and the annual revenues were small; but the district was added to the burgh, the separate jurisdiction being abolished, so that this may be regarded as the first extension of the city's municipal boundaries.¹ As indicating the manner in which the land was formerly possessed, it may be mentioned that the site of the Electricity Station, at the corner of Stirlings Road and Catherine Lane, formed part of a larger piece which was described in a title deed of 1671, as "these thrie short riggis of land, which formerly were in fyve, with these tua new barnes situat and builded upon the head of the samen, quhich formerlie were in one." The three rigs were burdened with two annual payments, one of 5s. 8d. Scots to the town and the other of 4s. Scots to the college. A pious owner

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 284-91; ii. pp. 621-2.



*View taken from the West, of the Cathedral Church of St. Gloppe.
The engraving is taken from the original by Mr. Paul.*

THE CATHEDRAL FROM THE WEST.

By Robert Paul; drawn in the Academy of the Brothers Foulis.

had evidently at one time bestowed the latter sum on one of those altarges, the endowments of which devolved on the college at the Reformation, while the 5s. 8d. was apparently money payable by one of the subdean's feuars or rentallers.¹ On the west of the three rigs John M'Aslan, nurseryman and seedsman, owned some six roods of land which have for centuries been known by the name of Doghillok. M'Aslan planted a row of trees and formed a lane which at first bore his own name, but is now called Catherine Lane. Both trees and lane are shown in Fleming's map of the city prepared in 1807 and revised in 1826. On the junction between the Forth and Clyde and Monkland Canals being completed in 1790, the necessity of having a more convenient access to the new waterway, especially from the George Square district, became urgent, and this was secured by the formation of John Street and its northeastward prolongation, Stirlings Road. This latter street was the outcome of negotiations between the town council and William Stirling and Sons who had acquired the undertaking of the Monkland Canal, and after whom the street was named, though in title-deeds it is still sometimes called the Monkland Canal Road. The additional traffic soon produced a demand for building sites, and before the year 1797, as shown on the map prefixed to Denholm's *History of Glasgow*, several new streets had been laid out connecting Rottenrow with the new thoroughfare.

On the north side of Rottenrow were the manse of the parson of Moffat,² on a site now partly occupied by the Barony Church, the manse of the parson of Carstairs³ and the

¹ Corporation purchase No. 367. Disposition by Robert Dobbie and spouse to James Kerr and spouse, 4th August, 1671.

² *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 114, 3551. ³ *Ib.* 1961, 3249.

manse of the parson of Eddleston, on a site partly occupied by Weaver Street.¹ The parson of "Auld Roxburgh" had also a manse on the north side of the street but its



FRONT VIEW OF "THE AULD PEDAGOGY," ROTTEN ROW.

precise position has not been identified.² On the south side of Rottenrow, occupying a site nearly opposite the

¹ *Ib.* 1477, 3485. In the footnote to the latter protocol the initials A. R. should be A. H. East of Eddleston Manse was a "waste tenement" bearing the curious name of Bawasty or Bowasty. (*Ib.* Nos. 3552, 3614). Another "Bowastie," described as a barn and yard situated at the west end and on the south side of Grammar School Wynd, was feued in 1585-6, the feuduty consisting of two stones of salt butter and one stone of cheese, at Christmas and Candlemas, yearly. (*Ib.* Nos. 2829, 2835.) In Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* one of the definitions of "bow" is "a fold for cows," and as the feuduty for the latter "Bowastie" consisted of dairy produce it may be suggested that the name has some connection with bovine affairs. The western continuation of Grammar School Wynd was formerly called Back Cow Lane.

² *Dioc. Reg.* ii. p. 442. No. 576.

present Weaver Street, was the "Auld Pedagogy"¹ where the university was accommodated during the first ten years of its existence. Farther east and bordering on High Street was a considerable area which at one time belonged to the Monks of Paisley, having been acquired by them in the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century. Recorded in the Abbey Register, the



BACK VIEW OF "THE AULD PEDAGOGY," ROTTEN ROW.

title-deeds form an interesting specimen of conveyancing at that early period. The earliest writs are dated 1283, and one of them narrates that Gilbert de Camera, burgess of Glasgow, to whom the bishop had given the property, sold it in his urgent necessity, the sale being carried through, with great formality, at three successive head Courts of the burgh. Nicholas Sprewll was the purchaser, and his son confirmed the property to the Abbey in 1321. In the interval the property, described as lying in Ratonraw and bounded by the street called the "Wynde" on the

¹ *Regality Club*, 3rd series, pt. ii. pp. 65-8; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1894.

east, had, by an undated charter, been conveyed by "William de Bonkell, burgess of Glasgow," to the "abbot and convent of the monastery of Paisley." The transfer was made in presence of the community, and the common seal of the burgh and the official seal of the court were appended to the writ. Besides other formalities, the seller undertook that in the event of his disputing the sale he should pay as penalty £10 sterling to the monks, and the like sum towards the building of the High Church of Glasgow. Portions of the area were disposed of from time to time for payment of feuduties or ground rents, but up to the period of the Reformation the abbey still retained a part, on which stood a building called the Monks' House. In the year 1584 the "Monks' House" property is described in protocols as partly lying waste and partly occupied by a stable and bakehouse. Subsequently dwelling-houses were erected, and these remained till taken down by the Improvement Trustees in recent years. The site is now used for the hydraulic power supply works of the water department.¹ This, the steepest part of the ancient thoroughfare, commonly called the Bell o' the Brae, is said to have been lowered to the extent of four feet in 1783,² and more recently the Improvement Trustees, by diverting the northern end of the street towards the east and by removal of soil, have reduced the height by other ten or twelve feet. Originally the upper part must have been almost as steep as Balmanno Street. Under the powers contained in their act of 1866 the corporation had already acquired the properties at the corners of Rottenrow and Drygate, including the site of the mansion formerly possessed

¹ *Paisley Reg.* pp. 382-7 ; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 2660, 2723.

² *Past and Present* (1851), i. p. 30.

by the Dukes of Montrose, and for the purposes of their act of 1897, they purchased the remaining old houses and



OLD TENEMENT, FOOT OF HIGH STREET, WEST SIDE.

erected new ones on both sides of High Street as far down as Duke Street and George Street, widened the roadway and farther improved the gradient. In the

demolition caused by these operations few prominent buildings or valued landmarks were destroyed. One of the old tenements as it existed in 1851 is described as an "ancient landmark," presenting, "with its crow-steps and moulded chimney-heads a striking contrast to the square and utilitarian masses of masonry by which it is surrounded." One of the inner court gables bore the date 1596, tradition reported the building to have been a "hostelry" of some repute, and "the whole fabric beautifully displays the characteristics of the style of buildings in Glasgow two and a half centuries ago."¹ After that description was written the building was lowered and a new roof added, thus causing, even before its recent removal, the disappearance of some of its more interesting features. The property is described in the title-deeds as a "fore tenement, with close, well, and yard, of old belonging to William Miller, and thereafter to the heirs of William Morton, pipe-maker."² It was numbered 255 to 261 High Street, and joined at the back with the Union Court property which extended northward to Rottenrow, and was likewise acquired by the Corporation. Union Court was supposed to occupy part of the site on which stood the Auld Pedagogy, above referred to. In 1572 the "Pedagogy" is found in the possession of John Layng, parson of Luss, and in the title-deeds, so late as 1722, it is described as a tenement, garden, and orchard, "formerly called the Auld Pedagogy, afterwards the manse of the parson of Luss." About that date new tenements were erected on the site, and it is not unlikely that the dilapidated buildings recently taken down were part of those tenements.

¹ *Past and Present* (1851), i. p. 30.

² Purchase, No. 46.

The material changes consequent on the Reformation were more acutely felt in the Townhead district than in other parts of the city. Inhabited largely by beneficed clergy, the dwellings were of a superior class, and some of them suitable for the reception of Royalty. But through the dispersion of the priestly order, when attendance at the Cathedral was no longer tolerated, many houses were left tenantless, and the spending of incomes derived by parsons from their rural prebends no longer benefited local merchants and craftsmen. Nor was there much prospect of the loss being compensated from other sources, because the locality was not suitable for the exercise of the ordinary callings. It is a prevalent but mistaken belief that the market cross at one time stood at the head of High Street. No market was held in that locality till after the Reformation, when an experiment in that direction was unsuccessful. This movement originated in a supplication to Parliament by "the fremen and utheris indwellers of the citie above the Gray Freir Wynde," who represented that before the Reformation that district of the city was upheld by "the resort of the bishop, parsons, vicars, and other clergie," which district was "the onlie ornament and decoration thair of, be resson of the grite and sumptuous buildings of grite antiquitie, verie proper and meit for the ressayt of his Hienes and nobilitie." The dwellings, however, were becoming ruinous and the possessors impoverished, and the supplicants "lamentit to see sic gorgeous policie decay," and suggested that with the view of restoring prosperity, one or other of the town's markets should be removed from the vicinity of the Market Cross to the upper part of the city.¹ A trial was made with the market for salt, but the Wyndhead was found to be too distant "fra the brig and water"

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* (1587), 1. pt. ii. pp. 213-5.

to suit the merchants and fishers who used that commodity.¹ Whatever success may have attended the establishment of other markets, all efforts were ineffectual to restore to their wonted splendour the “grit and sumptuous buildings” of the sixteenth century, and in course of time they were replaced by structures designed for utility rather than ornament.



BACK LAND OF HOUSES NO. 157 HIGH STREET.

At the George Street corner of High Street the removed buildings could not date farther back than 1790 or 1794, when George Street and Duke Street were formed. Previous to 1790 there was no public opening on the west side of the High Street between Rottenrow and Greyfriars' Wynd or Buns Wynd, a narrow lane giving access to the Deanside Well and buildings which had been erected on the site formerly occupied by the Grey Friars as well as on Craigmak

¹ *Glasgow Chart*. (1594), pp. 243-4.

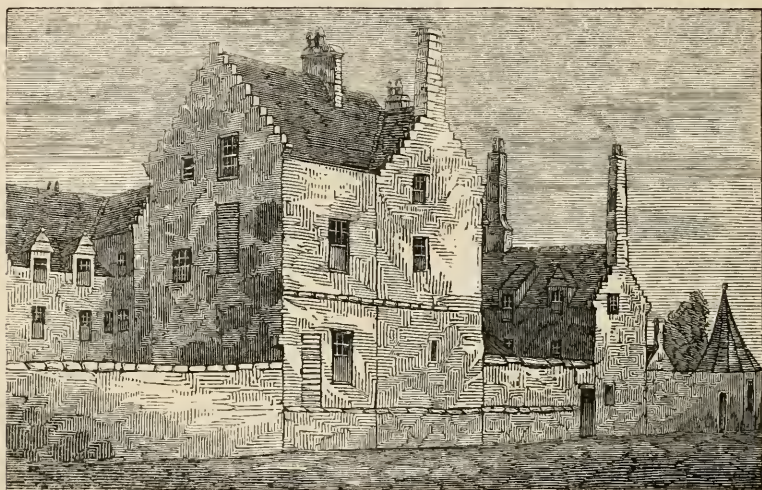


PORT DUNDAS, WITH CANAL HOUSE AND PASSAGE BOX.

From Water Colour by Robert Carrick.

or Craignaught, the place where in former times a Court was held on the eve of Glasgow Fair, and the peace of the Fair was proclaimed by the bailies of the burgh and regality. In the angle between the houses in High Street and those on the south side of Rottenrow were yards and other vacant spaces. To the west of these was Deanside, whence in the olden time the Friars Preachers brought water to their cloisters. Still farther west were Ramshorn and Meadowflat lands, on which a few years before 1790 the town council had commenced the feuing of the new suburb embracing George Square and adjoining streets. That part of Deanside which lay next the High Street belonged to John Balmanno, and the street through it which bears his name was opened in 1792. About this time Glasgow was prospering. The population, which in 1780 was only 42,832, was nearly doubled before the century closed. The Forth and Clyde and the Monkland Canals having been united were opened for through traffic in 1790 and from these undertakings great results were anticipated, and for a time realised. The vicinity of the canals, affording the opportunity of obtaining sufficient supplies of coal and the privilege of water carriage to both the east and west seas, was favourable to the establishment of manufactures and the development of commerce. One immediate result of the opening was the formation of new streets suitable for the traffic to and from the canal basins. By arrangement with the directors of the Forth and Clyde Canal, a street was opened between Buchanan Street and Port-Dundas; while, as already mentioned, John Street and Stirlings Road were formed to secure a convenient and direct route to Castle Street from George Square, thus getting round the worst part of Rottenrow ridge, and avoiding the steep ascent of

the High Street. But there was still another access needed to meet the requirements of the Ramshorn district. One of the main highways to Glasgow from the east had lain along the line of what is supposed to have been originally a Roman road. Approaching by way of Carntyne the passage led up the Drygate, along Rottenrow, and thence to Partick and the west. In 1790, to quote a town council minute, "a



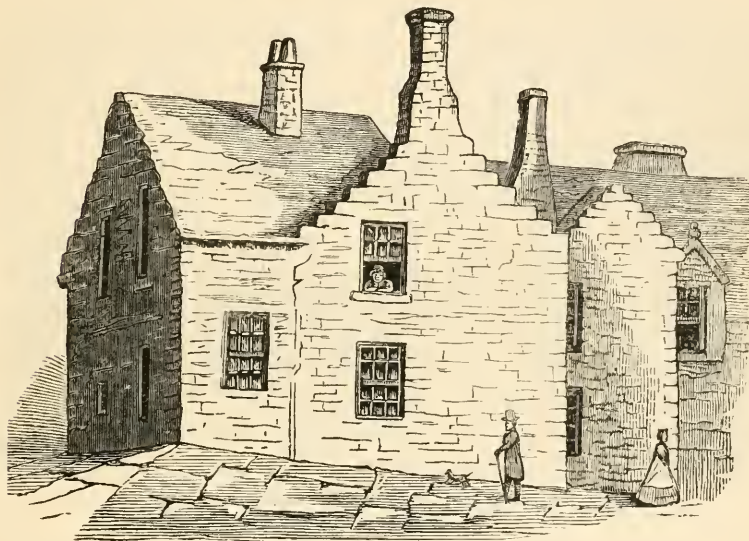
THE DUKE'S LODGINGS (BACK VIEW, NO. 1).

number of respectable citizens submitted a petition stating that it had for several years been under consideration of the different magistrates of Glasgow to open a street and to make a communication from the Carntyne Road to the High Street, and from thence to the new buildings in Ramshorn ground.”¹ Shortly afterwards an act of parliament authorising the scheme was obtained,² properties were acquired, and the street was opened in 1794. It consisted of a prolongation of Carntyne Road almost due west from the foot of Drygate. In

¹ *MS. Council Reg.* xxxii. p. 280.

² 31 George III. c. 107.

its course it cut through several gardens attached to the old prebendal manses, one of which gardens, according to a crown charter, the Scottish Sovereigns had a right to use when they resided in Glasgow.¹ One of these manses had, subsequent to the Reformation, been possessed by the Earls of Eglinton, from whom it passed to the town council, and they long used it as the Drygate correction-house.²



THE DUKE'S LODGINGS (BACK VIEW, NO. 2).

Another manse had been absorbed in the great lodging which for a series of years belonged to the Dukes of Montrose.³ It

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 2670.

² *Ib.* No. 962.

³ *Ib.* Nos. 1499, 1941, 2324. William, Duke of Montrose, sold this lodging and adjoining properties to Gavin Pettigrew, wright in Glasgow, by Disposition dated 4 January, 1752 (*MS. Sasine Reg.* p. 83). The upper part of Pettigrew Street, formed through these properties, has been absorbed by Duke Street Prison, and the lower part by the station works of the North British Railway Company.

was in consequence of the new street passing through the latter grounds that it was called Duke Street, a name which was at first applied to it as far west as Montrose Street. In 1792 the town council resolved that "the new street from the place where it strikes off from Carntyne Road till it enters George Square" should in future be called Glasgow Street;¹ but two years afterwards this resolution was rescinded,



THE DUKE'S LODGINGS, DRYGATE (FRONT VIEW).

and that part of the street east of High Street was appointed to be called Duke Street, and the western part, as far as the Square, to be called George Street,² an arrangement which still subsists.

It was in the vicinity of the "Monks' House" already referred to, and within a few years either before or after the date when the abbot of Paisley acquired the property, that Wallace is said to have had his famous encounter with an English detachment then garrisoned in Glasgow. A

¹ *MS. Council Reg.* xxxiii. p. 86.

² *Ib.* xxxv. p. 297.

property situated a short distance from the north end of Glasgow Bridge, over which Wallace crossed, undoubtedly then belonged to the monks;¹ and as they are understood to have been on intimate and friendly terms with Wallace,² it is just possible that, by giving information or otherwise, they aided in the plot. As a reward for their patriotism during the wars of Wallace and Bruce, the English burnt their monastery in 1307. With regard to Wallace's raid on Glasgow, opinions differ as to whether the narrative appearing in the pages of Henry the Minstrel is substantially accurate or whether the story is wholly imaginary. Circumstantiality of detail and precision in stating the strategic arrangements, all fitting the locality, give an air of reality to the description. From the configuration of the ground and the position of the streets, it is conceivable that, as stated by the minstrel, the attacking party may have kept the garrison in the dark regarding the movements of the second column till it emerged from Drygate and attacked the rear. Such an attack, even with greatly disproportionate numbers, had a good chance of success; and before the English, who fled "out of the gait," had time to rally and return with superior force, Wallace and his retinue, according to the narrative, were away in the opposite direction,

"By the Frer Kyrk till a wode fast besyd."

After getting through the grounds of Blackfriars Monastery and into the cover of the wood beyond, the little band of warriors withdrew in the direction of Bothwell, and thence returned to Ayr. Doubt has been expressed regarding the occurrence of the raid, chiefly because it is not known to have been alluded to in any contemporary chronicle or record. But the extant writings of that period are so meagre

¹ *Paisley Reg.* p. 400.

² See Dr. Lees' *Abbey of Paisley*, chap. x.

and fragmentary as to neutralise much of the force of that objection. On the whole the incident is so characteristic of the great patriot's method of warfare, and the relation of it by the minstrel has so much the appearance of being founded on documentary evidence or genuine tradition, that Glasgow annals would be incomplete without an account of Wallace's march from Ayr and the victory achieved by him at the Bell o' the Brae.

III.

GALLOWGATE AND LONDON STREET

GLASGOW LOTTERIES

IT may be safe to assume that the jurisdiction implied in the expression "pit and gallows," occurring in charters granted to the Bishops in 1450,¹ and to the Magistrates in 1636,² was exercised in Glasgow from a period at least as early as the constitution of the burgh. "Gallowgate" is noticed as a name in current use about the year 1325.³ Passing through a considerable stretch of ground which it divided into Over and Nether Gallowmuir, the "gait," at the extremity of burgh territory, approached a piece of land described in a charter of 1582 as "the Gallow Aiker, lying between the common muir of the city on the north, the burn called Camlauchee Burne on the south, and the lands of Burrofeild on the west."⁴ Gallow Hill and Gallow Knowe are place-names frequently met with in ancient burghs and baronies. "The Gallow Hill," says Cosmo Innes, "is still an object of interest and, I fear, of some pride, near our old baronial mansions; and I know some where the surrounding ground is full of the remains

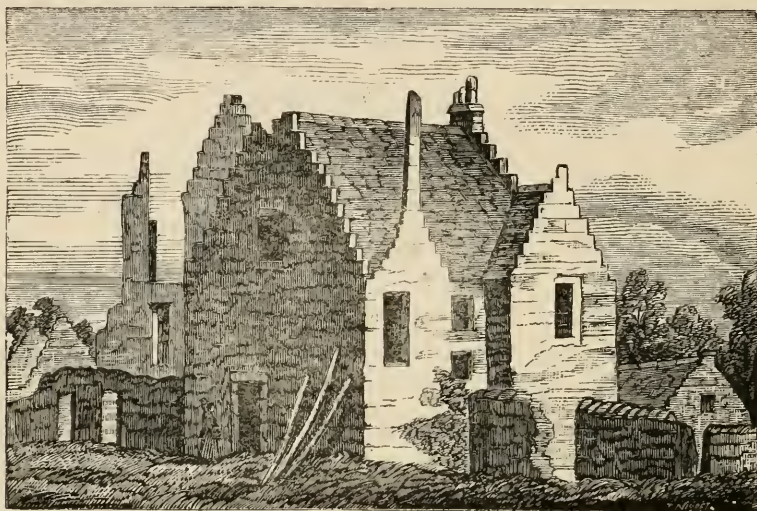
¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. part ii. pp. 28-31.

² *Ib.* p. 393.

³ *Lib. Col.* p. 156.

⁴ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 2411.

of the poor wretches who died by the baron's law."¹ By the charter just referred to, Andrew Coitis, designated "marshal of the barony and regality of Glasgow," feued the piece of land called the "Gallow Aiker" to John Auldcorne, baker, and this was done with consent of the provost, bailies and councillors of the city, thus indicating that the burgh and barony were jointly interested in the



BARROWFIELD HOUSE.

transaction. It is stated that in the eighteenth century the place of execution, where the gallows stood and near which the hangman resided, was at the north-west end of the muir, near the upper corner of what is now Barrack Street, and that an adjoining declivity, opposite the mouth of Ladywell Street, was known as "the Hangman's Brae."² Possibly the place of execution was changed about 1582, bringing the old Gallow Aiker, whatever had been its

¹ *Legal Antiquities*, p. 59.

² *Past and Present*, iii. p. 695.

previous history, into the market. Twenty-three years afterwards the town council were in want of an official to "execute the hie justice on malefactouris," when fortunately a banished thief, returning to town, and thereby rendering himself liable "to be hangit without ane assys," was secured for the service. Former transgressions were forgiven him, and the new official bound himself to perform the work carefully and diligently, and "consentis that he be hangit to the deid" if he deserted his post.¹

A bridge carrying Gallowgate traffic over Molendinar Burn, at this part sometimes called Gallowgate Burn, existed at least as early as 1549.² Beyond the burn, Eaglesham Croft, including the ground named Merkdailly, lay on the south side of the gait. It was usually designated Eglissemis Croft,³ and in 1496 when Martin Wan, chancellor of the Metropolitan Church, gave one of its acres to the altarage of St. James founded by him, it is called "Eglissamezcroft."⁴ On the north side, at the place now known as Spoutmouth, was a run of water which in 1542 is described as "the well of St. Kentigern," in 1558 "the well commonly called Sanct Mongowis Spoutis," in 1572 "the well of St. Kentigern," and in 1598 "rivulos *lie spowtis*." An adjoining piece of ground called Powdrait or Poldrait was possessed in barns and rigs by various persons.⁵

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 233.

² *Glasg. Prot.* No. 17.

³ *Ib.* No. 2133. It has been conjectured that the croft was at one time held as an endowment of the Cathedral prebend of Eaglesham, but this is not supported by authority. Merkdailly has come from Merkdailis, pieces of land paying a merk of annual rent or feuduty (*Regality Club*, iv. 100-3).

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* No. 473.

⁵ *Lib. Col.* p. 27; *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 431, 1854, 3454. The prefix "Pol" means pool, but the derivation of "drait" is uncertain. There was a

During the great Civil War an attempt to fortify the city included the casting of a trench, and in June, 1646, the town council ordered that, "with all expeditioun, ther be ane port buildit beyond the Gallowgait burne answerable to the trinche in that place." Previous to this the port had been on the west side of the burn; but even the new port, hurriedly erected to meet an emergency, seems to have been superseded by another erected in 1649, and it was probably the latter erection whose building material was used in the construction of the Saracen Head Inn in 1754.¹

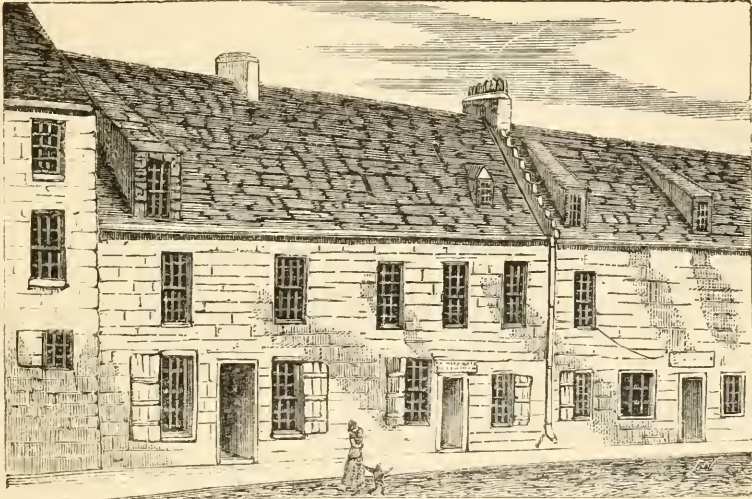
Beyond the ports, Gallowmuir, on each side of the intersecting road, consisted of fields under cultivation till a comparatively recent period, but though once belonging to the community these fields had passed into individual ownership at an early date. In 1529 the town council gave two acres to each of eight chaplains in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, which was founded about that time,² and before the end of the century most of the muir had passed out of the category of common lands. A rental made up about 1657-9 gives a list of owners then paying annual rents or feuduties to the town treasurer. Applicable to the division of the muir nearest the city, twenty-nine

croft called "Poldrat" at Lauder in 1501 (*Reg. Mag.* Sig. ii. No. 2595), and six acres of the lands of Poldrait at the east end of the burgh of Linlithgow, in 1527 (*ib.* iii. No. 449). In the light of later protocols Poldrait Burn as shown on the Plan appended to vol. i. requires modification. M'Ure describes an adjoining street as "the Spout-wynd, which reaches north from the Gallowgate, and is 120 ells long and 6 ells wide, in which are the four cisterns of very fine sweet water" (M'Ure, p. 131).

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* ii. pp. 88, 95, 166; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 2701.

² *Glasg. Char.* i. part ii. p. 109.

sums, varying from 1s. to £10 Scots, were paid for lands, tenements, barns and kilns. In old Gallowmuir, the middle division, nineteen acres of land were divided into thirteen holdings, paying a merk or 13s. 4d. per acre. Farther east "the land in New Gallowmuir whereof ilk aiker payes yeirly to the toune, for ane dayes work, vjs. viijd., and ilk aiker therof be wast the syke payes yeirly viijs.,



CAMLACHIE MANSION.

and ilk aiker be eist the same payes 4s.," was laid out in forty-four holdings of from half an acre to fourteen acres, and extending in all to $113\frac{1}{2}$ acres.¹ The largest holder was "Mr. William Wilkie for the lands of Camlachie, estimat to fourtine aikers." In 1584 the greater part of Wilkie's land belonged to William Anderson, maltman, and was described in two portions, separated from each other by the continuation of Gallowgate called the "common

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. pp. 540-1, 547-9.

lone leading to Camlachie." The upper portion consisted of five acres, with houses, yards and buildings, "lying in the Gallowmure next Camlachie brig, between the lands of Eister Craigis on the north and the bridge of Camlachie, with the burn therof, on the east." On the south side of the lone were $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres lying between the burn on the east and the lands of John Auldcorne, being the Gallow Aiker above referred to, on the south.¹ Camlachie as a place-name seems to have originated with the burn. The prefix "Cam" means a bend, and at the part where the burn passes through Camlachie lands, separating the portion within the burgh from the eastern part within the regality, it takes a sharp curve from west to south, and after a short and crooked run almost as abruptly resumes its westerly course. The derivation of the remainder of the name is uncertain.

A portion of Gallowmuir was reserved for the practice of archery, notice of which occurs in 1625, when the town council instructed the master of work "to repair the buttis in the Gallowmuir for exerceis of schutting quha pleissis." The butts are understood to have occupied part of the site acquired by the government in 1795 and used for upwards of eighty years thereafter as Infantry Barracks. Here also occurred, in the year 1544, the conflict known in local history as the "Battle of the Butts," in which Regent Arran defeated the Earl of Glencairn, though the earl was backed by the official strength of Glasgow regality.

Proceeding like Gallowgate in an easterly direction from the Market Cross, London Street, when it came into existence about eighty years ago, relieved the older thoroughfare of so much traffic and, by a less circuitous route,

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 2657-8, 2803-4, 2870.

opened up communication with districts which were waiting for an opportunity of development.

Congested areas in Glasgow were first encountered in the vicinity of the Cross. Proximity to this centre was advantageous alike to the craftsman and retailer of wares, and here at first were planted dwellings and booths which greatly increased in number in later times. Till about the middle of the seventeenth century the city did not contain more than



INFANTRY BARRACKS, GALLOWGATE.

20,000 inhabitants, but the bulk of these were housed within narrow limits. The people were not migratory, and, instead of forming new streets in the spacious fields, preferred to build within lanes running off existing thoroughfares. These clustered dwellings became an easy prey to the flames when fire broke out, but such clearances were not permanent, as new buildings rapidly took the place of the old. It was not till the last quarter of the eighteenth century that Glasgow, doubling its population, showed unmistakable signs of expanding its building area, and this movement was accelerated by a similar duplication within

the next twenty-five years. In 1780 the population was 42,832, and in 1821 it had risen to 147,043. New suburbs, beginning about the former period with the George Square district, were spreading in various directions. Among the later extensions Great Hamilton Street and the more fashionable Monteith Row, a favourite resort of the wealthier merchants, had been formed on Calton Green. But notwithstanding these outlets, the population in the streets and closes bordering on the Cross did not lose in density, and the necessity for remedial measures became apparent. The art of managing improvement schemes had not then been acquired, and through inexperience the town council devised a plan which proved too extensive to be practicable. In 1820 an act of parliament was procured, the preamble of which sets forth that it would tend much to the improvement and ornament of the city, to the prevention of disease, and to the health and accommodation of the inhabitants, if certain new streets, lanes, and passages were opened and formed therein, and buildings removed in certain parts where the population was most crowded. Power was therefore given to the magistrates and council, by themselves and their deputies and agents, to open and form various new streets. The first of these, 35 feet in breadth, was to run from Stockwell Street, nearly opposite Jackson Street, in an easterly direction through King Street and Saltmarket to the Molendinar Burn. The second street was to be 70 feet wide, and was to run from Great Hamilton Street or Monteith Row westward, on a line somewhere between the north side of St. Andrew Square and the south side of Gallowgate, and to terminate at or near the Cross. A third contemplated street, 60 feet in breadth, was to run westward from Barrack Yard, on a line situated to the north

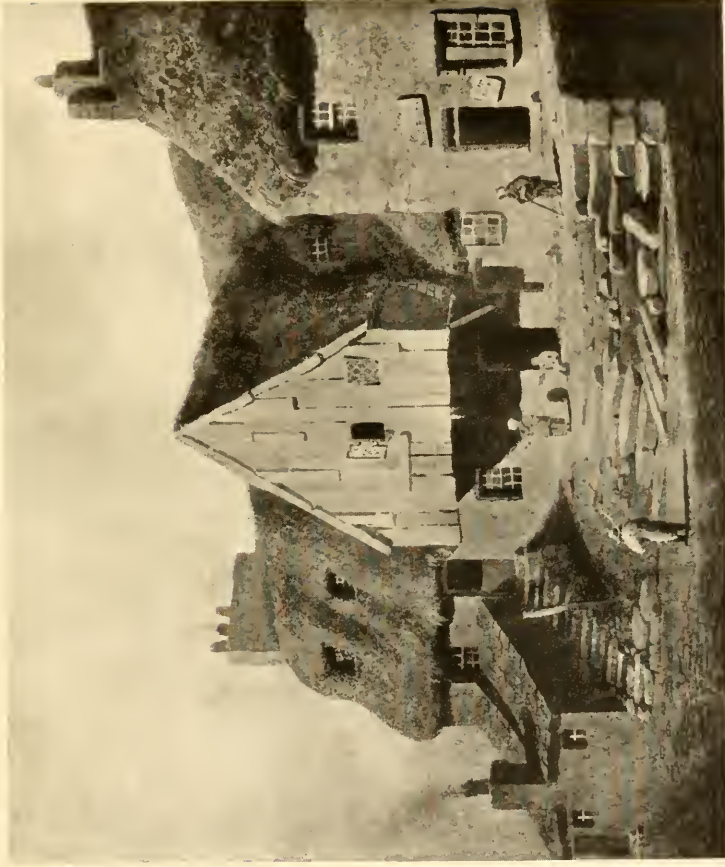
of Gallowgate, and was to terminate at or near the Cross. Power was also given to purchase grounds and buildings to an extent not exceeding 60 feet on each side of the new streets, and to sell such grounds as building sites.

The powers conferred by the Act of 1820 were exercised only in relation to the second street, and that through the medium of third parties. No provision had been made for raising money to execute the works, and the funds belonging to the community were inadequate for the purpose. In these circumstances a number of influential gentlemen, anticipating that a new thoroughfare from the Cross to Monteith Row would not only be of great ornament and utility to the city, but would increase the value of property through which it passed and in its neighbourhood, formed themselves into a joint-stock company and offered to carry the act into execution so far as that street was concerned. It was considered that by the terms of the act the town council could delegate their powers, and they accordingly authorised the company to proceed, subject to their supervision, and further agreed to invest £1000 in shares in expectation of benefit to the public and enhancement of the town's property. The new company was thereupon formed into a "corporation or body politic," under the system then in vogue of obtaining a "seal of cause" from the town council, and application was made to parliament for supplementary powers. An act, passed in 1824, after narrating the new arrangements, appointed Kirkman Finlay, Henry Monteith, and other shareholders, to be commissioners for forming and opening London Street, erecting buildings, and executing other works, with all the powers contained in the previous act. The authorised capital of the commissioners consisted of 1200 shares of £25 each

(the limit of liability), and the commissioners had borrowing powers to the extent of £20,000.

Arrangements having reached this stage, the acquisition of properties was commenced. Among the earlier purchases were portions of the "Tradesland," a building of some historic interest though not of great antiquity. Buildings, with their timber fronts and thatched roofs, were seldom allowed to get old in that quarter. In June, 1652, a fire, which began in a tenement on the east side of High Street, above the Cross, spread to the Saltmarket, and totally consumed the houses on both sides of the street, it being reported at the time "that thair will be neir four scoir closses all burnt, estimat to about ane thowsand families."¹ Twenty-five years afterwards a similar calamity occurred, when the buildings on both sides of Saltmarket adjoining the Cross, and for some distance along the south sides of Trongate and Gallowgate, were destroyed. For some years after the second fire the corner steadings at the head of Saltmarket lay waste. The minutes of 30th September, 1682, bear that the town council "had ingadged the dean of gild and merchand rank to build a large stane lodging for the use of the poor, upon the corner of the streetis of Trongait and Saltmercat, for the better decoreing of the toun, that ruinous ground ther being by all appearance lyklie to ly unbuilt by any who had interest therin or otheris; and that they find the samen cannot be done by any stock belonging to the said hospitall without ane considerable supply and help." It was therefore agreed that the town's funds should bear the cost of the stonework, on the understanding that if the Crafts (or Trades) should, in the interests of their hospital, build a tenement on the opposite side of Salt-

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* ii. p. 230.



COTTAGES IN HIGH STREET.

From Water Colour by Andrew Donaldson in 1847.

market, the town council should give to them a sum equivalent to that expended for the merchants, with a contingent addition of 2000 merks.¹ Thirteen years elapsed before the 'Trades' House took advantage of the offer, but at last they agreed to erect a building on the waste site, "in sufficient stonework to the decorement of the toun." The town's contribution towards the building was 12,000 merks (£666 13s. 4d. sterling). This included the conditional sum of 2000 merks which was paid, because the "building designed be the trades will be far greater than that of the merchantis."² M'Ure, in 1736, alludes to the one building as "the coffee-house, and lodgings above the same, belonging to the merchants hospital," and to the other as "the great and stately tenement of land belonging to the trades of Glasgow, of curious ashlar work, standing upon eighteen arches and stately pillars, upon the south-east corner of the Gallowgate and Saltmarket Street."³

The erection of new buildings in London Street was soon commenced, and thereafter went on simultaneously with the purchasing of old properties. On 30th April, 1824, the foundation-stone of the first building, fronting London Street and Saltmarket, was laid with Masonic honours by Lord Provost William Smith. Great enthusiasm apparently prevailed on the occasion. After service in the Cathedral, where Principal M'Farlane discoursed from the text, "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it," a long procession—described at the time as "one of the most noble and splendid displays ever exhibited in this city"—marched to the site where the ceremony was performed. An inscription plate put into the cavity bore that it was

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 321.

² *MS. Council Rec.* xiv. pp. 358-9.

³ M'Ure, pp. 125-6.

“to commemorate the formation of London Street, opening from the centre of the city a convenient and spacious communication with the great road leading to the Metropolis of the United Kingdom, adorning the city with elegant buildings, affording a splendid access to the Green, that beautiful park which has so long been the pleasure and the pride of the community.”¹ These sanguine expectations as to the utility of London Street were in the main realised, but the financial resources fell far short of the requirements. In 1826 Parliament increased the Commissioners’ borrowing powers by £30,000, and at the same time power was taken to throw an arch or bridge of cast-iron or stone across St. Andrew’s Lane, and to enclose or arch over portions of the Molendinar Burn. St. Andrew’s Lane, leading from Gallowgate to St. Andrew’s Square, had an abrupt slope towards the burn, hence the need for a bridge at the crossing. The lane, now a cul-de-sac, was of some importance in its day, as the Sheriff-Clerk’s office and the offices of several lawyers and merchants were to be found there.² The act of 1826 further contemplated the removal of houses on the south side of Trongate and west side of Saltmarket in order to improve and widen the access to London Street. This improvement was beyond the limited means at the command of the Commissioners, but it has latterly been accomplished in connection with the formation of the underground railway. One other provision of the act may be noticed. About two years previously statutory authority had been obtained for making a road from the city to the village of Parkhead, and for its continuation to Woodend. These roads formed the direct and main communication from London Street to the Edinburgh and London and other roads, and their com-

¹ *Glasgow Courier*, 1st May, 1824.

² *Past and Present*, iii. p. 669.

pletion, retarded for want of money, being necessary to render the new street fully accessible and commodious, the Commissioners were authorised to lend the Road Trustees £5000 to expedite the work.

When all the purchases had been effected and the street opened—an undertaking which had been courageously faced on a capital of £80,000—it was found that the net expenditure was close on £150,000. The assets mainly consisted of building ground on which the Commissioners had no funds to erect houses, and there was little or no demand for building sites on remunerative terms. Though the Commissioners had not aimed at profit neither had they anticipated substantial loss, but the evidences of miscalculation were now apparent. An equal division of the ground among the holders of 1200 shares was impracticable, and it was suggested that distribution might be effected by means of a lottery, preliminary to which new shareholders should contribute sufficient money to clear off the debt. To this course, however, there was a serious obstacle. In this country the raising of money by lotteries for state and other public purposes had often been practised, but public opinion had risen against the system, and all lotteries were abolished by act of parliament in 1826. This salutary legislation was in fresh recollection when, in 1831, the London Street Commissioners, pondering how they might be extricated from financial difficulties, could hit on no better device than the discredited lottery. An appeal to parliament for express sanction to a lottery pure and simple would have been hopeless, and therefore a scheme was brought forward in a milder form. Under the title of an Act to amend Acts for opening a street from the Cross to Monteith Row, it was set forth that the Commissioners had formed the street and

opened it for the public, and in doing so had incurred certain debts, that the property of the Commissioners could not be utilised by them in their corporate capacity, and it being in part unproductive, the interest on debts and yearly charges of the undertaking were consuming and would soon exhaust the property unless it were disposed of to those who could possess and use it; that certain shareholders had required that the property should be divided among themselves, but as an exact division could not be made "it is expedient that the said property and whole funds or assets should be divided among them by lot, in such portions as may be arranged by themselves, for doing which it is necessary that a sum of money sufficient to discharge the debts and engagements of the said undertaking should be raised." Parliament therefore authorised the capital stock to be increased to such an extent as would furnish sufficient money to meet all claims, and empowered the Commissioners thereafter to "divide and allot" the whole or any part of the property into portions, "of such extent, amount, or value, either in property or money," as they thought fit, and "to cause or procure the property or funds so allotted and divided to be distributed among the shareholders by lot." Having obtained their act, the Commissioners at first proposed to issue 15,500 tickets at £10 10s. each, to realise £162,750. Out of this sum were to be paid 178 substantial prizes, and 15,322 of 10s. each. There being no blanks, one special feature of the ordinary lottery was absent.

But while this proposal was under consideration it was suggested that an act which sanctioned so much of a lottery was sufficient for the establishment of one as extensive as those which had been abolished. Financial contractors in London were thereupon consulted, and arrangements were

made with them for carrying out a scheme which attained some degree of notoriety under the name of "The Glasgow Lotteries." The original 1200 £25 shares were split into 3600 of £8 6s. 8d. each, and 26,400 additional shares were created. The whole 30,000 shares were then arranged in classes of 10,000 each, and each class successively formed the subject of a lottery. The contractors acquired these shares and other assets of the Commissioners at the price of £157,500, the original shareholders collectively getting only £20,700 for their primary contribution of £30,000. The price paid by the contractors for each share was £5 5s., and the rate charged to "the trade" (retailers to the public) averaged a little over £12. The selling price to the public of the tickets in the first lottery rose from £12 12s. to £14 19s. Assuming that all the tickets were sold at the lowest trade price, the contractors would have received £364,500, but it is known that some of the tickets remained in their hands. The aggregate prizes of the three lotteries amounted to £165,079.

The first lottery was drawn on 17th April, 1833. Its announcement, "Glasgow Lottery, by authority of Parliament," startled the public, and especially members of the Legislature, who, even with memories refreshed by a reference to the "Index of House Proceedings," could not recollect any Act which conferred such authority. The Government officials first became aware of the scheme when they got a request for the loan of the "wheels" used in the old State lotteries. On its being ascertained that the supposed authority was an Act of Parliament relating to a Glasgow street, the House of Commons was in commotion, various discussions took place, and eventually, on 18th March, 1834, a Select Committee was appointed "to inquire into

the origin and present state of a lottery, purporting to be carried on under authority of Parliament, and intituled 'The Glasgow Lottery,' and into any other lotteries," etc. Meanwhile the second lottery had been drawn. An advertisement in the *Glasgow Herald* of 20th January, begins thus—"Glasgow Lottery. By authority of Parliament. On Wednesday, 22d January, all the capital prizes of £15,000, £10,000, and £5000, and every other prize in the Glasgow Lottery, will be drawn. The fortunate number may be at this moment on sale at J. Oatts', 102 Queen Street, opposite the Royal Exchange, Glasgow. Those persons who intend to adventure should not delay," etc.

The Select Committee at once proceeded with the inquiry, and, after examining a number of witnesses, issued a full report on 5th August, 1834. The London solicitors for the bill disclaimed knowledge of any intention to institute a lottery, and considered that the powers of the act had been exceeded. The Glasgow solicitor who drew the bill avowed that its purpose was the sanctioning of a lottery, the purchasers of tickets being the new shareholders, and he expressed no opinion on the question of the statutory powers having been strained. The contractors, not cognisant of the original intentions of the promoters, maintained that in managing the lotteries they kept within the strict letter of the law. With these conflicting views before them, the Select Committee came to the conclusion that "concealment was intended, and practised throughout, and that such concealment was highly blameable"; but, seeing that many innocent persons were implicated, and might suffer if past proceedings were interfered with, no further action was recommended in the meantime. Previous to the date of the report the last of the lotteries was all but closed, and an act of parliament had been passed on 25th July pro-

hibiting such in future. The one then proceeding was allowed to go on, but the holding of any further lottery was declared illegal, and strictly forbidden. An advertisement in *Glasgow Herald* of 11th July announces: "End of Lotteries.—On the 22nd of this month the very last and only lottery that is, or will be sanctioned by parliament must be drawn, when all the capital, and every other prize, will be decided, after which all lotteries will cease in this kingdom." The chief prize was valued at £16,000, the second at £10,000, and so on to lower figures. The current price of a ticket was £13 13s. At the last moment it was found necessary to postpone the drawing of the third lottery to 28th August, 1834, but since then Glasgow lotteries, though not ceasing altogether, have generally kept in the mild form risked at church bazaars, and have never approached the magnitude of those designed to liquidate the debt of the London Street Commissioners.

IV.

WALKERGATE OR SALTMARKET STREET AND BRIDGEGATE.

WHAT might have been an instructive chapter in the history of Glasgow industries must remain unwritten on account of the material for compiling it being confined to the survival of a few street and place names. In 1422 a tenement is described as lying "in vico Fullonum," the street of the fullers, or walkers, as they were termed in this country. The street is called the Walcargat in 1447 and again in 1454.¹ Contemporary records do not refer to the existence of walkers as members of a craft in Glasgow at any period. In Edinburgh and other towns walkers are noticed sometimes as a separate craft, and sometimes they are shown to be conjoined with other incorporations, such as the weavers or the bonnetmakers. It is not unlikely that in Glasgow the cloth-fullers were associated with the incorporation of bonnetmakers and dyers, as the walkmill at Partick was usually let to the "litsters" or dyers.² But seeing that one of the chief streets of the city got its early name from that class of workers, it may be inferred that at first they formed an independent and influential body, and

¹ *Lib. Col.* pp. 168, 177, 242.

² *Glasg. Rec.* ii. pp. 435-6, 439, 442 ; iii. pp. 64, 158.

it is besides probable that in the fifteenth century and earlier there existed a walk or fulling mill near the confluence of Molendinar and Camlachie Burns. On the latter burn, at a short distance to the east, were lands called Milldamhead, but no extant record bears reference to a mill as being in actual operation. The earliest reference, in a contemporary writing, to such a mill is in the year 1507-8, when Archbishop Blacader caused a fulling mill to be constructed and repaired on his lands and water of Kelvin,¹ the ferm of which mill, being six merks yearly, was to be paid to him and his successors. This mill, in other writings about the same period, is called the "new walkmill," and it is not unlikely that an old mill, situated on the lands of Linningshaugh, at the foot of Walkergait, was then deserted, and its site, with adjoining land, laid out for cultivation and set to rentallers. Linningshaugh was occupied in that manner from at least the year 1527² till acquired by the community for the formation of the New Green in 1662-4. Ground at the mill-dam belonged to the community, and previous to its being sold about the year 1590, was used as the place of assembly for the annual rousing of the common good.³ An adjoining piece of ground was called Kiln-croft,⁴ indicating the existence of a grain-mill and the usual accessories in that locality. Perhaps, therefore, the dam at one time served the double purpose of supplying the walk-mill and a grain-mill, which may have been possessed by the community previous to their acquiring the one situated on the side of Garngadhill, which is first heard of in 1446-7.⁵

¹ *Reg. Episc. Glas.* No. 486; *Prot.* No. 3266.

² *Dioces. Reg.* i. p. 87.

³ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 152.

⁴ *Ib.* iii. p. 131.

⁵ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 25.

After the street lost its connection with the early craftsmen by whom it had been most frequented, it gradually acquired its new designation on account of the market for salt being held there. In a series of protocols, nearly all in the vernacular, and covering the dates 1530-7, neither name occurs. When the street is referred to it is called the "gait fra the Cors to the Nedder Barres-yet," or to the "Sowtht Barrezet," the "Sowtht yet," or the "Sowtht Port."¹ In 1582 a booth is described as lying on the east side of the street leading from the market cross to the South Nether Port next the "Salt mercat"; and nine years afterwards the street is referred to as "commonly called the Saltmarket."² Though this special form of designation has not been noticed in previous protocols, it must be borne in mind that these formal documents purposely avoid variation in description so as to preserve identity, and there need be little doubt that for a long time previous to 1591 the present name of the street had been in common use.

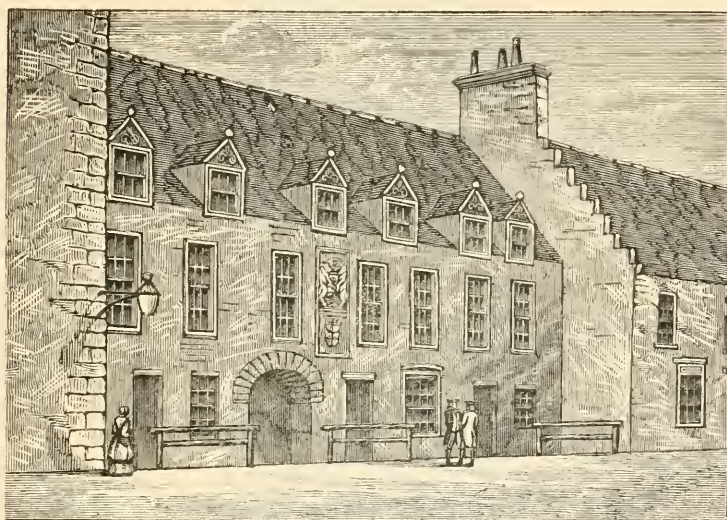
A building on the east side of Saltmarket Street, facing Bridgegate Street, was called Silvercraigs land on account of its having belonged to the Campbells, proprietors of Silvercraigs in Argyleshire. In 1703 it belonged to Robert Campbell of Silvercraigs, who conveyed it to his son-in-law and daughter, Walter Scott and Mary Campbell, spouses, the great-grandparents of Sir Walter Scott.³ In his *Auto-*

¹ *Glas. Prot.* Nos. 1059-1312.

² *Glas. Prot.* Nos. 2458, 3309.

³ *MS. Sasine Reg.* 21st Oct. 1709, pp. 30, 31. In some genealogical lists Miss Campbell is named "Jean," but "Mary" is the name in the titles. In 1703-9 the property is described as a great tenement of land, with enclosure and yard, lying on the east side of the street called Saltmercat, near the South Port, called the Barresyet, and west side of the Burn of Molendinar.

biography Sir Walter alludes to the matrimonial alliance of his ancestral namesake with "Miss Campbell of Silvercraigs, in the west, through which connection my father used to call *cousin* as they say with the Campbells of Blythswood." Silvercraigs-land is said to have been occupied by Cromwell during one of his visits to Glasgow ; at a subsequent period



SILVERCRAIGS LAND, FOOT OF SALTMARKET.

it was fitted up as a weaving factory, suggesting in that locality visions of Bailie Nicol Jarvie, and it remained a notable feature of old Saltmarket till its removal about the year 1830. The site was eventually purchased by the Corporation for improvement purposes under their Act of 1866,¹ the carrying out of which has brought about the rebuilding of a large portion of Saltmarket Street. During alterations on the west side of the street an inscribed stone was found

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. pp. 138-9 ; *Glasg. Facies*, pp. 162-4 ; *Regality Club*, i. pp. 71-3.

embedded in the back wall of a tenement entering by close No. 122. The building was comparatively new, having been erected in the eighteenth century, while the lettering on the stone was obviously ancient. As deciphered it ran thus :

Has pater Andreas antistes condidit edes
Presbiteris choro Glasgu famulantibus almo.

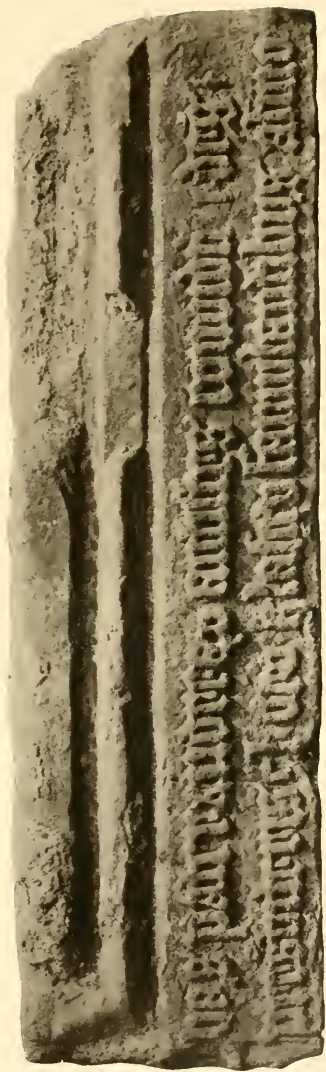
—"These buildings Bishop Andrew put up for the priests who serve the flourishing choir of Glasgow." No buildings answering to this description are known to have ever been erected in Saltmarket Street or its vicinity, and it is surmised that the stone had been originally fixed into the place of the Vicars Choral whom Bishop Andrew Muirhead (1455-73) formed into a college, and persumably provided with a dwelling. The Vicars' place became ruinous shortly after the Reformation, and the stone was probably then picked up by an æsthetical builder to adorn a wall. No doubt it has had various wanderings, but always under careful tending, and it now rests in a Corporation Museum.¹

Properties on the east side of the street usually extended to the Molendinar Burn, beyond which was Eaglesham's Croft.² One of these properties, consisting of "lymn-hollis, bark-hollis, steip-hollis and a bark loft," belonged in 1673 to Andrew Weallis, merchant, from whom, it may be assumed that the opening shown in a plan of 1760 took the name of Weel Close, and, if this be so, it settles an old etymological puzzle.³ Lands on the east side of the burn had been acquired in 1734 as a site for St. Andrew's Church, and in 1768 the town council obtained an act of parliament authorising further purchases for the formation

¹ *Scottish Historical Review*, ii. pp. 110-1.

² *Antea*, p. 33.

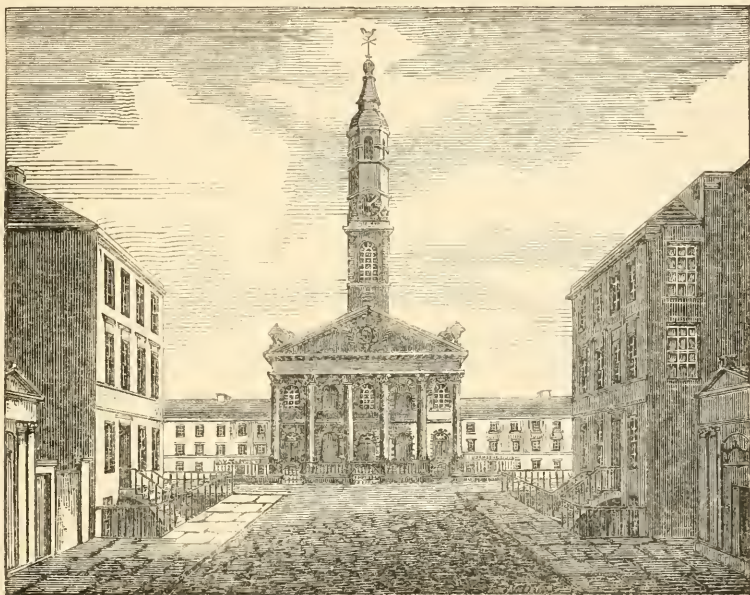
³ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 362 ; Reid's *Old Glasgow*, pp. 197-9.



INSCRIBED STONE FROM THE PLACE OF THE VICAR'S CHORAL.

of St. Andrew's Street in the line of the old close, and for the enlargement of the space around the church, now consisting of St. Andrew's Square.¹

The South Port or "Barres-yet" seems to have been placed athwart Saltmarket Street a little north of the spot where it branched into Bridgegate. In 1569 the magistrates



ST. ANDREW'S ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

and council gave to the respective proprietors on each side of the street the pieces of waste land lying between their front tenements and the port. To Archibald Hommil, citizen, was given the eastern portion, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, for payment of 13s. 4d. yearly. On the west side James Anderson and Alison Lyon, spouses, got a piece of ground on which to build a small shop, for payment of 6s. 8d.

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. pp. 130-1.

yearly. A corner tenement on the north side of Bridgegate, belonging to the prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, is described, in 1587, as lying on the "west side of the South Port and south side of the lands of James Anderson," probably the individual who acquired ground for a shop in 1569.¹

It was apparently with the view of avoiding the Molendinar and Camlachie burns, with their frequent floodings, that instead of continuing Walker-gait in a direct line to the south, and there crossing the Clyde, traffic was kept on the right bank of the united stream for the remainder of its course, and the earliest Glasgow Bridge was constructed over the river some little distance below the point of confluence, which was at first considerably farther west than it is at present. This is shown by the descriptions of properties in the west division of Bridgegate, some of which are bounded by "antiquum transitum de Malindinar," the "aulde stude of Malyndoner," or the "place in which the burn of Malyndinor used to flow."² Starting from the South Port, the path towards the Clyde kept at some distance from the right bank of the burn, and a crossing place was not fixed upon till the burn was out of the way. Henry the Minstrel is probably relating a fact when he mentions that in Wallace's time the bridge was made of "tre."³ Most stone bridges in early times were preceded by timber structures. In a document dated in 1285 houses in Fisher-gait are referred to as lying near the bridge of Clyde,⁴ but

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1636-7, 1861, 2810, 2999.

² *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 169, 190-2. Through change of the burn's course in time of floods disputes among neighbours sometimes arose (*Ib.* No. 1654).

³ "Glaskow bryg, that byggyt was of tre" (Book vii. l. 533).

⁴ *Paisley Reg.* p. 400.

there is nothing to indicate of what material the bridge was composed. Fishergait is identified with the lower part of the present Stockwell Street, and it is probable that in those days the path from Barresyet to the bridge, separating Mutland Croft on the north from Little Green on the south, had an open field on each side. The laying out of the Little Green for building purposes is first heard of in 1503, when five parcels of land, each consisting of two roods, were disposed of by the town council for payment to the common purse of sums varying from 10s. to 20s. yearly. Between two of the plots there was a lane, five ells in breadth, giving access from the street to the burn, and it was provided that between the westmost plot and the bridge no buildings should be erected.¹ Before the close of the sixteenth century both the north and south sides of Bridgegate were largely occupied by buildings, though a piece of ground in which there were "dubs" or pools frequented by geese, and known from an early period by the name of *Guis Dubs*, remained for a long time vacant. After Bridgegate was so far occupied by buildings, the adjoining ground on the west, including Goosedubs, was called Greenhead, as being the upper end of what was left of the main portion of the Old Green. In 1588, when the town council, to meet urgent liabilities, had to sell parts of their common lands, several roods of Greenhead were disposed of. Two of these roods of "land at the Goose Dubs" were reacquired

¹ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* Nos. 44, 49-53; *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. Abstract, pp. 9, 10. In the transfer of what appears to be the westmost building plot on the south side of Bridgegate in 1537, it is stated that "the balyaes and the haell consell hes dischargit ony maner of settin of land fra Jhon Blakuodis hows to the bryg, in tyme to cum, bot that it remane for ever to be ane common gaeit to the wattyr" (*Glasg. Prot.* No. 1300).

by the town council in 1657. The conveyance to the town narrates the previous sale of the ground, which is described as lying on the east side of Stockwellgait and forming part of the "waist landis" belonging to the town, "commonly called the Goosedubs," and it is stated that "said two roods shall ly still unbuilt with the rest of their common lands ther, they never being buildit as yit since the first outfewing



OLD STOCKWELL BRIDGE, 1825.

therof." Parts of the Goosedub lands were included in a charter granted, in 1691, by the town council to "John Aird, elder, and Grissell Nisbet, spouses, in liferent, and John Aird, younger, their son, in fee." John Aird, younger, who was five times provost of Glasgow, between 1705 and 1722 (ten years in all), extended his Goosedubs property by additional purchases, and in 1723 he mortified the whole to the Merchants' House. Aird's properties, as well as others adjoining, have recently been acquired by the Corporation



EAST VIEW OF THE BRIDGEGATE FROM STOCKWELL.

under their Improvements Act of 1897. The old buildings have been taken down, and in their place a substantial block of shops and dwelling-houses has been erected. M'Ure, in his *History of Glasgow*, refers to "Provost Aird's wynd, reaching east from the Stockwell-street to the foot of Old-wynd."¹ The name Aird's-wynd, however, has not been found in title deeds, and on old maps, such as those of Ross in 1773 and M'Arthur in 1778, the lane is called Goosedubs, and it now bears the name of Goosedubs Street. Aird's properties did not come so far north as the lane, and in the titles of the bordering properties the lane is simply described as "the back street leading from Stockwellgate to Bridgegate." The lane on the east of the properties, leading from Bridgegate northward to Goosedubs Street, is called Aird's Lane.²

M'Ure, writing in 1736, enumerates several tenements in Bridgegate belonging to merchants and other citizens, those on the south including "the great tenement belonging to Sir John Bell, late Provost of Glasgow," the "tenement of the heirs of John Campbell of Woodside," and "the fine lodging of Colin Campbell of Blythswood, Esq." The Blythswood mansion is said to have been built by Colin Campbell, who was provost of Glasgow in 1660. Blythswood lands, the prebendal endowment of the parson of Erskine, had been acquired by the Elphinstones, and along with Gorbals were conveyed by Sir George Elphinstone to Viscount Belhaven in 1634. The deed of conveyance includes Sir George's tenement of land "lyand within the citie" and also "the dowcatt standing upon the west syde of the said citie, with the grene called the Little Grein there." Colin Campbell acquired Blythswood from Sir

¹ M'Ure, p. 132.

² *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 141.

Robert Douglas of Blackerstoun, to whom Viscount Belhaven had transferred the lands, and he got a Crown charter of confirmation on 25th July, 1649.¹ An entry in the Council record in 1653 shows that he also got the "dowcatt." Mischievous boys were in the habit of amusing themselves by disturbing his pigeons, and "in answer to Colin Campbell his desyre," the town council authorised him "to build some little fixit work befor his dowcat doir on the Grene, for withhalding of boyes thairfra wha troubles his dowses be chapping at all tymes on the said doire."² From a MS. protocol dated 20th November, 1657, it is ascertained that Colin Campbell had two adjoining tenements in Bridgegait, and it is possible that one of them may have been that which Sir George Elphinstone conveyed to Viscount Belhaven in 1634. The protocol in question narrates that "Colin Campbell of Blythswood, merchant, burgess," for implement of his part of a marriage contract between Colin Campbell, his son, and "Margaret Lauder, dochter to John Lauder, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh, and ane of the present bailies thereof" (who afterwards became Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, baronet), resigned in favour of his son and spouse, a tenement of land, with yard and pertinents, lying between Bridgegate on the north, the Little Green on the South, and "the said Coline Campbell, his uther landis, which sumtyme pertenit to Alexander Craufurd" on the west.³ The liferent of the elder Campbell was reserved, and it is probable that he utilised both tenements as the site for his spacious new residence. Occupied by the successive Blythswood lairds till about the year 1770, the mansion formed part of the entailed estate, but in the year 1802 it was sold,

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* ix. No. 2106.

² *Glasg. Rec.* ii. p. 272.

³ *MS. Prot. Book of William Yair*, 1657-60, p. 31.

and the price converted into a ground annual. The railway lines converging on St. Enoch's Station now cover the site.

In 1664 the town council allowed Colin Campbell to take in a piece of "commoune grund on the west side of his yard, provyding he build a dyk about it lyk the hospitalles yaird dyk thair."¹ Sixty-five years previous to that



RESIDENCE OF THE CAMPBELLS OF BLYTHSWOOD, BRIDGEGATE.

time the merchants of Glasgow had founded a new hospital for the benefit of their decayed brethren. Goosedubs had been proposed as a site, but the south side of Bridgegate, west of the grounds of Blythswood mansion, was preferred. The earlier buildings were in 1659 replaced by what M'Ure styles a "magnificent structure," consisting of hospital, guild hall, and steeple with a "stately bell," while south of the buildings was a "large flower garden, 201 feet in length and 72 feet in breadth, fenced about on the east, south, and west

¹ *Glas. Rec.* iii. p. 39.

with a strong stone wall of nine foot high.”¹ The Bridgegate property was sold by the Merchants’ House in 1817, but under reservation of the steeple, which it was resolved should be preserved as an interesting relic, forming, as it does, a conspicuous object in most early views of the city.



THE MERCHANTS' HALL.

Provost Bell's tenement referred to by M'Ure stood at the east extremity and south side of Bridgegate. It was occupied by the Duke of York (afterwards James VII.) during his visit to Glasgow in October, 1681. One of the items of expenditure connected with that visit consisted of £860 "for provisions in the proveistis hous the tyme the Duke was there and theis that were with him."² The house remained for some time in the possession of the Provost's

¹ M'Ure, pp. 203-4 ; *Glas. Prot.* No. 3557.

² *Glas. Rec.* iii. p. 304.

descendants, and between 1749 and 1776 it was occupied by the Ship Bank, the first successful venture of the kind in Glasgow. In consequence of its corner position this building, or what was left of it, was twice acquired by the Corporation for street-widening purposes. In 1793, when the feuing of Hutchesontown was planned, it was evident that success depended to a large extent on the establishment of ready communication between the south and north sides of the river, and accordingly Parliamentary authority was obtained for the construction of a bridge in the line of Saltmarket and the prolongation of that street to the river. At that time the street, as a thoroughfare, went no farther south than Bridgegate, though there was an opening giving access to the Laigh Green. The corner house, which then projected considerably beyond what is now the west building line of Saltmarket, was purchased by the Town Council in 1797, and after taking down so much as was necessary for the widened street they sold the remainder, which from that time remained in private ownership till recently, when it was reacquired by the Corporation for the widening of Bridgegate as authorised by the Improvements Act of 1897. In consequence of the removal of the east portion of the old building about 1797, the gable facing Saltmarket had to be rebuilt, and here, in the upper part, a stone bore an inscription indicating the height to which the Clyde had risen during a great flood on 12th March, 1782. Assuming that the inscription recorded an actual fact, the stone had probably been removed from the lower part of the original gable, or, as conjectured by some, it may have been taken from Silvercraig's Land on the opposite side of the street, and placed in its new position at the whim of the builder.

Provost Bell's garden, like the other gardens attached to

the dwellings at the east end of Bridgegate, extended to Molendinar Burn. The "brig at the provest yaird end, at the Barras yet port," is referred to in 1664 as the model of another "brig" then proposed to be built for "moir comodious entrie to Linningshaugh."¹ Linningshaugh, now forming the south-west corner of the New Green, had just then been purchased by the Town Council, and a bridge over the burn was necessary for its proper utilisation. The bridge was duly erected, and also another in the following year, at the "foot of Camlachie Burn," the stream which joined the Molendinar a short distance east of Saltmarket. But an evil fate befel the "twa brigs." In the Council record of 17th July, 1666, it is narrated that "yesterday there having falline out in the afternoone, betwixt four and fyve houres, the most great impetuous raine that hes bein sein in the memorie of man, and that upon ane suddanty, all in and verie neir the toune, quhilk rais northward and com doune the burne on the east syd of the toune, sua that many were supprysed therby, it falling out in such a suddanty, all that day being verie fair and hot till that tyme, and therby brak out the mylne laid of the Subdeanes mylne foiranent the hie kirkyaird, as also the northwest newk of the gavill of the subdeanes malt mylne, and brak doune and destroyed twa new laitly builded brigs, ane at the foot of the Saltmercat, and the uther beneth that betwixt the new Grein and Litle Grein."²

The skimmers of Glasgow had long the primary use of the south-east corner of Little Green for the purpose of drying their wool and leather, and in 1744 the adjoining ground on the west was appropriated for the erection of slaughter-houses, the first occasion on which such accommodation was

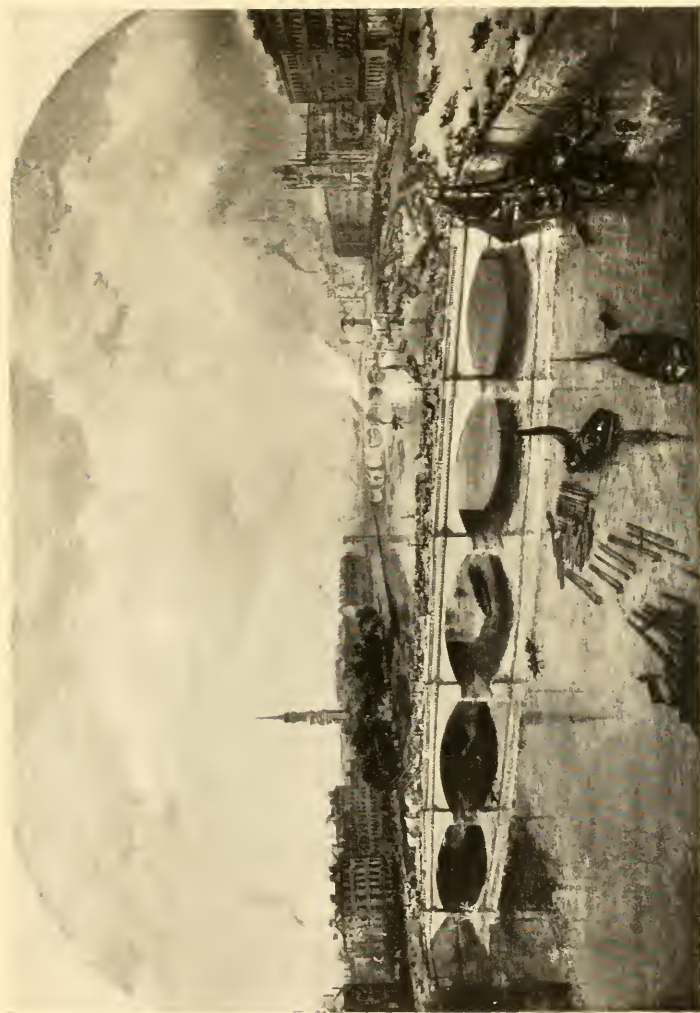
¹ *Glas. Rec.* iii. p. 39.

² *Ib.* p. 82.

provided for the public. Six years afterwards the Town Council leased to William Fleming and William Murdoch a piece of ground on the east side of the burn, opposite "Skinners' Green," for the erection of a saw-mill. From about that time Bridgegate began to deteriorate as a residential locality. The inhabitants complained specially of "the nuisance of the sawmill dam, by stagnating the burn and keeping in the whole filth and nastiness carried down in said burn." On the forcible stoppage of the mill in 1764 the Town Council and the ejected lessees entered upon litigation, the proceedings in which, and specially the sketch plan produced in process, have preserved much interesting information regarding the district at that time. Witnesses generally concurred in describing the polluted state of the burn, though one of them remembered "that before the tan work in the Gallowgate was built, the water in the Molendinar was so good that people in the Bridgegate took the water thereof for the brewing of their ale." All that had changed, and the same witness had seen "such a thick scum upon the top of the water as he thinks would have carried a partridge; and he has actually seen the bird water-wagtail standing thereon without sinking." The skinners, too, "while standing in the burn bare-legged, washing their sheep skins," were bitten by "some kind of vermin," the bites "raising lumps" on their legs, but these obnoxious animals had disappeared after the saw-mill was removed.¹

At first the slaughter-houses extended to the margin of the river, but about the beginning of the nineteenth century the Town Council resolved to continue Clyde Street eastward to the New Green, and it became necessary to shift the buildings farther back. Parliamentary authority for effecting these

¹ Reid's *Old Glasgow*, pp. 126-40.



STOCKWELL BRIDGE, 1853.
From Water Colour by Sam Bough, R.S.A.

changes was obtained in 1806. In consideration of a sum of money paid to the skinners they surrendered their rights in the Green they had hitherto occupied, and a portion of that ground was appropriated for the prolonged street, part was included in the site of the new courthouses, and the remainder was used in connection with the altered slaughter-houses. Between the slaughter-houses and the dwellings on the south side of Bridgegate a space was occupied as a market for traffic in old clothes, while all around a dense population clustered. Bridgegate and its vicinity had become one of the most congested and unattractive spots of the city, when the advent of the Union Railway in 1864 produced a radical change. The slaughter-houses and old clothes market were among the first removals, and open spaces soon began to take the place of crowded buildings. Subsequent railway extensions effected further clearances, and these operations, combined with the exercise by the municipality of their powers for removal of insanitary buildings and widening of streets, have produced in this district a transformation more complete, perhaps, than is to be found in any other part of the city.¹

¹ The sketch plan referred to on p. 64 is reproduced in *Glasghu Facies* p. 494.

STOCKWELLGAIT AND THE OLD GREEN

IN early times it was customary for the heads of religious houses to possess dwellings in the more important towns throughout the country. Many of these holdings were originally Crown gifts, the object, according to Cosmo Innes, being to enable the great church lords to accompany the Sovereign in his frequent changes of residence, as well as to secure responsible and improving tenants for the Crown property in the new burghs.¹ By royal grants the Bishop of Glasgow owned a toft (*i.e.* a dwelling with land attached) in each of the burghs of Montrose, Dumfries, Forfar, and Stirling.² King William gave to the Aberbrothick monks of St. Thomas the Martyr a toft in each of his burghs and residences, and it is not improbable that Glasgow, which of old had its chapel of St. Thomas, likewise contained a residence for the monks of the great northern monastery. Other Glasgow sites of the description referred to are more easily identified. The Abbey of Paisley had at least three properties in the city, one called the Monks' House at the corner of High Street and Rottenrow; another described in the Abbey rental as the "ynnys before the Blak Freris"; and the third, to be more particularly

¹ *Early History*, p. 35.

² *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 33, 50, 74, 77.

noticed, situated at "the Stok well."¹ Bishop Joceline (1175-99) gave to the Knights Templars a toft in the burgh and the fishing of one net in the Clyde, and this toft seems to be identified with the property on the west side of Stockwell Street which in the sixteenth century is traced in the possession of the Knights of St. John, successors of the Templars.² These military orders may have exercised their fishing rights through dependents occupying the toft dwellings, but though it has been conjectured that Stockwell Street got its original name of Fishergait on account of its being chiefly occupied by fishermen, there is no direct evidence that any of the residents belonged to that class. Besides, if the name had originated in this way Fisher-raw rather than Fisher-gait would have been the designation. Gait was applied to the thoroughfare, not to the dwellings along its course. Why this particular gait should be much frequented by fishermen is sufficiently obvious if the "Stock well" be regarded as the forerunner of that "fine fountain" at the Broomielaw which in M'Ure's time supplied water to "all the boats, barges, and lighters' crews that arrives at the harbour from Port-Glasgow, and all other vessels which comes from the Highlands and far-off isles of Scotland."³ The Stock well—so called probably from its being fenced by stocks or stakes—was within convenient reach of boatmen and voyagers, and it may be supposed that the track between it and the river, the Fishergait, was more regularly traversed by fishermen than by any other class of citizens. The well originally stood in the roadway. In 1594-5 several persons were convicted for having injured it "with

¹ *Paisley Abbey*, Appx. p. clv.

² *Reg. Episc.* No. 41; *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 58, 3409. ³ M'Ure, p. 231.

cartis and carris.”¹ In 1638 instructions were given to have “the stock wall” removed and set down in “ane uther place,” and at the same time a well at the cross was to be taken down, the cavity covered in, and the “heid that was thairon” was to be set upon “the said new wall in the Stockwallgait.”² The well was closed in 1856.

Another grant of Bishop Joceline, that by which he confirmed to the monks of his old abbey of Melrose “the toft in the burgh of Glasgow which Ranulf of Hadintun built in the first building of the burgh”³ is of special interest on account of its allusion to the beginnings of Glasgow as a municipality. The Bishop had recently obtained the King’s authority to have a burgh, with a weekly market and the enjoyment of privileges such as other burghs possessed. When Bishop John was about to set the municipal machinery of St. Andrews in motion he obtained the services of Mainard, a burgess of Berwick, where he had acquired a knowledge of burgh usages,⁴ and it is not unlikely that Ranulf had come from Haddington to Glasgow in a similar capacity. Of such inaugural proceedings no details have been preserved, but the records of about a century later disclose the existence of a fully equipped burgh with its market place and market cross, its tolbooth and the surrounding dwellings and trading places of the burgesses. The members of the new community were located not around the Cathedral, the district reserved for ecclesiastics, but on the more commodious plain within easy reach of the river, and in this vicinity was doubtless the building which Ranulf erected. Though it is not likely that the precise site will

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 161.

² *Ib.* p. 390.

³ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 5.

⁴ *Middle Ages*, p. 159.

ever be certainly known, there is an opening for reasonable conjecture in the contents of a document preserved in Melrose chartulary. This consists of the transcript of a letter under the seal of the community of Glasgow setting forth that on 8th October, 1325, an "inquest" had found that Thomas of Hall was rightful heir of certain lands in the town of Glasgow, and that possession had been given to him subject to the approval of the abbot for his interest.¹ It may therefore be safely inferred that by this time the monks had leased or feued their Glasgow property, and that in 1325 it had come into the possession of Thomas of Hall by inheritance. Further, an indication of the situation of the property may be obtained from a document, dated in the year 1454, wherein a tenement on the south side of the street of "St. Tenaw" is described as bounded on the east by the land of the lord abbot of Melros.² It is not known that the Border abbey ever possessed more than one property in Glasgow, and though its interest at that time may not have extended beyond the right to draw rent or feu-duty from the Halls, it is not improbable that the toft of the twelfth century and the "land" of 1454 were the same. Now, it happens that of several Glasgow properties belonging to the Halls of Fulbar, a family who may have sprung from the Hall who succeeded to heritage in 1325, was a tower or fortalice and orchard which may well have been the toft which the Abbot of Melrose occupied on the occasion of his visits to Glasgow. Situated midway between the tolbooth and the adjoining chapel of St. Mary on the one side and the ancient chapel of St. Tenew on the other, it was just in the position which an abbot might have selected. The owners of the tower had also other

¹ *Lib. Col.* p. 237.

² *Ib.* p. 174.

eligible neighbours in the Templars, whose adjoining toft was situated nearer the river. The ownership of the tower can be traced in title-deeds from the middle of the sixteenth century till the present time. Possessed by the Halls as a single holding till the year 1575, the orchard was then divided into lots and conveyed to different purchasers. Four lots, with north frontage to what is now Argyle Street, of from 12 to 18 ells each, and five lots with east frontage to Stockwell Street of 12 ells each, exhausted most of the orchard.¹ The tower situated to the south of the five lots and the remainder of the orchard were retained by the Hall family for some time, and after passing through the hands of successive owners were in 1870 acquired by the Union Railway Company, and partly used in the construction of their bridge over Stockwell Street. At that time the tower property formed No. 48 of Stockwell Street, and adjoining it on the south was a tenement occupying part of the site which had been formerly owned by the abbey of Paisley.

The Paisley Abbey property was purchased in 1285 from a burgess of Glasgow, who was forced to part with it on account of poverty, as narrated in a title-deed which is specially notable as containing the earliest extant reference to Glasgow Bridge. In the year 1505 the abbot sold to Alan Steward of Cardonald a "land or tenement" described as lying near the street called Stokwell, containing one rood of land, viz. six ells in front, having another land or tenement of Alan Steward on the south, the land or tenement of Thomas Hall on the north, and the land or tenement of Alexander Scot on the east.² A yearly feu-duty of 5s. was payable to the abbot and convent from the property,

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 2145, 2147, 2442, 2560, etc.

² *Paisley Reg.* pp. 399-401, 433-4.

which seems to be identified with that entered in the Abbey Rental: "Master Thomas Leis, of the Stokwell, v.s."¹ Thomas Leis or Leys, designated vicar of Dreghorn, in 1530 and other dates, founded a chaplainry at the altar of St. Michael in the Cathedral and another chaplainry in the Parish Church of Cadder, and his properties on the east side of Stockwell Street supplied parts of the endowments of each.² A little farther north was a property which at one time belonged to John Stewart, the first Provost of Glasgow, and which afterwards came into the possession of the Hall family, probably through the marriage of "Robyne of Hall of the Fulbare," with Jonet Stewart, the Provost's daughter. In 1497 the property is referred to as lying on the east side of the Fyschergate, and about a hundred years later part of it is described as a yard with "foure fruit peir treis thairupone."³ The Abbey property appears to have been intersected by the street when prolonged in its present line. In the year 1540 the Town Council feued to "Allan Stewart of Cardonell" a piece of ground on the north side of the old Green and west side of "Stockwellgate," having a street frontage of 3 roods and a depth of 7 roods 4 ells. This ground was reacquired by the town in 1610, and in the title-deeds is described as bounded on the north by the lands of the abbot and convent of Paisley.⁴ It is supposed that the latter lands filled up the intermediate space to the Tower, and, if so, would include a tenement sold by Robert Stewart to John Graham of Dougalston in 1685, and after being successively

¹ *Paisley Abbey*, Appx. p. clv.

² *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1107, 1128, 1368-9; *Lib. Col.* p. 92.

³ *Reg. Episc.* No. 476; *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 182, 575, 915, 3291.

⁴ MS. Inventory i. bundle 30; MS. A, Hegait's *Protocol Book*, p. 98.

possessed by John Stuart Crawford of Milton, and others, was owned by John Strang, author of *Glasgow and its Clubs*, whose trustees sold it to the Union Railway Company in 1869. For some years Dr. Strang leased part of the property as Sheriff's Chambers and Sheriff Clerk's Office.¹ The property belonging to the Knights Templars, and already referred to, was likewise situated on the west side of Stockwell Street, but its precise position has not been ascertained.²

During a financial emergency in 1588-9 the Town Council resolved to sell portions of Greenhead, embracing that part of the Old Green which was intersected by the lower portion of Stockwell Street,³ but reserving space for "ane port passand to the watter of Clyd," this being the water port giving access to the river at the north end and west side of the old bridge. The ground was to be sold by public roup, but only to burgesses and freemen who dwelt in the town, and in addition to the price each rood was to be burdened with 20d. of yearly feu-duty. Six lots, making up 24 roods in all, were sold at the total cash price of £705, besides feu-duties.⁴ Among the other sales at this time the Town Council parted with the crooks of the Milldam, where the inhabitants had been accustomed to assemble yearly and hold the Whitsunday Court for perambulation of the marches, and transaction of other public business.⁵ Now that these lands were sold, another meeting place required to be selected. Accordingly on 4th June, 1590, the Town Council resolved that "upoun Witsontwyisday yeirlie in

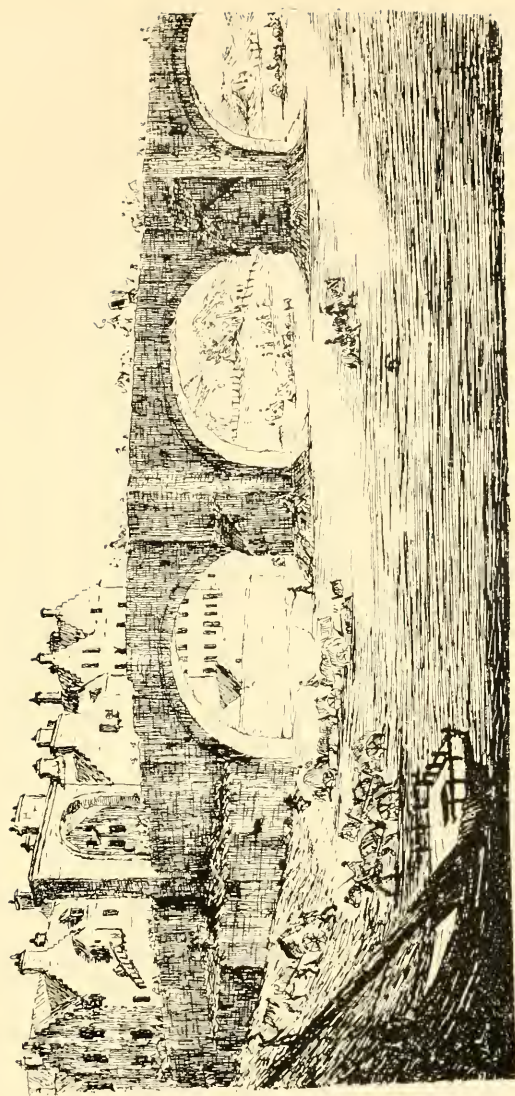
¹ *Transactions Glasg. Arch. Soc.* 2d series, i. pp. 88-9.

² *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 2771, 3409.

³ *Glas. Rec.* 121-2.

⁴ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 3252.

⁵ *Glas. Rec.* i. pp. 50, 84, 93.



VIEW OF OLD BRIDGE, WITH APPROACH FROM RIVER TO WATER PORT, c. 1776.
From Original Pen and Ink Sketch by James Bogen.

tyme cumyng, becaus the Mylndame is sett in few, quhilk wes the place of thair conventioun for roiping of thair commoun gudes and uther thingis, that efter the outputting of the outlandimeris in the morning and ryding about the marches, they sall all convene betuix the buttis of the Grene and thair rope all thingis that suld and aucht to be ropit yeirlie, in presence of the haill commounaltie." But, curtailing the open-air proceedings, it was further ordained that immediately after the roup the "saidis provest, baillies and counsall pas to the tolbuith, and thair, in thair counsallhous, chuse and elect sik honest men as thesaurer, clerk, maister of werk and menstrallis, as they wer wont to chuse at the Mylndame in tyme bypast."¹ This practice was continued until 1726, when a change became desirable on account of the annual gathering being made the occasion of disorderly proceedings. A Council minute, dated 12th April of that year, narrates that "upon land meithing day, quhich is the first Tuesday of June, yearly, and night preceding, there are a great many abuses committed by boys, servants, and others, to the disturbance of the peace of the place, and some customs crept in quhich are not agreeable." For avoiding these inconveniences it was resolved that, instead of the customary "land meithing," the Dean of Guild and Deacon Convener should get certain merchants and craftsmen to go round the town's marches in May, and report the result of their inspection to the Magistrates and Council at the annual roup of the Common Good, which roup was for the future appointed to take place in the Court Hall of the Tolbooth.²

After the sale of the Greenhead lots in 1588-9, the Old Green, extending from the River Clyde on the south to St.

¹ *Glas. Rec.* i. p. 152.

² *MS. Council Rec.* xxi. p. 346.

Enoch's Croft on the north, and from the Stockwell tenements on the east to St. Enoch's Burn on the west, remained almost intact for another hundred years. Used as a place of public resort, it is referred to in 1558 as the playground of Glasgow (*palestram de Glasgw lusorium*),¹ and here the "fut-ballis" purchased out of the common good may have been annually tossed about on Shrove Tuesday. This day, which immediately preceded the season of Lent, was from an early date known in Scotland as Fastern's E'en, a name which appears to signify the eve of the Fast. In the olden time Fastern's E'en was set apart as a day of festive celebration, among the prevailing revels the playing of football being conspicuous, and it is interesting to note that in this respect Glasgow complied with the usual custom. The city's accounts for 1573-4 show that on 12th February 12s. were paid for "futt balls." In the following year "sax fut-ballis" were again purchased for 12s., and the merriment was further encouraged by the payment of 18d., "on Fastrinis even, to ane fule with the treyn suerd" (wooden sword), and of the like sum to "the pyper called Ryall Dayis for playing." The annual supply of six footballs at the expense of the Common Good was continued till the year 1589-90, when a cordiner named John Neill, in return for remission of fees on his admission as a burgess, undertook to furnish, yearly, during his lifetime, "upon Fastrinis even, sex guid and sufficient fut ballis," or else 20s. as the price thereof. Under this arrangement the City Treasurer for the time was relieved from the necessity of purchasing footballs at the annual festival, and perhaps his successors did not resume the practice.²

At one time calves were allowed to graze on the Green

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 469.

² *Glasg. Rec.* pp. 149, 451-69.

during summer, a "calf herd" being employed to keep them from trespassing and "furthe of scaythe." As remuneration this official was to get sixpence from each owner of the calves, and to have his "meit and drink" by daily rotation from such owners and from the occupiers of adjoining lands "for keeping of their cornes." Any horses put on the Green required to be "langalit," their fore and hind legs being tied together to prevent them from running. Cows were not permitted to graze on the Green before Michaelmas.¹ In 1624 a different system was in operation, as the grazing was set to a tacksman for payment of a yearly rent of £50, "but with this expres provisioun that all persones haif libertie and licence to use pastyme and game thairin and use thair recreatioun as of befoir."² Trees were planted in 1613, and again in 1660.³ Northward of the Green, and separated from it by a ditch or "seuch"⁴ somewhat in the line of the present Howard Street, were not only the cemetery and grounds connected with St. Tenew's Chapel, but also various rigs of land in St. Tenew's croft, kept by their owners in a state of cultivation till about the year 1584, when some portions were disposed of in building lots, forming what was latterly known as St. Enoch's Wynd. Shortly afterwards the construction of a causeway through the Green was accomplished, partly through money contributions and partly by the labour of the inhabitants. At sound of the drum each householder was to send a servant to work at the causeway, and in case of failure he was liable in a penalty of 6s. 8d., to be applied towards the work.⁵

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 52, 68, 287.

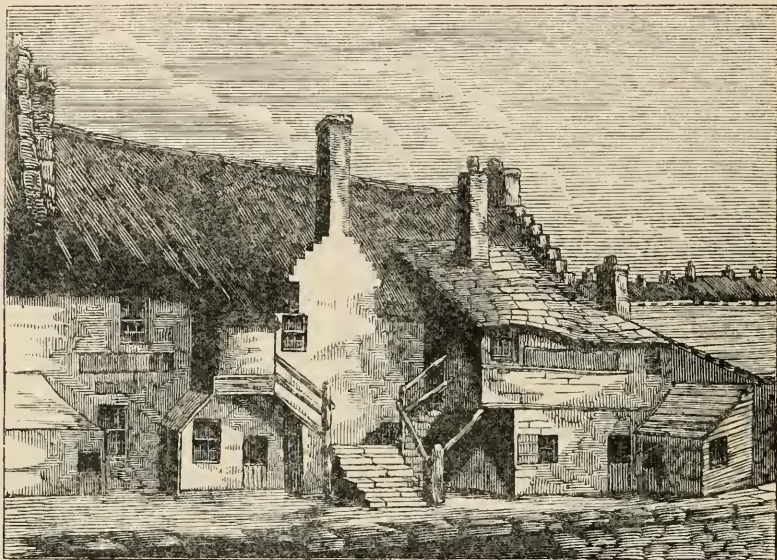
² *Ib.* p. 342.

³ *Ib.* i. p. 336; ii. p. 436.

⁴ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 2690, 2860.

⁵ *Glasg. Rec.* 190-1, 204.

In consequence of the formation of the New Green, land for which was acquired piecemeal from 1662 onwards, it became unnecessary to maintain the Old Green for its original purpose, and accordingly, in 1696, an offer by the partners of a ropework manufactory to lease the whole area,



TENEMENT AT THE FOOT OF STOCKWELL.

with the exception of a small space at the east end reserved for a timber yard, was accepted. The rent was to be £10 sterling if the town maintained the dykes, but an abatement of £1 13s. 4d. was to be allowed if the lessees undertook the repairs. Though the ropework company was thus accommodated the inhabitants had probably still access to the Green, especially along the river bank, for purposes of recreation. M'Ure, writing in 1736, refers to the Green as one of three parks in the city, remarking that "it is

only fenced round with palisadoes and no stone wall, but that loss is made up by 150 growing trees round the Green, pretty large.”¹ In 1733 a large portion of the Green was appropriated as a site for the Town’s Hospital, a building which was used as such till about the year 1843, when it was superseded by the poorhouse in Parliamentary Road.

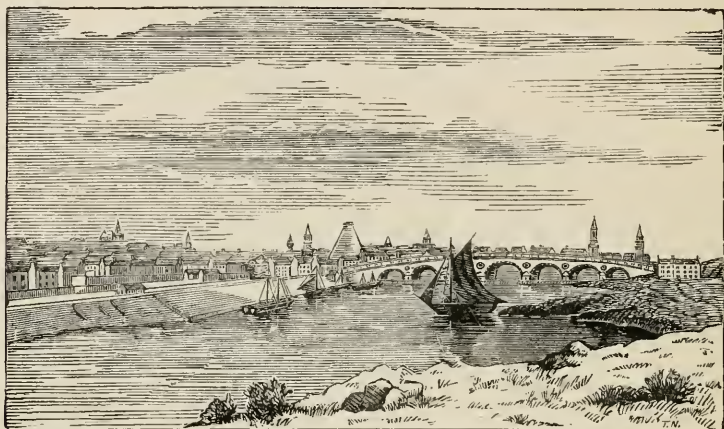


OLD TOWN HOSPITAL, GREAT CLYDE STREET.

Other portions were subsequently disposed of for building purposes, and the Town Council having acquired from the Merchants’ House the site of the old chapel of St. Tenew and the three acres by which it was surrounded, as well as other adjoining ground, the combined lands were laid out on a feuing plan and put into the market. Lots in Jamaica Street, the westmost thoroughfare in the new building scheme, were advertised by the Merchants’ House as early as 1751, and ten years later the Town Council made a

¹ M’Ure, p. 121.

similar announcement. An impetus was given to building operations by the opening of Jamaica Street bridge in 1772, about which time St. Enoch's Square and the connecting streets took shape, and in the course of a few years most of the available ground was in the hands of individual owners and covered with buildings. A track along the north bank of the river led from the old bridge to the



THE FIRST BROOMIELAW BRIDGE, 1800.

Broomielaw,¹ and this was latterly formed into Clyde Street, between which and the river was the "Town's Dovecote Green," as shown on M'Arthur's plan of 1778. In the year 1818 the Town Council sold this ground at the price of £1166 10s. 9d. to the owners of property in Clyde Street, their interest in it being proportionate to frontage, but it

¹ The old road is referred to in 1742 when the Town Council conveyed the site of the bottle works, describing it as a "piece of waste ground upon the west side of the burn, at the foot of the Old Green and north side of the highway leading from the Water port of the burgh to the harbour of Broomielaw" (MS. *Chartulary*, xx. p. 281).

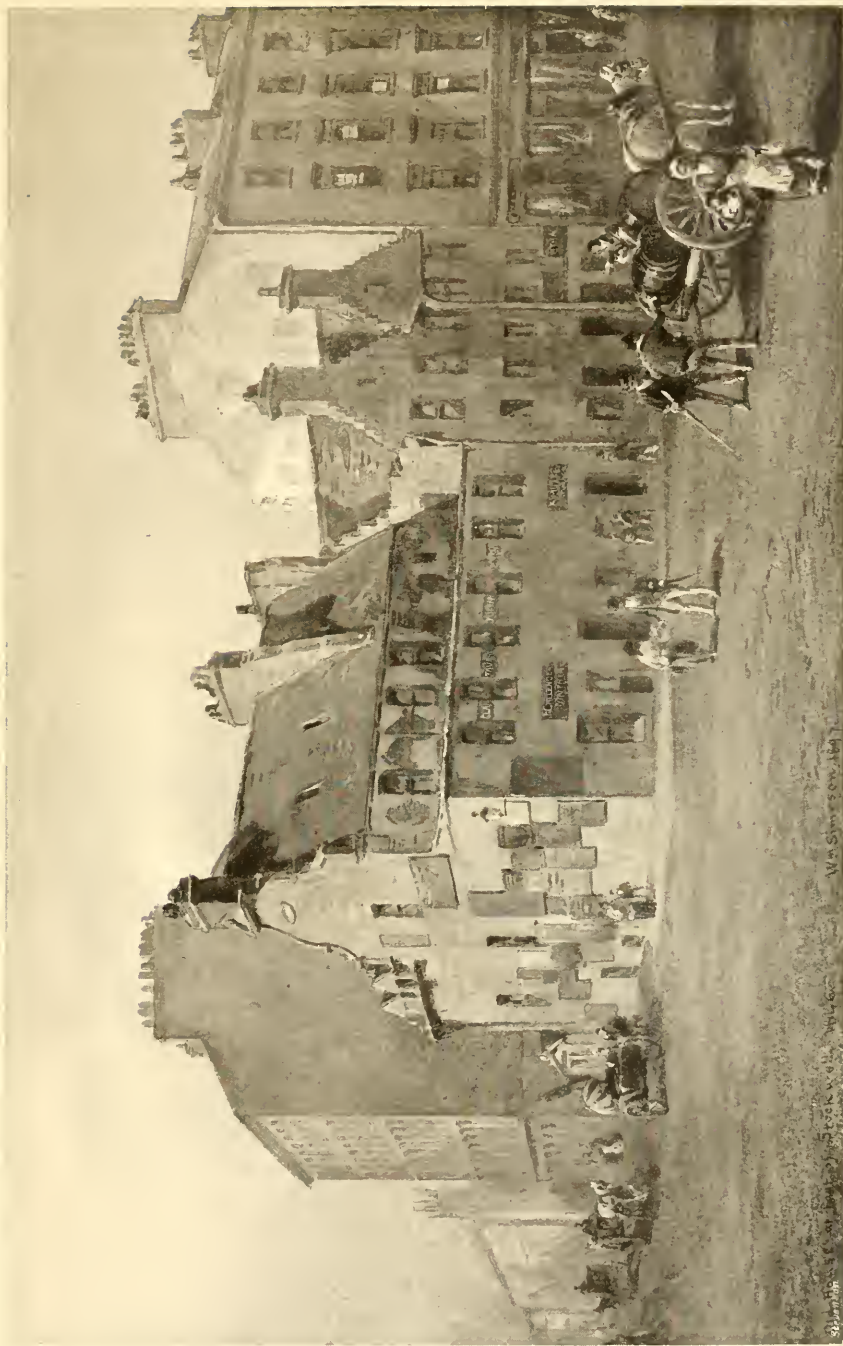
was not to be used for "building or other purposes except raising grass, grazing sheep, making hay, and planting the ground with trees and shrubs." The rights of the public were also reserved for walking and access to the river; but this arrangement subsisted only till 1840, when the Clyde Trustees exercised their parliamentary power of acquiring the ground for purposes of navigation,¹ and that portion of the Old Green now forms part of the accommodation works of Glasgow Harbour.

¹ *Chartulary*, xxv. pp. 105, 548. In 1809 the Town Council conveyed to the Clyde Trustees, at the price of 29s. per square yard, 8721 square yards, described as the "quay or harbour of the Broomelaw, with the ground thereto adjoining, bounded on the east by a line in continuation of the west side of Jamaica Street and the new bridge, on the south by the river Clyde, on the west by ground sometime belonging to William Robertson and then to the Clyde Trustees, and on the north by the public road" (*Ib.* xxiv. p. 385).

VI.

NELSON STREET AND LONGCROFT

FORMED in 1798, a year famous in naval annals, Nelson Street was named in honour of the victorious Admiral who had just won fresh laurels at the battle of the Nile, and it happens that the locality is likewise associated with the memory of another heroic personage who bore a distinguished share in the campaigns of that period. This was Sir John Moore, who was born in "Donald's Land," the site of which is now occupied by the modern structure at the west corner of Trongate and Nelson Street. As shown by M'Arthur's plan of 1778, there was then no opening in the frontage of Trongate between High Street and Candleriggs. At the place where Nelson Street broke through there seems to have been a narrow passage along back tenements, and if connected, as it probably was, by closes in the front tenements, communication of some sort may have been obtainable between Trongate and Bell Street. Nelson Street itself was not adapted for vehicular traffic. Averaging only 22 feet in width, it consisted of a pathway laid with flagstones, and having in the centre a channel for running off the surface water. The buildings on the east side, other than those fronting Bell Street and Trongate, were only two stories in height, the ground

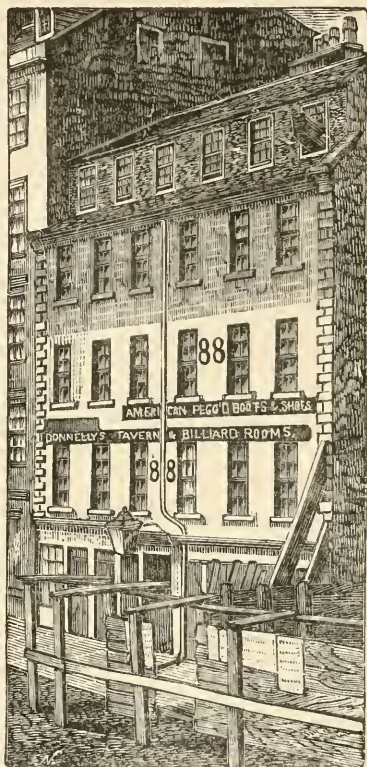


CORNER OF STOCKWELL AND GREAT CLYDE STREET.

From Water Colour by William Simpson.

stories consisting of a continuous row of shops much in demand by bird-dealers.

In early times the site of Nelson Street seems to have been occupied in connection with tenements fronting High Street and Trongate. Close by were buildings possessing historic interest. The Tol-booth, erected in 1626 on the site of one which previously existed, was still in use in 1798. The adjoining Chapel of St. Mary, dating from the thirteenth century or earlier, had long before disappeared, but its site was occupied by the Town Hall, Exchange, and Assembly Rooms. Westward were intervening tenements, and then a property belonging to Robert Brisbane, of Milton, described in the title-deeds as a "tenement of land, with close, houses, stables, and pertinents, lying near the Exchange on the north side of Trongate." In 1796 Brisbane set his property, on a 200 years' lease, to Joshua Noble, wright and builder, who thereupon erected the tenement forming the north side of Trongate and east side of Nelson Street. At that time there was a piazza, formed with square pillars and arches, in front of the Exchange and adjoining



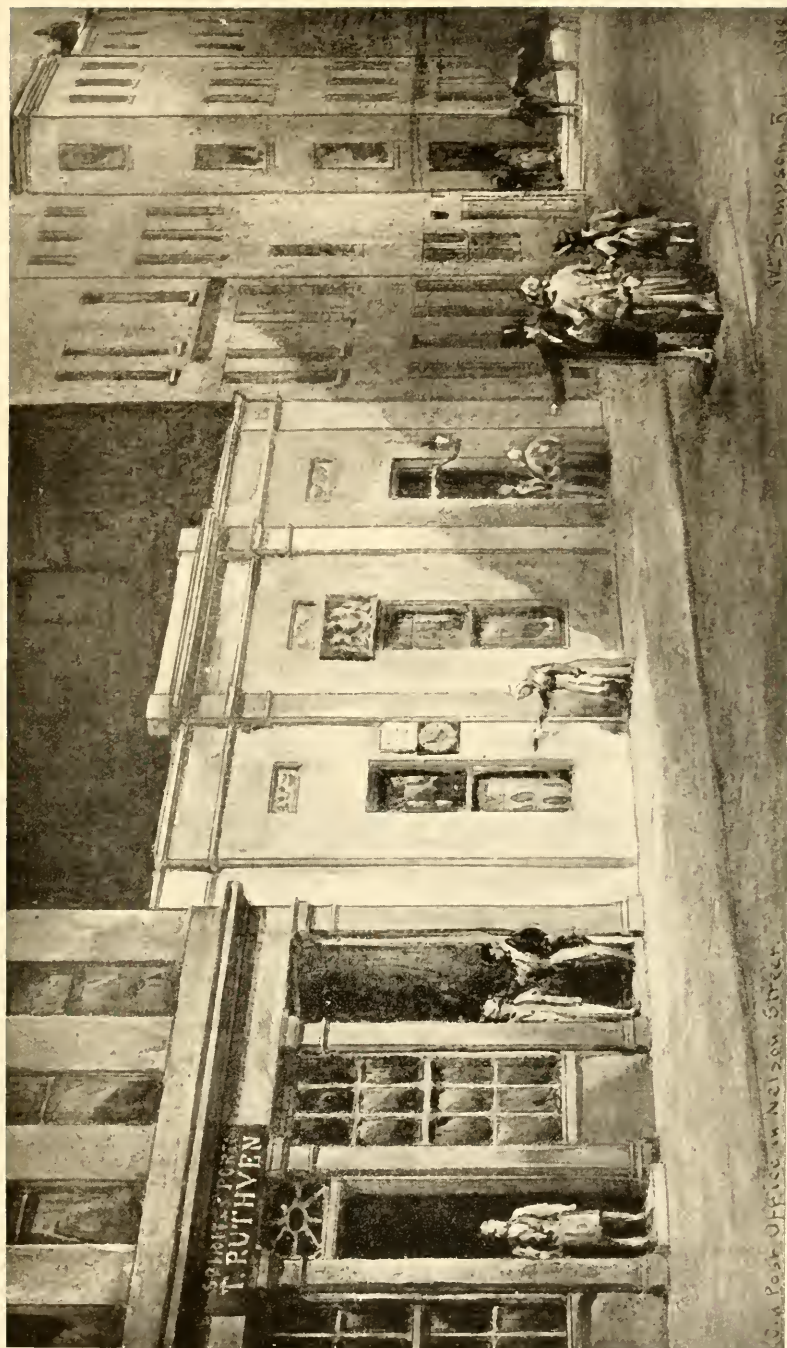
SIR JOHN MOORE'S BIRTH-PLACE.

buildings. It had been Noble's intention to appropriate the piazza space for shops, but the Magistrates prohibited this encroachment, and in consequence the landlord abated £5 of the yearly rent. This shows that the arched promenade extended as far west as Nelson Street. At the north end and west side of Nelson Street, buildings called Antigua Court were erected by James Miller, a merchant who traded with Antigua. In a conveyance of 1817, granted by the trustee on his estate, to "the Glasgow Tontine Society, established in 1816," the property is described as forming "three sides of a square, known by the name of Antigua Place," built on what was formerly a "cross house at the head of the close of a new fore tenement of land on the north side of Trongate." The old property was bounded on the north by the "lands sometimes called Longcroft, now Bell's Wynd."¹

Authority for widening Nelson Street was obtained under the Improvements Act of 1866, but the claims of other districts were more urgent, and the powers were allowed to expire. Under the act of 1897 the scheme was revived, and it has now been carried into effect. Buildings on the west side were not interfered with, except towards the north end where straightening was needed, but on the east side an entire clearance has taken place, and new buildings have been erected at a distance of fifty feet from the opposite building line.

About the year 1807, when William Stirling & Sons laid out their ground adjoining Stirling's Square in building lots, the northward thoroughfare in the line of Nelson Street was called North Nelson Street. Its width was 20 feet, the west side being occupied by a row of buildings, on the other side of which was South Albion Street, so

¹ MS. *Sasine Reg.* xlv. p. 67.



POST OFFICE, NELSON STREET.
From Water Colour by William Simpson.

called to distinguish it from the earlier street to the north, which thereafter got the name of North Albion Street. These two narrow streets were sometimes called East and West Albion Street respectively. One of the buildings in the east street was occupied as Glasgow Post Office from 1810 till 1840. It is described by Cleland as having "an ashler front, relieved in the centre, and terminating in a pediment. At one end of the building is a covered entry, and at the other a spacious lobby, for the accommodation of the public. A range of windows is so placed in the lobby that persons having boxes in the office can see if they have letters before the delivery commences."¹ In 1842 the building was acquired by trustees for the "Christian Brotherhood Church," and it was known as Nelson Street Chapel till 1870, when it was conveyed to a purchaser for business purposes. In 1898 the property, then known as 12-16 South Albion Street, was acquired by the Corporation, and has been used in connection with the extension of the Bazaar. The middle row of tenements was purchased and removed under the powers contained in the Improvements Act of 1866. The two streets were thus thrown into one and called South Albion Street, a name which has likewise been applied to the recently widened street throughout its whole length. The designation bestowed in 1798 as a tribute to patriotic achievement, has thus been withdrawn, any sentimental scruple having apparently been overcome in the desire for securing greater unity in street nomenclature and the reduction of duplications.

Westward of Nelson Street, Longcroft, at one time consisting of open lands laid out in "rigs" or ridges,

¹ *Annals* (1829), p. 180. For full particulars regarding Glasgow Post Office, see Sir James Marwick's *Water Supply*, etc., App. pp. 29-63.

belonging to sundry proprietors, extended as far as the old Cow-Lone, now Queen Street. Northward the croft was bounded by a lone in the line of the present Ingram Street. In 1637 the Magistrates and Council purchased one of these rigs, and laid out the southern portion as a flesh market, which John Ray, who visited Glasgow in 1662, described as "a very neat square flesh-market, scarce such an one to be seen in England or Scotland." At the other end of the rig houses for the making of candles were erected, and eventually the street named Candleriggs was formed through the ground. Meanwhile the Town Council had purchased additional bits of land on each side of the original rig, and the combined properties were utilised for various purposes, including accommodation for the candlemakers. Candle-making was a necessary but dangerous occupation, on account of the inflammable nature of the material handled in the process. In 1649 the place used for the purpose was apparently too close to other buildings, as the Town Council had before them a supplication for removing of the "candilhoussis," and it was thought expedient that they should be put to some convenient place, "quhairby the towne may be frie of danger in respect of the many suddent dangers hes fallen out throw occasion of fyris rasit thairin." Five years afterwards the inhabitants were alarmed by "the late miserable accident of fyre that fell in Edinburgh throw occasione of ane candilhouss, and the great desolatione fallin out thereby"; and candlemakers were directed to provide themselves with premises in "out places, ane hundreth yards off any dwelling-houssis within towne," under a penalty of £100 and loss of their freedom.¹ Repetitions of such orders occur till, in 1658, suitable

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* ii. pp. 181, 300.

outlying ground was provided by the Town Council giving liberty to the candlemakers "to build ther candlehoussis on the north end of the towne's rig, at the back of the flesch mercat." To secure isolation it was decided that the southmost candlehouse should be "sex scoir ells distant from the thorne hedges of the said flesch mercat." Each house was to be ten ells in length and five ells in width. The northmost house, next the "Grammerschol Lone," was to pay to the town 20s. Scots yearly, the next to the south 30s., and so on, with an augmentation of 10s. for each remove southward.¹ For affording access to the candlehouses a causeway was, in 1660, appointed to be laid between the Grammar School Wynd and the head of the town's rigs;² and a prolongation of this causeway southwards marks a commencement with the formation of Candleriggs Street, though it was probably not opened throughout till about 60 years later. At first Trongate had to be reached by a passage through the fleshmarket. In 1661 a candlemaker, who had premises at the north end of the rig, complained that the fleshers "maliciouslie closed the mercat yetis," and would not suffer him to pass through. The Town Council thereupon directed that the gates of the market should always stand open from morning till evening for affording free passage not only to the candlemakers but also to the inhabitants in general.³

Other industries were likewise commenced and carried on in this locality. According to M'Ure, who gives a glowing account of the enterprise of the originators, soap-making was started in Glasgow in 1667, though it was not till 1673 that the company of soapmakers obtained from the Town Council a site for their works at the head of

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* ii. p. 401.

² *Ib.* p. 436.

³ *Ib.* p. 461.

Candleriggs.¹ Sugar-making was introduced about the same time. In 1675 the Town Council sold to a company of merchants a piece of ground at the back of the fleshmarket, on which ground the purchasers erected "a great building for the making of sugar commonly called a manufactory or sugar work." This work, situated on the east side of Candleriggs Street and south side of Bell's Wynd, was designated the Wester Sugarhouse, while a similar work, placed a short distance to the east, was named the North Sugarhouse. Both works were, in 1681, accorded the statutory privileges enjoyed by manufactories, by an Act of Parliament, in which it is stated that "the saids tuo works are now brought to that perfection that they are able and doe sell the suggar at a third part cheaper than the same can be imported from abroad, by which many people are kept at work, and a great stock of money, which used to be exported, kept within the kingdom."²

In consequence of these business extensions it was found that the old accesses by Grammar School Wynd and through the fleshmarket were insufficient, and a new and commodious thoroughfare had to be provided. In 1676 the Town Council purchased front and back properties on the west side of High Street, through which it was their intention to make "ane commoune streit, lane or vennell." One of the properties was acquired from James Bell of Provosthaugh, who retained a front tenement bordering on the new street. There appears to be little doubt that Bell's Wynd, as the new street was subsequently called, got its name from this proprietor, and not, as some have conjectured, from Sir John Bell, who was Provost of Glasgow in 1674-5 and

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. pp. 173, 175 ; M'Ure, p. 227.

² *Glasg. Rec.* iii. pp. 197, 204, 271 ; *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 215.

1678-81. In the conveyance of an adjoining piece of land, in 1680, it is narrated, with reference to the former purchases of property from James Bell and others, that the Magistrates and Council "hes dimolished the samyne and now made thair of ane commone vennell or wynd passing fra the Hie Streit to the new streit in Candlerig." As was usual at that time with entrances to the city, means were provided for the new street being closed when necessary, and "the bigging of a port at the new vennell" was arranged in 1678.¹ Writing in 1736, M'Ure says: "Bells Wynd hath a noble gate and entry of curious workmanship that excels all others in the city. The wynd stretches west from the Kirk Street (High Street), and is of length 220 ells, and 10 ells wide. In it is the mutton market."² This market, otherwise called the land market, was the place set apart for the landward or country fleshers, who on certain days were allowed to transact business within the city. After the King Street markets were opened in 1755 the Bell Street market was closed for a few years, but business was eventually resumed and the market continued there till about the year 1850 when the site was acquired for an extension of the Central Police Office.³ Since the new premises in St. Andrew's Square were occupied by the Police in 1906, the Bell Street site has been appropriated for Bazaar extension.

There was no public slaughter-house in Glasgow previous to 1744, and when the fleshmarket adjoined Trongate that street was used for slaughtering purposes. A Council minute, dated 20th September, 1666, sets forth that it had been the custom of the fleshers to slay animals on both sides of Trongate, which custom "is verie lothsome to the

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. pp. 194, 260, 503; *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 367-8.

² M'Ure, p. 130.

³ *Past and Present*, i. p. 24; ii. p. 96-9.

beholders, and also raises ane filthie and noysome stink and flew to all maner of persons that passeth that way throu the King's hie streit, and is maist unseimlie to be sein." As a remedy, the Town Council commanded all fleshers to provide houses in their own premises for slaughtering their cattle, "as is done in Edinburgh and uther weill governed cities," under a penalty of £100 Scots.¹ Slaughterhouses at Skinner's Green, where the Molendinar Burn joins the Clyde, were erected in 1744, and about ten years later eligible new markets for the sale of butcher meat were opened in King Street.

Between the Mutton market and the Soapwork the town owned a piece of ground which for some time lay unproductive. In 1697 the Town Council took into consideration that this area "hes lyen long waste and useless, and that as this citie wants a bowling green, which were necessary for the ornament of the town and good and convenience of the inhabitants thereof and of strangeris that resort thereto, so they judge the said voyd ground to be a fitt and convenient place for that effect." At first it was proposed that buildings should be erected along both Candleriggs and Bell's Wynd; and Mungo Cochrane, merchant, undertook to carry out the scheme, to pay £40 Scots of ground rent, "to make a sufficient bowling green, in a decent and sufficient manner, upon the eist syde of the said ground, consisting in breadth and length of ane hundreth and fiftie foot square, and to build a sufficient stone dyke about the said green, two ells and a half high at leist;" and he and his successors were to maintain the green of the same "sufficiencie, decencie and measure" in all time coming. Subsequently the obligation

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 85.

to build on the Candleriggs front was departed from, the bowling green was to "run square in a line with the west syde of the soaperie dyk," and the feu duty was restricted to £4 Scots in consideration of Cochrane "beautifying and decoreing of that place by building the whole front upon Bell's Wynd, from the gavell of the mutton mercat to the angle over against the corner of the suggarie, with regular stone housses and sclait ruifes, all uniforme."¹ A title deed of 1748 refers to an adjoining building as a "litle laigh house where bowllis and jackis lye."

The green, occupying the space between what is now the City Hall and the buildings in Bell's Wynd, was duly formed and was maintained by successive individual owners till reacquired by the Corporation in the beginning of last century. An Act of Parliament passed in 1793 empowered the Town Council to negotiate for the purchase of the bowling green as a site for the new church to be erected in lieu of the Tron Church, recently destroyed by fire, or to be used for any other public purpose. Tron Church was, however, erected on its former site and the bowling green was kept up till the year 1817, when the Town Council got possession, and erected on it the nucleus of that Bazaar which, with its various extensions, was transferred from the Common Good to the Markets Department in June, 1906.

Owing to legal obstacles the green could only be got on lease at first; but further statutory authority having been obtained in 1825, and other difficulties having been arranged, the community became absolute proprietors a few years afterwards. In its latter days the bowling green, as described by a contemporary writer, had ceased to be

¹ *MS. Council Record.*

attractive. "Admission," says Senex, "was given to any person, upon payment of one penny; but in the course of time the smoke of the city prevented the grass from growing, and it then became useless as a place of sport. About 1780 there was a deep and broad ditch extending along the whole front of the bowling green. This ditch was never cleaned, and was about two feet deep of thick glar, in which innumerable maggots with tails made a prominent figure. The children, for amusement, used to step into this receptacle of black glar with their bare legs, and when they came out of it they perambulated the street in sport, having on what they called a pair of boots!"¹

Cleland says that after the closing of the Candleriggs bowling green there were still other three for the accommodation of the public, viz., St. Crispin's Place, Kirk Street; Sauchiehall Road, and Hutchesontown. Though not identified by the name of St. Crispin's Place, the first of these bowling greens was probably that which is shown on a plan of 1826 as lying a little east of High Street, on the grounds formerly attached to the Duke of Montrose's mansion in Drygate. The second was situated on William Harley's ground, midway between Blythswood Square and Sauchiehall Street, but the Hutchesontown green is not laid down on the plan.

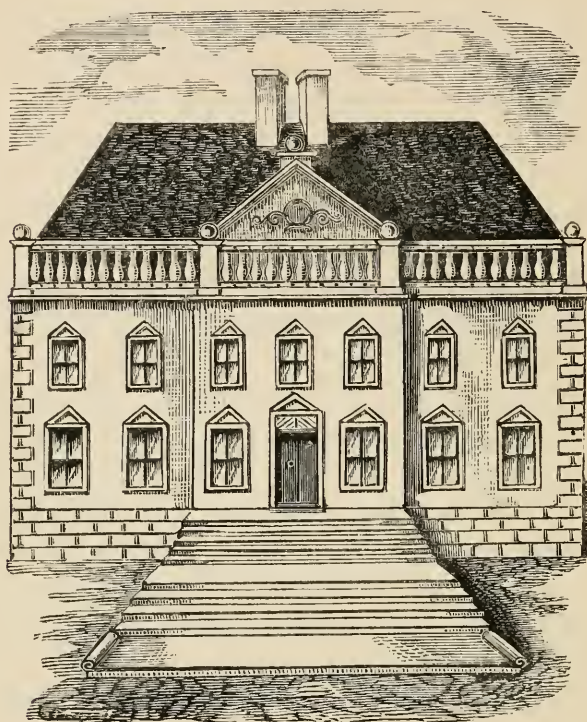
As shown on M'Arthur's plan of 1778, the Quakers had a meeting house and ground on a site now partly occupied by South Albion Street, at the corner of Stirling Street. This was not the first of their meeting houses in Glasgow traced in the records. On 7th August, 1730, John Purdon, tailor in Glasgow, conveyed a property on the east side of High Street to "William Miller, Jr., merchant in the

¹ *Past and Present*, ii. pp. 27, 28.

abbey of Hollyrudhouse, and Charles Ormiston, Jr., merchant in Kelso, for themselves and in name and behalf of their brethren, the people commonly called Quakers, for a meeting house, for the exercise of their worship, and, failing them by decease, to any persons whom the quarterly meeting of the said people and brethren at Edinburgh shall nominate and appoint as their successors and administrators to manage and oversee the said meeting house and others." The property, described as the east half of the nether part of a tenement belonging to John Purdon, and the east equal half of a yard, was bounded on the west by the fore tenement of James Locheid and on the east by the Molen-dinar Burn.¹ One Locheid is set down on the plan of 1778 as owner of property on the north side of Old Wynd, and it is not unlikely that the meeting house was there. The other meeting house above referred to was acquired in 1751 from William Stirling, merchant, and was conveyed to "Charles Ormiston, merchant in Kelso, William Miller, elder, and William Miller, younger, seedsmen, near the abbey of Holyroodhouse, whom failing to any persons that the quarterly meeting of the people called Quakers, at Edinburgh, or where it shall happen then to be for the time, shall nominate and appoint." The property consisted of a "long room, lying at the foot or westmost end of the garden belonging to William Stirling, stone built and slate roofed, 60 feet in length and 26 feet in breadth"; with ground 25 feet in breadth along the east side, and a little room, 14 feet square, attached to the north gable of the long room and built of brick and slate roofed. There was also a piece of ground on the north, between nine and ten yards in breadth, running in length as far as

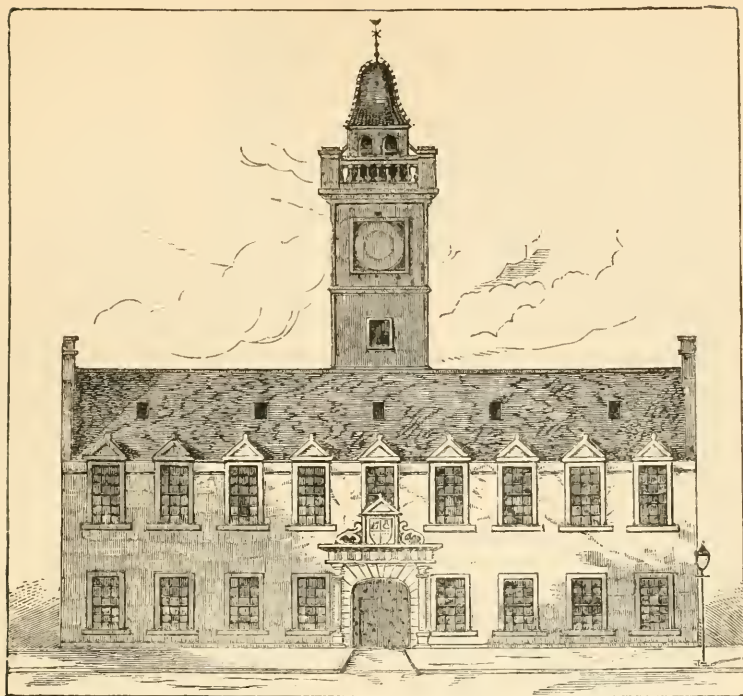
¹ *MS. Sasine Reg.* 6th July, 1731, p. 189.

“the high street commonly called Grammar School Wynd.” It was provided that the long room and little room were “only to be used by the said people called Quakers as a place of meeting for the worship of God, and that no

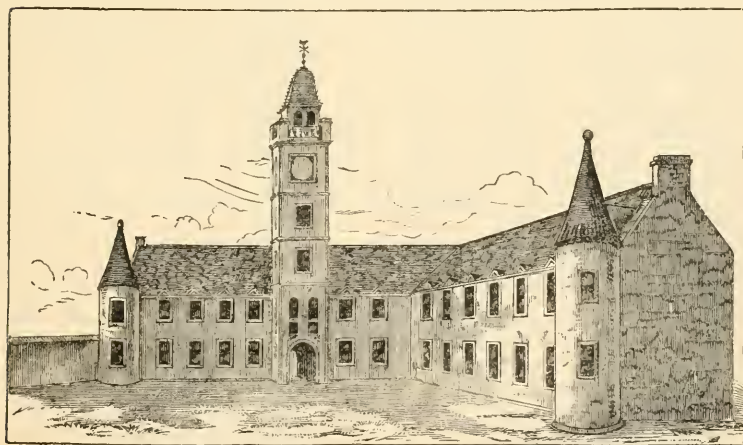


THE VIRGINIA MANSION.

dwelling houses are to be built by them on any part of the said grounds; without prejudice allways to themselves to build a larger meeting house thereon, or to enlarge the now intended meeting house as far as their ground will permit, and to put their ground to all other lawful uses,” and permission was also given to build on ground adjoining



FRONT VIEW OF HUTCHESONS' HOSPITAL, TRONGATE.



BACK VIEW OF HUTCHESONS' HOSPITAL, TRONGATE.

the Wynd.¹ It is said that the meeting house was occupied as such till the year 1791, and that part of the adjoining ground was laid out as a burial place.² Cleland remarks that the ground was sold by the Friends on the express condition that the remains of those interred in it should not be disturbed; and he adds that in the interval between their leaving Stirling Street and entering into possession of their large meeting house in Portland Street, in 1816, the Friends met in an apartment rented for the purpose.³

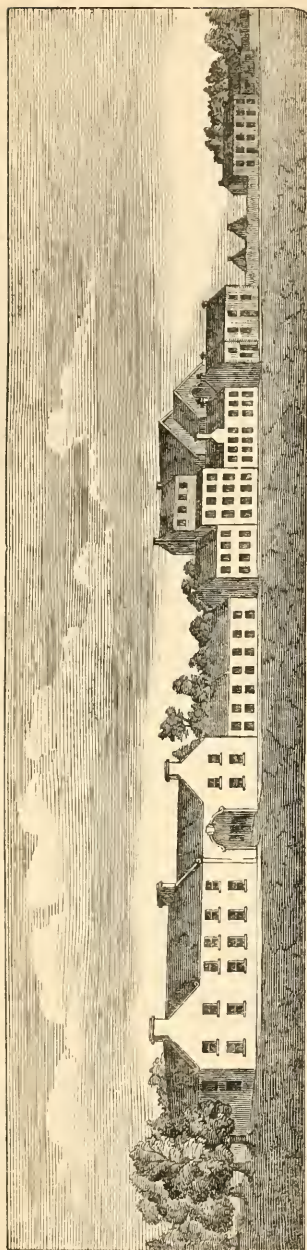
Before the end of the eighteenth century Longcroft was fully traversed by streets. Virginia Street, laid out by Provost Andrew Buchanan, a merchant who imported tobacco from Virginia, was opened in 1753. John Miller of Westerton, owner of a malt kiln and barn in Trongate, with rigs of land at the back, converted the property into building ground, and formed Miller Street in 1773. The old Cow Lone, separating Longcroft from that other croft, the name of which, with its many variations from Palyhard to Pallioun, has long puzzled archæologists, was transformed into the widened Queen Street (named after Queen Charlotte) in 1766. Hutchesons' Hospital, built in 1641-50, was sold in 1795, and about the same time Hutcheson Street, partially formed through the grounds a few years earlier, was completed. Glassford Street, passing through the Shawfield Mansion, of malt-tax riot fame, was opened in 1793.⁴ Brunswick Street and Wilson Street originated in 1790. In that year the Town Council sold to Robert Smith, an enterprising builder, a considerable area of ground situated to the west of Candleriggs Street, and on the south

¹ *MS. Sasine Reg.* 9th Nov. 1751, p. 118.

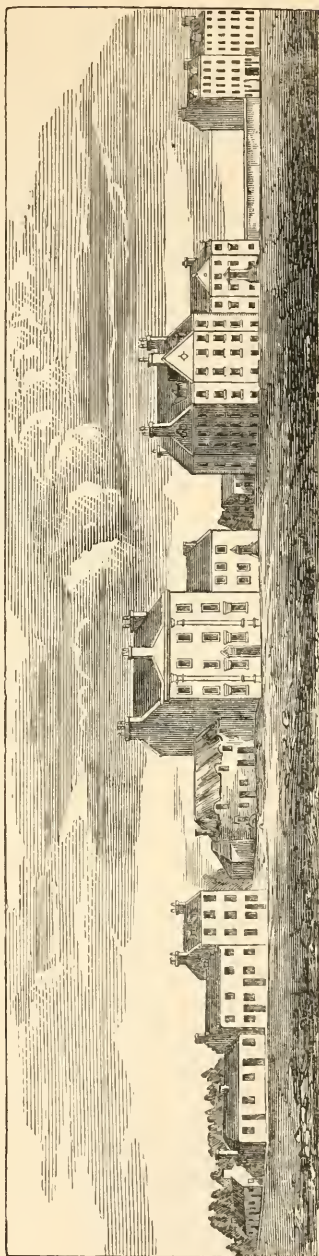
² *Glasg. Arch. Transactions*, v. pp. 109-10.

³ *Annals*, p. 139.

⁴ *Past and Present*, iii. pp. 606-39.

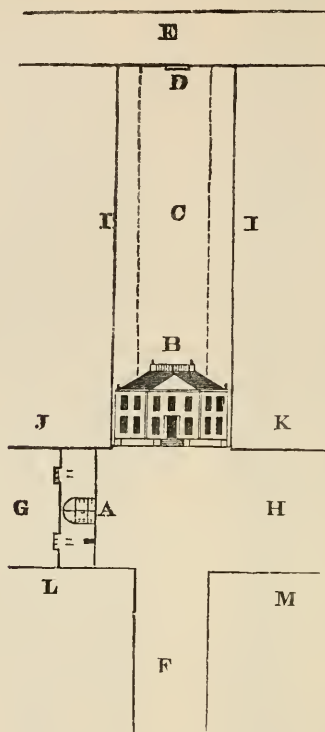


GRAHAMSTON, ARGYLE STREET, IN 1793.



NORTH SIDE OF ARGYLE STREET IN 1793.
(Between Union Street and Queen Street.)

side of the "common loan called School Wynd," which by that time had got the name of Ingram Street, though



THE SHAWFIELD MANSION.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| A. West Port. | F. The Stockwell. |
| B. The Shawfield Mansion. | G. Westergait. |
| C. Garden behind. | H. Trongait. |
| D. Door in Wall. | I. I. Old Garden Wall. |
| E. Back Cow Lone, now
Ingram Street. | J. K. L. M. Old Houses. |

The Dotted Lines show the modern Glassford Street.

the original designation still appeared in title deeds. Under the conveyance, granted by the Town Council, the purchaser

was bound to open through his property a public street, 70 feet wide, "from Ingram Street, in Ramshorn grounds, to Trongate, to be named Brunswick Street"; and also a cross street, not less than 40 feet in width, from Candleriggs Street, to Hutcheson Street, to be "named in all time to come Wilson Street, in honour of the name, and to perpetuate the memory of George Wilson, of Welleclose Square, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, the munificent founder of a charity school, for the purpose of educating, in Glasgow, poor boys, and for defraying the expenses of clothing them and providing them in books."¹

¹ *MS. Chartulary*, xxiii. pp. 43, 254.

VII.

THE BARONY AND REGALITY OF GLASGOW

IT was not altogether through the liberality of the Scottish Kings that the Bishops of Glasgow came into possession of their extensive territory, though it has to be acknowledged that the preservation of the traditional property of the Church was largely owing to the fostering care of Royalty. So far as can be ascertained, the lands throughout Cumbria which, by inquest of the old and wise men of that district, were found to belong to the See of Glasgow, in 1116,¹ had not previously been vested in the Crown. Additions, however, were speedily procured from that source. The lands of "Perdeyc," which King David, in 1136, bestowed on the Church of St. Kentigern, had formerly been part of the royal domain, and was then possessed by the Archdeacon of Glasgow for payment of the nominal rent of a silver mark yearly.² Govan, consisting probably of that part of the modern parish situated south of the Clyde, had been the site of an ancient monastery, but in David's time it was treated as Crown territory, and was likewise bestowed by that King on the Church.³ Substantial rents, consisting of a share of the annual produce or stock, called chan or can, were usually taken from lands held of the Crown, and

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 1.

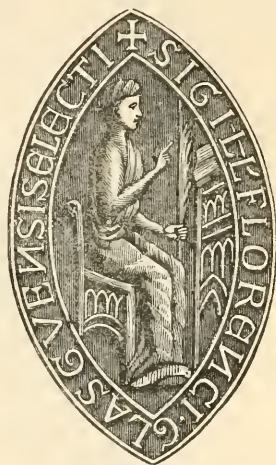
² *Ib.* No. 3.

³ *Ib.* Nos. 6, 7.

these were sometimes used for support of the King and his retinue in their progresses through the country. An interesting allusion to this practice appears in a charter



SEAL OF JOCELINE, A.D. 1175-99.



SEAL OF FLORENCE, A.D. 1202-7.



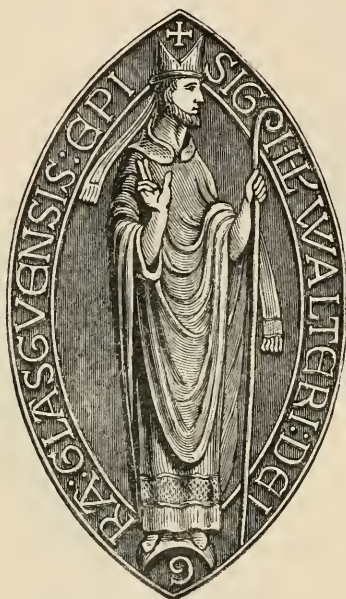
COUNTER SEAL OF JOCELINE.



COUNTER SEAL OF FLORENCE.

whereby King David gave to the Church of Glasgow the tenth of his "chan" of the cattle and swine in Strathgrif, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, unless in any year he

should go to the lands and consume his "chan."¹ But no such exactions were stipulated for in grants of lands to the Church. Even the Archdeacon's silver mark was dispensed with, and Partick and Govan were held of the King in pure alms. Charters by William the Lion specify



SEAL OF WALTER, A.D. 1208-32.



COUNTER SEAL OF WALTER.

Badlayn, Conclud, Cader, and Badermonoch, but it is uncertain whether these were new grants or merely confirmations of old possessions under varying names. The original lands in Glasgow and its vicinity, combined with Partick and Govan and possible additions during William's reign, composed the district latterly known as the Barony and Regality. This territory was practically co-extensive

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 9.

with the existing parishes of Glasgow, Govan, Cadder, and part of Old Monkland, and made up a total area of about 45,000 Imperial acres.¹ Over this extensive estate, one of several owned by them in Cumbria, the Bishops ruled with almost unlimited sway. It is known that as early as the



SEAL OF WILLIAM DE BONDINGTON,
A.D. 1233-58.



COUNTER SEAL OF WILLIAM DE BONDINGTON.

reign of Alexander I. Churchmen were empowered to hold Courts within their own lands free from the authority of other jurisdictions, and it is probable that the Bishops of Glasgow, who, besides exercising their spiritual functions, usually took a prominent part in State affairs, enjoyed similar control. A charter by Alexander II., in 1241, confirmed to Bishop William the land around Glasgow to be

¹ *Regality Club*, iv. pp. 141 *et seq.*

held in free forest,¹ a grant analogous to that of a barony; but this may have been only a ratification of existing privileges, and not the bestowal of a new jurisdiction.



SEAL OF ROBERT WISHART, A.D. 1272-1316.
(No. 1.)



SEAL OF ROBERT WISHART, A.D. 1272-1316.
(No. 2.)

In early times the lords of regalities, in their subsidiary spheres, imitated the example of the Sovereign in the conduct of national affairs, and it was accordingly only natural that in the century which is specially associated with the rise of royal burghs in Scotland a similar organisation should be formed on the bishop's domain. No charter

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 180.

in favour of a royal burgh, either original or in transcript, is extant of an earlier date than King William's reign, though it is known that several burghs originated in David's time. The explanation seems to be that burghs existed and had been in working order for some time before their constitution was formulated in writing. Royal burghs were situated



SEAL OF JOHN WISHART, A.D. 1319-25.
(No. 1.)



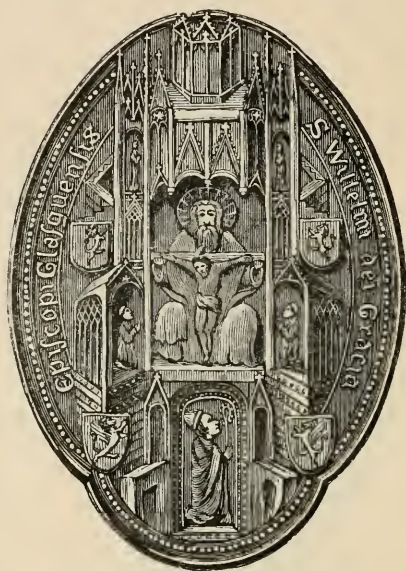
SEAL OF JOHN WISHART, A.D. 1319-25.
(No. 2.)

on the Sovereign's own land, and his bailies simply allocated among the primitive burgesses their several holdings under burden of specified fermes or rents, which were collected and paid into the royal Treasury. Forming the market centre of the surrounding district, which usually developed into a shire, a burgh monopolised such commerce as was going, and gradually attracted a community of dealers and artisans, the merchants and craftsmen of the future

incorporations and guilds. The code known as *Leges Burgorum*, assigned to the first half of the twelfth century, was evidently compiled after experience had been gained in actual administration, and when, at a later period, charters came into repute, these burgh laws supplied material for their provisions.



SEAL OF WALTER WARDLAW,
A.D. 1368-89.



SEAL OF WILLIAM LAUDER,
A.D. 1408-25.

The bishop's burgh of Glasgow was formed on the model of the royal burghs, and, following the earlier practice, got no written constitution. True it is that Bishop Joceline, perhaps to avoid complications with the royal burgh of Rutherglen, the jurisdiction of which, so far as can be gathered from the rather vague contents of its early charters, may have extended beyond Glasgow, obtained King William's authority to have a burgh; but the burgh itself seems to have been set agoing



PARTICK CASTLE IN 1817.
From Indian Ink Sketch by James Denholm.

by the simple process of appointment of bailies and apportionment of dwellings and tofts among the burgesses for payment of rents or fermes as in royal burghs, though these were, of course, collected not for the King, but for the bishop. In royal burghs grants from such revenues were sometimes given by the Sovereign for religious services, and it may be noted that Bishop Cameron (1426-46) founded a requiem mass for the weal of the bishops' souls, to be celebrated at the high altar of the Cathedral by the vicars



SEAL OF JOHN CAMERON, A.D. 1426-46.



SEAL OF ANDREW MUIRHEAD, A.D. 1455-73.

of the choir, to whom in recompense he assigned 18 merks yearly from the fermes of the burgh.¹

Market privileges, including the collection of customs, were secured by King William's charter, and additional protection was obtained from his successor (1226) when the bailies of Rutherglen were forbidden to exact toll nearer the new burgh than Shettleston Cross.² By a subsequent precept (1449-50) addressed to the communities of Renfrew and Rutherglen, it was commanded "that nan of yhour said burrows, na nane utheris, cum wythin the baronry of Glasgow, na within ony landis portenand to Sant Mungo's

¹ *Reg. Episc.* p. cii.

² *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 12.

fredome, to tak tol or custum, be watter or land, of ony personis cummand or gangand to the said mercat.”¹ The burgh was the market place for the barony, and all customs exacted throughout its bounds pertained to the bishop. In 1450, after the experience of three centuries, the jurisdiction of the bishop was formulated in a charter granted by King James II. to Bishop Turnbull, whereby the barony, together with lands called Bishopforest, lying in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, were erected into a regality.² A more elaborate



SEAL OF JOHN LAING, A.D. 1474-82.

confirmation was procured from James III. in 1476, and as an example of the practice of embodying in charters the sanction of existing privileges under the form of a new grant, it may be mentioned that here for the first time is contained a power to elect a provost of the burgh, though that privilege had been exercised at least as early as 1453. The official for executing the bishop's precepts throughout the regality is described as "a serjeant or officer who shall carry a silver mace or wand, with the royal arms on the upper end and the arms of the bishop on the lower end."³

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 28.

² *Ib.* pp. 28-31.

³ *Ib.* pp. 60-5.

Before the institution of the Justiciar it is understood that the Scottish Kings administered justice in person. Possibly



SEAL OF ROBERT BLACKADER, A.D. 1484-1508.
(No. 1.)



SEAL OF ROBERT BLACKADER, A.D. 1500.
(No. 2.)

the bishops of Glasgow at one time acted similarly, but from a very early period the administration of justice

throughout the barony and regality was entrusted to a bailie and his deputies. In the sixteenth century the Earls of Lennox successfully claimed a heritable right to the office of principal bailie, but it is not known how or when the privilege was originally conferred. The bailiary, then held by the Duke of Montrose, came to an end on the abolition of heritable jurisdictions in 1748.

Though anything like full knowledge regarding the condition of the soil and its occupiers in the twelfth century is not now procurable, it may be surmised that, even in the most favoured localities, cultivation was crude and partial, and that the bulk of the land, through the prevalence of bog or marsh and uncleared forest, was unsuitable for crops and not particularly well adapted for pasturage. It is likewise believed that many of those who lived by tilling the ground were in a condition of serfdom. As an illustration of this it is on record that King William (1174-89) transferred to Bishop Joceline "Gillemachoi of Conclud, with all his children and descendants."¹ Natives or Neyfs was the legal name of such bondsmen, and grants of baronies frequently contain a clause "cum nativis" or "cum hominibus," signifying the original inhabitants or their descendants who were transferable by sale or gift along with the soil which they cultivated. In Glasgow charters dated previous to 1235 the burgesses only are referred to as possessed of trading privileges, but by a charter dated in that year Alexander II. ordained that the bishop's men, natives and servants (*homines, nativi et servi*) should be quit of paying toll for their own goods throughout the whole kingdom as well within as without burghs.² Seven years afterwards the same King authorised the bishop's

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 34.

² *Reg. Glasg.* i. pt. ii. pp. 13, 14.

“burgesses and men of Glasgu” to go into Argyle and Lennox, and throughout the whole kingdom, for the purpose of buying and selling at their pleasure.¹ Churchmen have



SEAL OF GAVIN DUNBAR, A.D. 1524-27.



COUNTER SEAL OF GAVIN DUNBAR.

been credited with doing much for the emancipation of the serf, and there is reason to believe that the natives of Glasgow barony, whatever may have been their condition in the twelfth century, had not long to wait for the

¹ *Reg. Glasg.* i. p. ii. pp. 14, 15.

enjoyment of freedom, and that it was their descendants, who, as rentallers, became the practical owners of the soil, subject to the payment of rent and performance of services to their overlord.

Before referring more particularly to the rentallers, notice may be taken of the more important of those portions of the barony lands which were severed from the bishopric. The burgesses of Glasgow, in addition to their dwellings and crofts in and close by the town, had assigned to them, in conformity with the example set in royal burghs, large tracts of land, such as the Easter and Wester Commons and Gallowmuir, for pasturage of cattle and supply of fuel. The areas thus appropriated comprise what is now known as the ancient royalty or burgage portion of the municipality. Then some of the Cathedral dignitaries held landed endowments throughout the barony. It has been mentioned that the archdeacon possessed Partick before it was transferred to the bishop, but his successors do not appear as landowners in the barony. The lands of Barlanark or Provand were held as the prebend of a canon of the Cathedral. The subdean had large possessions, consisting of Provanside and Deanside, with the bailiary jurisdiction attached thereto, as well as the lands of Westercraigs and the adjacent mills and kilns on the left bank of the Molendinar Burn. Eastercraigs belonged to the treasurer; the parson of Erskine had the lands of Blythswood; and various fields were set aside as endowments of the parsonage of Glasgow. A substantial alienation was made in or before 1408, when Bishop Mathew Glendoning, with consent of his chapter, granted the lands of Cadder to his "beloved vassal, William of Strivelyne, son and heir of the late Sir John of Strivelyne, Knight," for payment of £4 yearly, the vassal

giving suit in the barony courts, and being liable for ward, relief, and other usual services.¹

Detailed information regarding the rentallers is not extant of an earlier date than the beginning of the sixteenth



SEAL OF JAMES HEATON, A.D. 1551.



COUNTER SEAL OF JAMES HEATON

century. The Diocesan Registers, published by the Grampian Club, contain a series of rentals (1509-70), the first of which is described as the "rental of the most reverend father in Christ, James, archbishop of Glasgow, begun 4th September, 1509, in the first year of his consecration."

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, x. Appx. i. p. 62.

The opening entry records that Thomas Steven is "rentalit in x s. x d. worth of land of Auchinarne, be the consent of Margret Myllar, wedow; he has mareit the said wedow, and she is content he suld be rentalit; he suld pay x merk."¹ If a rentaller left a widow she retained his holding during viduity, but on re-marriage she forfeited her right, though it might be, and usually was, renewed to her with consent of the bishop. In the case quoted the new husband was accepted as rentaller on payment of a sum of money such as was commonly exacted on the occasion of a transfer. As heirs succeeded to rental rights at fixed rents, and as these rights were transmissible by sale, the rentallers were much in the position of ordinary landowners. Though the rental book narrates the several transmissions, it does not specify the yearly rents payable to the bishops, and such information requires to be looked for elsewhere. In compliance with the order for a return showing the value of ecclesiastical benefices, the revenues of the archbishop's temporalities throughout the whole diocese, consisting of seven baronies, Bishopforest, and "other little things" were given up in 1561 at the following figures (omitting fractions)—£987 in money, 32 chalders meal, 28 chalders malt, 8 bolls bear, 12 chalders horse corn, and 14 dozen salmon.² This summary does not distinguish between the respective baronies, but the Regality Club have printed in abstract a rental of the temporalities in the barony of Glasgow, supposed to have been compiled within a few years after the passing of the act of parliament of 1587, annexing the temporalities of benefices to the Crown.³

¹ *Dioc. Reg.* i. p. 41.

² *Ib.* p. 23.

³ Vol. iv. pp. 158-69. Money, £398; 22 chalders malt, 13 chalders horse corn, 27 chalders oatmeal, 13½ dozen salmon, 45 dozen capons and 30 dozen poultry.



DRAWING THE SALMON NETS AT GOVAN.

It is a prevalent opinion that the temporalities were dilapidated by the prelates who were in possession subsequent



SEAL OF JAMES BOYD, A.D. 1572-81.



COUNTER SEAL OF JAMES BOYD.

to the Reformation, but this view is not supported by ascertained facts. In accordance with law and practice, the bishops converted many of the rental rights into feu holdings, but the annual revenues were not thereby impaired, and in

some cases they were augmented. When Archbishop Law died his executors gave up an inventory of his estate, thus affording the means of contrasting the income of 1632 with that of other periods. The inventory included £359 as the money rental, and the following duties in kind, all payable by the feuars, tenants, and possessors in Glasgow barony, viz., 23 chalders malt, 36 chalders meal, 11 chalders corn, 13½ dozen salmon, 38½ dozen capons, and 30 dozen poultry. The total money value of Glasgow barony alone was £6717 Scots, or £559 sterling, yearly.¹ Another rental, undated, but supposed to belong to the latter half of the seventeenth century, gives a detailed list of 301 feuars in Glasgow barony paying yearly sums amounting in whole to figures slightly in advance of those in Archbishop Law's inventory.² It is therefore obvious that, however the income may have been disposed of by the post-Reformation bishops during their respective incumbencies, the stock was transmitted to their successors practically intact.

Archbishop Betoun drew the temporality revenues for about seven years subsequent to his departure from Glasgow at the Reformation. In 1568 the rents were assigned to nominees of the Crown, and between 1571 or 1573 and 1587 the Protestant archbishops were in possession. During the latter period several of the rental rights were converted into feu holdings, the feu-duties being made equivalent to the former rents. Under the operation of the Act of 1587 above referred to, the barony revenues were at the King's disposal, and were conferred on Walter Steward, usually styled Commendator of Blantyre on account of that priory being held by him. Steward paid to the Crown an over

¹ *Lanark and Renfrew*, p. 149.

² *MS. Reports in Town Clerk's Office*, 1794-1814, pp. 66-108.

feu-duty of £500, and he was specially empowered to continue the practice of sub-feuing the lands to the old rentallers.¹ Under some arrangement, the particulars of



SEAL OF WILLIAM ERSKINE, A.D. 1585-7.



COUNTER SEAL OF WILLIAM ERSKINE.

which are not disclosed, the Duke of Lennox had acquired the superiority of the lands in 1593; but before three years elapsed both Commendator and Duke surrendered their rights to the Crown. These proceedings turned out to

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 215-25.

be the prelude to a pleasing incident. In the early days of the Reformation Archbishop Betoun had left Glasgow to escape the wild fury of the "rascal multitude," and, throughout all these years of trouble and change in his native country, had faithfully represented his Sovereigns, Queen Mary and King James, as their Ambassador in France. He had now grown old in service, and it was thought becoming that for the remaining years of his life he should be reinstated in the "heretages, honours, benefices, and lands" of which he had been deprived for adherence to the proscribed religion. In June, 1598, accordingly, the King and Parliament restored the aged Prelate to the enjoyment of his former possessions, but under such necessary reservations as feuars' rights, ministers' stipends, the Castle of Glasgow, and right of choosing the magistrates.¹ The Archbishop survived his restoration five years, and at the end of that period the Duke of Lennox got a charter of the whole lands throughout the diocese, in return for which he had to pay feu-duties to the Crown which must have practically absorbed the annual revenues. For the Barony of Glasgow the feu-duty consisted of £304 in money, 36 chalders meal, 31 chalders barley, 13 chalders oats, 49 dozen capons, 31 dozen poultry, and 14 dozen salmon.² Any pecuniary advantage to the Duke came, perhaps, from entry-money of vassals, fees of the Regality Court, and other perquisites. But this arrangement did not last long, in consequence of the restitution of bishops in 1606. That the landowners in the barony at this time were numerous and not over-wealthy may be gathered from the terms of the Act of Parliament whereby the bishops were again vested in the property of which they

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 250-2.

² *Ib.* pp. 258-69.

had been deprived in 1587. It is there set forth that the King and his Estates "having considerit the fewaris of the Baronie of Glasgow to be mony in number, and the povertie of the maist pairt of thame to be suche as they are nocht abill to furnesche the ordinarie charges for renewing thair infestmentis," ordained that such renewals should be dispensed with, provided ratifications were timeously procured from Archbishop Spottiswood.¹ During the interruption to Prelatic supremacy which prevailed between 1639 and 1661, the Duke of Lennox of that time was invested with the whole lands of the diocese, and that on more favourable terms than the former Duke enjoyed, as the feuduty payable by him was only 200 merks.² The archbishops were again in possession between 1661 and 1689, but since the latter date the Episcopal revenues of Glasgow Barony have been collected for the Crown.

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 272-7.

² *Ib.* pp. 403-10.

VIII.

THE COUNTY AND PARISH DIVISIONS OF GLASGOW

WITH the advent of County and Parish Councils the simplification of administrative areas was one of the first objects requiring attention. The Boundaries Commissioners appointed under the Local Government Act of 1889 found that out of the 33 Scottish shires no fewer than 13 had detached parts (25 in number) within the bounds of other counties, and that there were 219 detached parts belonging to 134 parishes. Of the parishes, 64 were situated in more counties than one. Some of these peculiarities were owing to conditions regarding which knowledge is obscure or altogether absent. Growing out of tribal or other primitive divisions, with vaguely defined boundaries, the areas under the jurisdiction of the earlier Sheriffs were not arranged on a uniform plan, and on account of variations in individual ownership it was often expedient to transfer lands from one shire to another. Commenting on the irregularity of shire boundaries the author of *Caledonia* remarked that of old the great landowners might have their property, wherever situated, declared to be within any county, however distant. Such changes and their causes deserve the careful attention of local historians.

The institution of sheriffdoms in this country cannot be traced to an earlier period than the beginning of the twelfth century, and like many other adaptations of that time, the system was apparently modelled on English experience. Before the end of David's reign the new jurisdictions were in operation throughout the greater part, if not the whole, of the Cumbrian province which that King had at first ruled as earl, and it is not improbable that the change was part of one great movement, embracing the establishment of royal burghs, as well as the reorganisation of the Church. What was done in connection with the reconstituted bishopric is outlined in the well-known "Inquest,"¹ but there is scarcely any contemporary information procurable regarding the other changes. It is not till the reign of David's successor that the first Sheriff of Lanark, Baldwin of Biggar, appears on record, and the extent of his jurisdiction is uncertain.² The term "shire," literally meaning a division, was sometimes applied to small districts, such as parishes. An early law applicable to royal burghs, and frequently embodied in individual charters, conferred on burghal communities exclusive market privileges throughout their respective shires; and in consequence of this arrangement the bailies, who were originally King's officers, collected the Crown duties and customs on merchandise, and accounted to the great chamberlain for the proceeds. In David's reign Rutherglen had been made a royal burgh, and the district over which its privileges extended probably embraced a considerable portion of the area now represented by the Lower Ward of Lanarkshire. It is on record that King David erected the burgh of Renfrew on his own domain,

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 1; *Scots Lore*, p. 36.

² *Caledonia*, iii. p. 574; *Reg. de Neubottle*, pp. xxxvi, 122-3.

and having thus been a royal burgh before becoming the chief town of the barony, bestowed by King David on Walter, son of Alan, it was likewise the centre of a privileged district.¹ As shown by a Crown charter in 1397, the burgh bailies collected custom dues throughout the barony,² with the exception latterly of the territory of the monks of Paisley. This right of exemption was maintained in 1493, when the magistrates of Renfrew complained that the abbot's bailies had defrauded the King of his customs and the burgh of its privileges, inasmuch as they had taken from the burgh officials certain goods seized in the town of Paisley in security of custom dues, viz. "a quarter of beif takin for a penny custom; a cabok of cheis takin for a halfpenny of custom; a wynd of quhite claith for a penny of custom." The Lords before whom the complaint was heard decided in favour of the abbot, holding that though Renfrew was privileged within the burgh and barony, the town and lands of Paisley had been created a free barony and regality under a charter prior in date to any which the complainers could then produce.³ Rutherglen was, perhaps, similarly deprived of part of its privileges when the barony and regality of Glasgow was bestowed on the bishop and a burgh established within its bounds. Lanark, the only other royal burgh in Clydesdale, may date as far back as Rutherglen or Renfrew, though there is lack of documentary evidence to that effect. "Willelmus prefectus de Lanharc" was a contemporary of Baldwin of Biggar. A charter by King Alexander III., confirmatory of privileges previously existing, gave the burgesses of Lanark a monopoly of trade throughout the "sheriffdom,"⁴ but

¹ *Origines Parochiales*, i. pp. 74-75.

² *Lanark and Renfrew*, p. 281.

³ *Acta Auditorum*, p. 176.

⁴ *Lanark Charters*, p. 308.



GORBALS FROM SOUTH END OF THE BRIDGE.

From Water Colour by William Simpson.

keeping in view the privileges possessed by Rutherglen, Renfrew, and Glasgow, the expression “sheriffdom” could scarcely in that instance be applicable to a district more extensive than that which is now known as the Upper Ward.

Notwithstanding the existence of these subsidiary areas, it is not improbable that the jurisdiction of Baldwin and his immediate successors extended over the whole of Clydesdale, reaching northward to the earldom of Lennox and



VIEW OF COURT-HOUSE AT THE GREEN.

the shire of Stirling, and on the east going to the boundary between Cumbrian and Lothian territory. But considerable changes must have occurred between that time and the early years of the fifteenth century when the barony of Renfrew was erected into a separate sheriffdom, and the Semples of Elliotson, who had previously acted as hereditary stewards of the barony, became hereditary sheriffs of the new shire. From about the fifteenth century till the abolition of heritable jurisdictions in 1748, the judicial business of the county of Lanark was administered in three divisions—viz. the Upper Ward, the Nether Ward, and the Regality

of Glasgow. In 1748 the functions of the regality bailie devolved on the sheriff, and since then the three wards—Upper, Middle, and Lower—have been recognised divisions for judicial and administrative purposes.

The county boundary of Glasgow Barony was not expressly altered by the erection of the barony of Renfrew into a shire, but this result was reached indirectly. Govan Parish had been part of the bishop's territory from the time of the first King David, and consequently it could not be affected by any change in the bordering barony of Renfrew. It happened, however, that the Maxwells of Pollok, whose main possessions were in Renfrew Barony, occupied adjoining lands in Govan Parish as rentallers of the bishops. This occupancy of the combined lands had subsisted for a long series of years, and either through inadvertency or design the lands of Haggs, Titwood, and Shiells, in Govan Parish, came to be regarded as part of the Pollok estate, and as lying within the county of Renfrew. This county description occurs in a charter by the Archbishop in 1581, when the rental right was converted into a feu holding.¹ In the fifteenth century, Renfrew boundaries were better understood, and an attempt then made to appropriate Govan did not succeed. Sheriff Semple had cited the Archbishop as owner of Govan lands, to attend the "justice are of Renfrew," and fined him for not obeying the citation. Thereupon the Archbishop appealed to the Lords of Council, who, on 10th June, 1494, found that "the lands of Govane are ane pendicle of the barony of Glasgu, for the quhilk the Archibischop of Glasgu aw apperance in the justice are of Lanark alanerly," and the Sheriff of Renfrew was ordained not to cite the Archbishop in future.² It therefore seems probable that the appropriation by Renfrew-

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* v. No. 616.

² *Acta Dominorum Consilii*, p. 329.

shire of Haggs, Titwood, and Shiells was subsequent to 1494. By an order of the Boundaries Commissioners, pronounced in 1892, the greater portion has been restored to Lanarkshire, though a small slice has been retained by the county of Renfrew and added to the parish of Eastwood. The municipal boundaries of the burgh of Renfrew had been extended over a corner of Govan Parish, and this portion was transferred to the parish and county of Renfrew.

At the east side of Govan another portion of Lanarkshire was absorbed by the neighbouring county under rather peculiar circumstances. Eastward of Titwood and Shiells lay first the lands of Gorbals, and then those of Little Govan, which were separated from Rutherglen territory by Polmadie burn. Gorbals and the west half of Little Govan have always remained in Lanarkshire. About the year 1320 the bishop of Glasgow bestowed the east half of Little Govan on the hospital of Polmadie.¹ Either at that time or shortly afterwards the hospital possessed adjoining lands on the south called Crosshill, understood to be part of Cathcart, and consequently included in the barony of Renfrew. In or previous to 1453 the whole lands of Polmadie Hospital (including the east half of Little Govan, though that name was dropped and Polmadie adopted) were transferred to the Collegiate Church of Dumbarton, and they remained with that Church till the Reformation. In 1564 the Provost of the Collegiate Church feued to Sir John Stewart of Minto the combined lands, under the general designation of the "five merk lands of Polmadie and Corshill." From the time when Renfrew was made a shire till the date of this feu there is no documentary evidence regarding the shire in which the hospital's lands were situated ; but in the charter

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 269.

of 1564, which was subscribed and sealed at Dumbarton, the lands are described as lying in the sheriffdom of Renfrew.¹ To complete his title, however, the feuar had to appear on the lands and obtain formal possession in presence of local witnesses. A local notary, the town-clerk of Glasgow, wrote out an instrument narrating the ceremony of giving possession, and here the lands are described as lying within the shire of Lanark. One of the witnesses was the parish clerk of Glasgow, and another "John Cochran of Pomade."² If the surmise be correct that Crosshill formed part of Cathcart, and that the latter was then wholly in the shire of Renfrew³ the lands ought strictly speaking to have been described as lying in two shires, but at that time apparently there was laxity in distinguishing the precise boundaries. It has been seen how Titwood and other lands, possessed by successive lairds of Pollok, in conjunction with their Renfrewshire estate, had come to be regarded as part of that county. Similarly Crosshill and Polmadie, though described in early titles sometimes as in the one shire and sometimes as in the other, were eventually assigned to Renfrew. But though there was want of uniformity in specifying the shire no dubiety seems to have existed with regard to the parish in which Polmadie was situated. Continuous parochial supervision in spiritual concerns, and the regular exaction of parsonage and vicarage teinds, effectually prevented any misconception on that point. Crosshill has latterly been acknowledged as part of Cathcart,

¹ *Glasg. Arch. Soc. Transactions* (1889), i. pp. 517-33.

² *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1504.

³ An Act of Parliament in 1649 refers to "that part of Cathcart Parish which is in the shire of Renfrew," thus indicating that at that time part of it was understood to be in Lanarkshire (*Glasg. Chart.* vol. ii. p. 299, No. 598).



MAIN STREET, GORBALS.
From Water Colour by William Simpson.

The Main Street, Gorbals.

but during the time it was conjoined with the more extensive lands of Polmadie the whole were sometimes described as lying in the parish of Govan. With the exception of Crosshill and Langside lands which are portions of Cathcart, a piece of Richmond Park in Rutherglen parish, and the small area of Gorbals Parish, all the lands within the municipal boundaries of Glasgow, on the south side of the Clyde, are situated in the parish of Govan. The old village of Gorbals and its detached burying ground were disjoined from Govan and formed into a separate parish in 1771.¹ Though combined with the parent parish for poor law purposes in 1873, Gorbals is still a distinct parish, and in his book describing the work accomplished by the Boundaries Commissioners, Mr. Hay Shennan, their secretary, alludes to it as the only parish in Scotland left with a detached part, its old kirkyard being surrounded by the parish of Govan.²

Within the municipal area north of the Clyde the Boundary Commissioners did not require to interfere. At some points the city touches without encroaching on Dumbartonshire, and elsewhere the boundary keeps within the old Glasgow Barony and shire of Lanark. The parochial divisions here were of long standing. Govan Parish seems to have extended to the north side of the river in consequence of the grant by King David I. to Glasgow Church of the lands of Partick, which since that time have formed the northern division of the parish. With the exception of a few acres at Pointhouse, Govan keeps on the right bank of the Kelvin, a stream which, for a considerable distance, separates it from the parish of Glasgow. What is now the municipal area north of Clyde was originally included within the parishes of Govan

¹ *Regality Club*, iv. pp. 48-49.

² *Boundaries of Counties and Parishes* (1892), p. xxvi.

and Glasgow, but from an early period the latter parish was divided into two sections for ecclesiastical purposes. Previous to the Reformation there was a vicar "in burgo" and a vicar "in rure,"¹ while under Presbyterian rule the landward portion of Glasgow Parish was, about the year 1596, set apart as a separate pastoral charge. Though there was no formal disjunction the urban district gradually came to be



PARTICK CASTLE ON THE KELVIN.

recognised for all purposes as the City Parish, and the remainder as the Barony Parish. The former embraced not only the dwellings, but also the lands, belonging to burgesses, either individually or in commonty, and the latter was composed of lands outside of burgh territory, and possessed by those feuars who had succeeded the rentallers of former times. The boundary line between the two parishes, in many places following the crooks of small burns and elsewhere denoted by march stones, was extremely irregular, though sufficiently well known so long as the lands remained

¹ *Glasg. Prot.*, No. 1318.



THE CLYDE AT GOVAN.
From Water Colour by William Simpson.

in an agricultural or pastoral condition. But when buildings and streets extended over the former fields it was frequently impossible to distinguish the boundary line. Of late years such difficulties and inconveniences were accumulating, and at last it became apparent that reunion was the only effective remedy. In conformity with an order issued by the Secretary for Scotland in 1898 the City and Barony Parishes were amalgamated under the designation of the Parish of Glasgow.

In 1893 the city of Glasgow was constituted a county to the effect of having its own Lieutenancy and Commission of the Peace. For other purposes it now forms part of Lanarkshire, and embraces portions of the parishes of Glasgow, Govan, Rutherglen, and Cathcart, with the whole of Gorbals. But while recent changes are effectual for most purposes, it must be borne in mind that ecclesiastical arrangements and jurisdictions are not interfered with, and therefore the old parochial divisions are still of practical significance as well as historical interest.

IX.

THE COMMON GOOD AND THE EARLY TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE CITY

OWING to the multiplicity of municipal undertakings now in hand, the term "Common Good," originally self-explanatory, does not always convey a definite meaning to those who are not sufficiently familiar with civic affairs. Are not, it may be asked, all the lands and funds in the Town Council's charge held and administered for the benefit of the community, and why should one section of the city's assets monopolise the designation which appears to be applicable to all? In one sense it is true that the whole municipal estate and revenues may be classed as common good, but this is subject to the limitation that certain portions can be applied only to specific objects. Thus, the police assessments must be used only for the purposes defined in the Police Acts, the parks' revenues, consisting of feu-duties and rates, are expended solely within that department; dues on animals sold in the public market are applied as directed by the statutes under which the markets are regulated, and so with regard to each of the other departments which have been created and continue to be managed under special acts of Parliament. In Glasgow, as elsewhere, the Common Good consists of such property and funds as are held by

the magistrates and council for behoof of the community, unfettered by any restriction as to its disposal, save conformity to common law and the promotion of the public weal of the burgh.

Though Glasgow was not constituted a royal burgh till it got a charter from King James in 1611, its organisation was framed largely on the model of the royal burghs, the early laws of which contain provisions regarding the administration of the Common Good. Thus the Great Chamberlain, while making his periodic circuit of the burghs, was directed to inquire "gif there be a just assedation and uptaking of the Common Gude," if a faithful account thereof was made to the community, and if the "Common Gude" was bestowed on the affairs of the burgh.¹ Subsequent legislation proceeded on similar lines, an act of 1491 directing that the common good should be expended on the "commoun and necessare thingis of the burgh," and another act of 1593 enjoining magistrates of burghs to bestow the revenues on the "commoun affairs thair of allanerlie." Some of the old enactments are still in force, but require to be interpreted in conjunction with recent statutes, and in the light of decisions pronounced by the Supreme Court in the few cases brought before the lords for legal investigation.

Burghs which came into existence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were endowed with more or less extensive tracts of land, suitable for cultivation, grazing of live stock, and supply of fuel. In times antecedent to the development of commerce the possession of such territory was to many burghs a simple necessity of existence, as the inhabitants had to procure their food and clothing in the vicinity of their dwellings, and through the exercise of their own skill and handiwork. Such

¹ *Ancient Laws*, p. 120.

early concessions were probably accomplished without much formality. An offhand arrangement between the king's officers and the burgesses as to which portions of the royal domain the latter were to occupy would be all that was necessary. Lands obtained in this way formed the original Common Good in most burghs; and though possessed without any written title by successive generations, the time eventually arrived when charters were sought and obtained, and then the lands, enumerated in the parchment, were formally confirmed. Besides these surrounding lands held in commonalty each burgesse possessed a dwelling and bit of land in the burgh for which he paid maill or rent to the king. Originally such rents were collected from the burgesses by the king's officers, known as bailies, but in course of time it became the practice to farm them for a fixed sum payable by the town's bailies, who thereupon collected the several rents from the burgesses. Any surplus augmented the Common Good, which gradually gathered supplies from other sources. At first the sovereign owned the mills where the burgesses got their grain ground for payment of certain dues called multures, but mills also were often assigned to the burgesses for payment of fixed rents. From an early period the toll or small custom payable on articles brought to the burgh market, together with the fines or "issues" of the burgh court, were farmed in the same manner, one rent usually covering the whole. Dues payable on the admission of burgesses formed another source of revenue, an act of Parliament passed in 1503 having provided "that the profit that is tane for the making of ilk burges or gilde be put to the common gude and warit on the common werkis."¹

¹ *A.P.S.* ii. p. 252, c. 31.

These general rules and practices applicable to the royal burghs operated in Glasgow though, as has been indicated, that burgh was held, not of the king but of the bishop. Within his own territory the bishop exercised regal authority, deputed to him by the sovereign. The bishop apportioned his lands according to the method adopted within the royal domain. The burgesses possessed their town dwellings in severalty and the outlying lands in commonty, and paid their "maills" to the bishop, just as the king's burgesses paid theirs to the king. But there was one notable distinction between the position of Glasgow and that of the royal burghs with regard to the common lands. In most of his burghs the king was only an occasional visitor, and consequently throughout the greater part of each year his neighbouring domain was free for occupation by the burgesses, who thus acquired possessory rights over extensive districts. Generally the lands connected with royal burghs, and specified in their charters, were so extensive that they could not be regularly grazed or cultivated, and the more distant portions were in many cases appropriated by neighbouring lairds. As evidenced by legislative enactments and numerous law pleas, the common lands of most royal burghs were by such processes gradually circumscribed within narrow limits. In Glasgow, however, other conditions prevailed. The bishops were residential proprietors, having large establishments to maintain, and it was necessary that their estate should yield a regular and substantial revenue. Accordingly, all the available land round Glasgow, within the old barony and regality, was parcelled out and allotted to a numerous body of agriculturists and herdsmen, who paid rents to the bishops in grain, poultry, and money, and brought their goods to the market, which it was one of the chief objects of the

founders of the burgh to establish. On the other hand, the people composing the original community of the burgh did not chiefly depend for subsistence on the rearing of flocks and herds or the produce of agriculture, and consequently the lands belonging to them, in common and severalty combined, covered a comparatively small area. A population of 2000 had less than an acre per head. Those lands possessed by the traders and artisans of the new burgh were not used solely for tillage and grazing. They likewise yielded a sufficient supply of two very essential commodities, fuel and building material, and when any considerable portion of the surface was disposed of the rights of digging for coal and quarrying for stone were usually reserved. M'Ure, writing after the original territory had been augmented by the purchase of Gorbals, well stocked with minerals, says:—"The city is furnished with coals, digged or hewn furth of eleven or twelve coal pits, within two miles of the town, which supplies the inhabitants summer and winter with coals cheaper and better than any other part of the kingdom. There is abundance of freestone about the city, insomuch that there is not a town in all Britain better supplied; for the most part of stone quarries belongs to the city and the greater part lye within a mile, in such quantity as will probably continue for some ages."¹ Supplies of limestone were also got in the lands, and in 1649, when the Town Council agreed to set a "coal and lyme craig" in lease, they reserved liberty to work it themselves.² As trade and population increased the minerals became in greater demand, while the inhabitants, engaged in other pursuits, could not give much personal attention to the cultivation of the surface which was usually let to tenants.

¹ M'Ure, pp. 121-2.

² *Glasg. Rec.* ii. p. 177.

The original burgh lands were situated wholly on the north side of the river Clyde, along which they extended from near the site of St. Andrew's Suspension Bridge on the east to a small streamlet forming the west boundary of the M'Alpine Street tenements on the west. Along and adjoining this river frontage the earlier dwellings were erected, but at a short distance above the Market Cross the rentallers' lands came in. Ramshorn and Meadowflat, embracing the present George Square, were in their possession from an early period, and all to the west belonged either to rentallers or canons of the Cathedral. North of Ramshorn lands were Provanside, belonging to the sub-deans of Glasgow, and Broomhill, in the hands of a rentaller. Eastward of the Cross was the Gallowmuir, belonging to the community, but immediately to the north were the lands of the Cathedral treasurer and those of the sub-dean, embracing the craig on which the Necropolis has been laid out, and coming as far west as Molendinar Burn. East and north of these properties came the lands of Provan, possessed by a Cathedral prebendary. Garngadhill and Easter Common, the latter including Cowlairs, and all belonging to the community, bordered with Provan, while Easter and Wester Commons were connected by a narrow neck of land, on each side of which were the possessions of other rentallers. The apparently capricious boundary line, determining as it does the special register in which title-deeds require to be recorded, is sometimes troublesome to conveyancers, but becomes intelligible when considered in relation to the distribution of the land between the two classes of rentallers and burgesses.

Before the comparatively recent introduction of artificial enclosures, no better or more common boundary in land allotment was available than a burn flowing along its natural

channel. Indeed, the old Saxon name burn, which, as applicable to a stream of water, is obsolete in England, though still retained in this country, just signifies a boundary or limit. In the useful service of marking separate territory, Glasgow or St. Enoch's Burn, during its short course of about a mile, had its full share. At its outflow from "Sanct Rokis Loch"¹ it formed the march between the lands of

¹This small sheet of water got its name from the church, cemetery and croft of St. Roche which it adjoined. In April, 1665, one James Farie got a tack of "St. Rollokis kirkyaird and the grass therof," and in this writing it was stated that the burying-ground was "neir to that place called Plummers-holl." The croft surrounding the old chapel of St. Roche (a name which was transformed into Rollok and Rollox) is known to have occupied an area of some six acres of the Burgh Muir, now intersected by the canal on the west side of Castle Street, and it was described in a title deed of 1582 as bounded on the south by "Sanct Rokis Loch." A loch in this locality could not have been of much extent at any time, and in the process of land cultivation it was likely to be lessened. As "Plum," according to Jamieson's Dictionary, signifies a deep pool, it was surmised that the more spacious "loch" of the sixteenth century had dwindled into the "plummers hole" of a later period, and farther investigation has shown that this was so. In 1618 the south boundary of the croft is described as the pool (*paludem*) called "St. Rollokis Loch or Plummaris Hole." This latter name was still retained in 1708, when the Incorporation of Tailors acquired the croft. About six years afterwards the Tailors obtained authority from the Town Council to straighten the highway (now Castle Street) "frae the ditch running by the tree at the south end to the head of the dyke at the north end" of the croft, and thus to "draw the water from off the hie way." This small run of water apparently trickled into the "loch" on the east, while the curved line of the western boundary is suggestive either of another streamlet entering from that side or the margin of a small loch. The Tailors sold the croft in 1776, and the Barony Glebe is then specified as the south boundary; but Glasgow Burn or St. Enoch's Burn, as it is named lower down, then divided the croft and the glebe at or near the spot where the loch was formerly situated and where Parliamentary Road now joins Castle Street. It may therefore be assumed that by the end of the eighteenth century even Plummers

Broomhill, possessed by the archbishop's rentallers, on the north, and Parson's Croft, originally an endowment of the parsonage of Glasgow, on the south. It next divided the rentaller's lands of Cowcaddens from Provanside, possessed by the sub-dean, and, still farther on, the parson of Erskine's lands of Blythswood from those of Meadowflat, possessed by rentallers, finally gliding past the old Chapel of St. Teneu and into the river a little above the site of the present Jamaica Street Bridge.

At its south-eastern corner Broomhill appears to have protruded south of the burn, near the spot formerly covered by the small loch above alluded to, thus forming a triangular croft situated between the burn or loch on the north, what is now Castle Street on the east, and a "lone" on the line of the present Glebe Street on the west. A protocol of 1532 refers to this croft as bounded on the south by some buildings in Stable Green, adjoining the Gyrth Cross.¹ In 1596 the Town Council gave instructions to some of their number to proceed, "accompanied with some spaidis," to the marching of the lones about the town and to begin at the "Stable Greyn betwix Broomhill and the Persounes Croft."² From the latter croft a strip of four acres adjoining the lone was early set aside as a glebe for the minister,³ and from that area, divided into building lots, as authorised by an Act of Parliament passed in 1793, ground-annuals are still drawn by the minister of the Cathedral.

Hole had disappeared, and the further interesting fact is established that the burn which for a considerable distance forms the old burgh boundary now carries off the water which formerly gathered in "Sanct Rokis Loch or Plummaris Hole."

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1139.

² *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 179.

³ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. abstract, p. 70, No. 517.

Broomhill croft was purchased as a glebe for the minister of the Barony Church in 1701, and Parliamentary authority to feu it out in building lots was obtained in 1802. One of those who began to build on the Barony glebe was a mason named Mackenzie, who was forthwith challenged by the Incorporation of Masons for infringement of their privileges, as he was not a freeman of their craft. A law plea ensued, Mackenzie alleging that the glebe was not within the burgh, and therefore beyond the Incorporation's jurisdiction, but in 1808 the Court of Session decided otherwise, finding that the glebe formed part of the royalty. This, however, did not satisfy the minister and heritors of the Barony parish, who raised an action to have it declared that the glebe "does not lie within or form part of the royalty, nor is subject to the superiority or jurisdiction of the magistrates of that city, nor to the regulations of the Incorporations within the same, nor to any other burden, taxation, watching or warding, scot or lot, to which the lands held burgage of the said city, or possessors or inhabitants thereof, are liable or subject to." In their defence the Town Council maintained that the glebe had from time immemorial been regarded as within the burgh, this being evidenced by the placing of the Royalty stones along St. Enoch's burn, which bounded the glebe on the north. A proof was taken on behalf of both litigants in May and June, 1811, and some of the evidence is of rather an interesting character.¹ In June, 1812, a decision in this second

¹ William Graham, of Lambhill, aged 69, recollected in his school days "drinking at a well a very little to the north of the Barony glebe, which was called the Physic Well, and there was then a Royalty stone a little to the west of the glebe." The Physic Well, perhaps all that effective drainage had left of the former loch, otherwise called "Plummarris Hole," was utilised at the periodic perambulation of marches for impressing on the memory recollection

law plea was pronounced by the Lord-Ordinary, who adopted the finding in Mackenzie's case, and held that the Barony Glebe was within the Royalty, but the Inner House reversed the decision in the following year, giving the minister and heritors the declarator they applied for ; and an appeal lodged by the Town Council in the House of Lords having been withdrawn, that declarator became final.

Meanwhile the adjoining glebe of the Inner High Church had, in the course of its disposal for building purposes, been regarded as part of the Royalty, and it was nobody's interest to disturb that arrangement. But the remainder of Parson's Croft, though likewise placed within the march-stones of the

of this part of the boundary. The means taken for this end may be gathered from the evidence of John Alston, weaver, aged 54, who says that, when he was an apprentice, his master told him that it was a custom, "when the magistrates rode the marches to duck some of the last-made burgesses in the Physic Well"; and, on the same topic, James Bryce, victualler, aged 70, depones that, forty years ago, it was commonly reported in the town that at the marches-riding it was the custom "to duck the youngest town-officer in a well called the Physic Well, which is now filled up, but which was near the Barony glebe." Janet Paterson, widow of William Paterson, labourer, aged 78, recollects of another well, called the Loanhead Well, in the Barony Glebe, from which she carried water when a young girl. "About 57 years ago she saw two ploughs going in the Barony Glebe on the Fast Day of the town Sacrament. In general people wrought the Physic Well Park on the town's Fast Day, but she never saw them working on the Barony Glebe except on the occasion mentioned." William McCulloch, farmer, Lightburn, aged 57, says that when Mr. Hill was minister of the Barony parish, the deponent's father was employed by him, for a good many years, to plough the Barony Glebe, and on one occasion he recollects the glebe being sown and harrowed upon a Fast Day preceding the town Sacrament. Mr. Hill told his father that the glebe was not within the town's bounds, that the sowing and harrowing it on the Fast Day could disturb nobody, and that his father could have the sowing finished in time to go to church. Peter Ferguson, weaver, aged 55, had resided in the neighbourhood of the Barony Glebe from his infancy. When

royalty,¹ followed the lead of the Barony Glebe, and was treated as beyond the bounds. This portion of Parson's Croft, extending to about ten Scots acres, was purchased by the Incorporation of Tailors in 1676. Little more than 100 years ago it yielded a yearly rent of £40, but now produces from feu-duties the substantial revenue of £1369 yearly.

Previous to the fuller publication of charters and records made within recent years, it was surmised that the Common Good had been augmented by the appropriation of Church property subsequent to the Reformation, but the authentic

he was a boy he heard it very frequently mentioned by old people, as a common report, that when delinquents or debtors, prosecuted before the town courts of Glasgow, were pursued by the town officers, for the purpose of being apprehended, they were in the practice of endeavouring to get across the Howgate Strand; and if they accomplished this they set the officers at defiance and pointed their fingers at them in derision, as being then without the city's jurisdiction. Howgate Strand was a small run of water which crossed Castle Street, at the south end of the glebe, then passed through the infirmary grounds and joined the Molendinar Burn a little to the north of the High Church. Another witness, Thomas Alston, manufacturer, aged 55, places the fugitives' point of escape at the north end of the glebe. In his young days it was the practice for the town officers to apprehend boys who were playing on the streets upon the Sabbath and the Fast Days preceding town Sacraments; and he remembered well that it was a common opinion with him and his companions that they were safe from the town officers when they got beyond the Physic Well, on the Glasgowfield road, or beyond the spot marked on Mr. Fleming's plan "Toll-house," on the Kirkintilloch road, as they considered themselves to be then without the town's jurisdiction.

¹A plan prepared by James Barry in 1782, and reproduced in vol. ii. of *Glasgow Charters*, shows the position of the march-stones which were placed consecutively from No. 1 on the Green to No. 210 at the Broomielaw. In the reproduced plan No. 208 is inadvertently omitted. The stone bearing that number was placed on the north side of Anderston Walk (now Argyle Street) directly opposite stone No. 209 on the south side.

information now available makes it certain that the municipal treasury was not enriched at the expense of the Church. On the other hand, the pre-Reformation clergy were sometimes endowed with portions of the common lands, as in the case of the chapel of St. Roche, for which a site with cemetery and croft were provided. In the year 1529, also, the magistrates and community, assembled in the tolbooth, with consent of the Archbishop, dedicated to the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, then newly founded, sixteen acres of the Gallowmuir.¹ Some of the other endowments of burgh property possessed by priests and friars may have had a similar origin, though documentary evidence to that effect has not been traced. St. Nicholas Hospital, an estimable institution for relief of the poor, founded in the fifteenth century and still existing, though the endowments are meagre, had likewise various parcels of land within the bounds of the burgh. Increase of population, and the consequent necessity of procuring building sites, together with the desire for laying additional land under cultivation, accounted for further alienations of the common lands. Before the middle of the sixteenth century Gallowmuir, the nearest and most accessible of the commons, appears to have been almost wholly in the hands of individual proprietors, who paid yearly feu-duties to the town. In or about the year 1568 the inhabitants, at their annual open-air assembly on the "Symmerhill," resolved that each burghess should get half an acre

¹*Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 109-12. This grant was ratified by the Archbishop, "immediate lord superior and ordinary in things spiritual and temporal," with consent of the dean and chapter of the Cathedral, "provided the grant do not in any wise prejudice or impede a public way to travellers, and the tenants of our lands of Burrowfield, adjacent to the said acres on the one side, going to our city of Glasgow and returning therefrom" (*Ib.* p. 116).

of such parts of the commons as were unprofitable for pasturing stock ;¹ and, in consequence of this arrangement, Garngadhill and the remainder of Gallowmuir were transferred to private owners. William Walker, the archbishop's steward, considered that such a division ought not to have been made without the sanction of his master, and he declined to accept a portion for himself. In a letter to the archbishop, recounting the proceedings, Walker speaks of his troubles as evidenced " be the changinge of the colouris of my hair, quhilk was blak and now is quhyte." ² About this time the Town Council and community, with consent of Archbishop Betoun, feued a large portion of Easter Common to Sir John Stewart of Minto, then Provost of Glasgow, and, so far as has been noticed, this was the earliest sale of any considerable share of the common lands. It is not known what price was paid, but subsequent accounts show that the yearly feu-duty was £25 6s. 8d. Scots. Sir John transferred the lands to a citizen of Glasgow named James Fleming, from whom they derived their existing designation of Flemington.³ In 1576 the community resolved that what was left of the common muirs should be retained for the furnishing of fuel and pasturage,⁴ and it was perhaps in consequence of this resolution that more than a hundred years elapsed before there was another alienation of much importance.

In a rental of 1590 the sum of £57 is set down for "the maillis of the new revin furth landis of Gallowmuir, Garnegad, and utheris." Some acres are entered in the account at 13s. 4d. each, and others higher or lower, but, taking 10s.

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 51.

² *Miscellaneous Papers* (Maitland Club, 1834), p. 24.

³ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1606, 1614, 2462 ; *Glasg. Chart.* ii. 430.

⁴ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 52.

as the average rate per acre, the cumulo £57 represents an alienation of more than a hundred acres of common land. It had been intended that the lone over Garngadhill should be thirty ells in breadth, but the purchasers of the adjoining lots had encroached on that space and narrowed it to twelve ells. For the land thus appropriated the heritors on each side of the lone undertook to pay the value, and it was agreed to keep the passage at its modified width of twelve feet.¹ Near Garngadhill, to the north of St. Roche's croft, was a piece of marshy ground called Skellings-myre, and "above and about" the myre several lots of ground, varying from half an acre to three acres in extent, were, before the years 1657-9, as shown by a rental of that period, conveyed to individuals for payment to the town of yearly feu-duties or ground annuals.²

For some years previous to 1676 the town's expenditure had been exceptionally heavy. Several purchases had been made for additions to the New Green, but the chief extra outlay was incurred in repairing Glasgow Bridge and in constructing a harbour at Port-Glasgow. In the accounts of the Common Good for 1672-3 and 1673-4 the over expenditure amounted to £6633 and £9053 Scots respectively. Money was urgently required, and on the facts being represented to the Convention of Royal Burghs that body authorised the community to sell three portions of their common muir "for improvement of their Common Good and relief of their poor."³ One of the pieces thus sold embraced the south-western portion of the remaining lands of Easter Common, called Liddell's or Limehouse Bog. John Liddell possessed a "house and yeard" at Limehouse (probably

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 529 ; *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 570-3.

² *Ib.* p. 546.

³ *Conv. Rec.* iii. p. 660.

including a limekiln) for which he paid ten merks, yearly, to the town. He must have held the property for a considerable time, as the Town Council had, in 1641, instructed him to plant twelve ash trees there.¹ The land adjoining the lime-house was set by the town to Liddell on tack, and, in 1658, he complained that he was troubled by lint-growers who steeped their lint in the "water-hollis" in his leased lands, trod down his growing corns and grass, and cast turf in the best parts of his grass for laying the same on the steeping lint.² The lot embracing this marshy ground, and extending on the west to Wester Common and Broomhill, was sold to Ninian Anderson, merchant and burgess of Glasgow, at the price of £940 Scots, with an annual feu-duty of five merks.³ These lands were, in 1752, acquired by Fleeming Pinkston, some time of Bangor in County Down, but then a surgeon in London. The new proprietor changed the name of the lands to Pinkston, but the original designation still appears in title-deeds. Pinkston Burn, which rose in the lands and flowed westward to the Kelvin, was, in the recollection of a writer in 1849, a sparkling stream, supplying bleachworks on the way, and having in its course through Rosehall gardens a figure placed in midstream representing the Lady of the Lake.⁴ The burn has now for some time been diverted into a covered sewer.

Another lot, adjoining Limehouse Bog and extending eastward to the lands of Flemington, already noticed, was purchased by James Farie, sometime a bailie of Glasgow. This lot was described as "the lands in the common called Cowlares and Seggieholme, with the hill thereof, and the west part of the land called Sighthill." The price, realised by public roup, as

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 428.

² *Ib.* ii. p. 401.

³ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 369.

⁴ *Past and Present*, p. 21.

were the prices of the other two lots, was 3000 merks, with an annual feu-duty of ten merks.¹

The third lot sold in 1676 consisted of the main portion of Wester Common lying to the west of Garscube Road. The purchaser was John Campbell, owner of the adjoining estate of Woodside, and the price was 2050 merks, with ten merks of yearly feu-duty. From the names of previous lessees the lands were called Moodies and Peters Maillings.² The adjoining lands on the south, called Pirries Bog, lying in the line of the present New City Road, had been conveyed by the town to Walter Craig, a notary, in the year 1575-6, and to John Anderson, bailie, in 1632,³ and by a series of transmissions these plots had already come into the possession of the laird of Woodside. In 1704 the laird likewise acquired the adjoining "Simmerhill" from the town, at the price of £60 Scots with 12d. of yearly feu-duty. All these lands, either in property or superiority, now form part of the entailed estate of Blythswood.

Summerhill, just referred to, has an interest of its own which it may be worth while to allude to more fully before narrating the disposal of the remaining common lands. Glasgow's municipal year in the olden time was enlivened by three assemblies in the open air at which the inhabitants assisted in the transaction of public business. On a Tuesday in the end of May or beginning of June the Whitsunday Court was held, the place of meeting being at one time the Milldam, now included in Glasgow Green, and latterly the Old Green, west of Stockwell Street. At this Court the Common Good for the ensuing year was set to tacksmen, officials (such as treasurer, clerk, and minstrels) were chosen, and then the

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 369.

² *Ib.* p. 368.

³ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 2248; *Glasg. Rec.* ii. p. 12.

company joined in the perambulation of the city's marches. Later in June the inhabitants met on the "Symmerhill," passed regulations as to the occupation of the common lands and other public concerns, such as the terms for admission of burgesses, and disposed of any business left over from the Whitsunday meeting. Wappenschaws were also sometimes combined with the day's proceedings, as in 1601, when all the burgesses were appointed to be in readiness "with thair armour, on fute," on the morning of the "Symmerhill daye," and the provost, bailies, councillors, and deacons to be on horseback. Previous to 1590 these meetings appear to have been sometimes held on the first day of the week, but in that year there was a postponement till Tuesday, "for the observatioun of the Sabbath day." The third assembly took place on 6th July, when the fair beginning on that day, in conformity with King William's charter to Bishop Joceline, was proclaimed at Craigmak, a piece of rocky ground on the west side of High Street and adjoining the place of the Greyfriars.

As a Glasgow place-name Summerhill has long ago disappeared. Derived originally from the midsummer meetings, the designation subsisted while these continued, and even after they fell into desuetude, so long as the grazings were separately let to tacksmen. As a rent of £3 only was obtained for the hill and Woodside lone combined, it is evident that the former was of small extent. These lets ceased in 1655, when the Town Council appointed "the gerse of Simerhill and the lone that passes to the Wodsyde not to be sett heirefter, bot to lye for the use of the towne kye allanerlie." This is the last occasion on which the name of the hill has been noticed in the Council record, and neither this nor previous entries enable one to realise its whereabouts, the only help in that direction

being a statement that in 1574 a march stone was removed from the hill, showing that it was somewhere on the royalty boundary line.¹

The published Protocols supplied more specific information. From that source it was ascertained that in 1575-6 the Town Council feued part of a common bog which was bounded on the south by the lands of "Cowcaldanes alias Symmerhill."² Meikle and Little Cowcaddens can be traced in the possession of the Bishops' rentallers and their successors from the beginning of the sixteenth century, and are known to lie on each side of the present Cowcaddens Street, but they have a somewhat extended frontage, and something more was needed to fix the precise locality. Moodies and Peiters Maillings, purchased, as already mentioned, by James Campbell of Woodside, are described in his title as bounded on the south by the lands called "Pirries boig and the way leading to Somershill." Pirries bog, composed of the ground feued in 1575-6 and another portion feued in 1565-6,³ stretched from the road leading to the town's quarry (Garscube Road) on the east, to Woodside lands on the west, and embraced the low ground lying along and on each side of what is now New City Road after it leaves Cowcaddens Street. Latterly what remained of "Symmerhill" had become detached from Wester Common and neglected, and, being surrounded on all sides save that adjoining the highway, by the lands of the laird of Woodside, he, about the year 1689, quietly enclosed it with Cowcaddens Park, then belonging to him. Investigation followed some ten years later, and it was then arranged that the appropriated land should be retained by the laird at a price to be fixed by valuers. The extent was found to be five roods Scots (barely two imperial acres) and these were conveyed

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 13.

² *Glasg. Prot.* No. 2248.

³ *Ib.* No. 1527.

to John Campbell of Woodside in the year 1704.¹ Described merely as part of "the common" on the west side of the road to the town's quarry the old midsummer gathering place is not recognisable from the title deeds except by the piecing together of these various particulars, but the result seems to be satisfactory. Summerhill is thus identified with the braeside which surrounds the spot where Rose Street and Cambridge Street now unite. The royalty line on the Glasgow Directory plan marks the south boundary, and on the ground itself may be seen within the railing on the east side of Rose Street an old march stone, perhaps the successor of that which was "tane awaye of the Symmerhill" in 1574.

The northern portion of the remaining lands of Wester Common was sold, in 1730, to James Rae, merchant, at the price of £1459 3s. 4d. Scots, with a yearly feu-duty of 100 merks Scots. This was considered the equivalent of a yearly rent of 205 merks which Rae had been previously paying as lessee. At first called Raehill, the lands, after they came into the possession of Robert Hamilton, who likewise acquired a small piece of additional ground, have been known by the name of Hamilton Hill. The coal and stone quarries in the lands were reserved to the town and the coal was worked on lease so recently as the year 1891. What was left of Wester Common, consisting of 21 acres 3 roods Scotch measure, lying between Garscube Road and Broomhill, was sold to John Young, tailor, in 1747, at the price of £130 sterling, with a yearly feu-duty of £20 Scots. Coal and stone quarries in this portion of Wester Common were likewise reserved to the town. The southern portion of Young's ground was re-acquired by the Corporation some years ago and formed into the Phoenix recreation ground.

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 425.

The lands of Petershill in Easter Common had been let on a forty-five years' lease to William Stobo, merchant, on the understanding that he should drain the loch situated on the south side of the lands. But the expense had exceeded the tenant's calculations, and in order to encourage him to complete the improvements it was arranged that the lands, under reservation of coal and stone quarries, should be sold to him at the price of 3500 merks, with a yearly feu-duty of 100 merks, and the transaction was completed on these lines in 1729. Petershill bordered with Flemington on the north, and had on the south the town's remaining lands of Easter Common, extending southwards to Garngadhill. This remaining portion, consisting of forty-two acres, came into the market in 1755, and was sold by public roup to Hugh Tennent, gardener, at the price of £280 sterling, with £10 sterling of yearly feu-duty, and under the usual reservation of coal and stone quarries. In the feu contract granted by the Town Council it is stated that the magistrates had agreed to the sale to increase the revenue, the lands "having, past all memory, been barren and sterile and never plowed, and having never yielded any rent or profit to the Council and community." This sale may be regarded as practically exhausting the burgh's original territory, though a few superficial acres, chiefly in the New Green, the reserved minerals under a larger area, and some feu-duties or ground annuals, still appear as Common Good assets. The multifarious requirements of a growing community have gradually led to the disposal of the rest in ways and for reasons which seemed commendable to the administrators of the city's affairs for the time.

Nearly all the lands now forming part of the Common Good have been acquired since the middle of the seventeenth

century. In 1588 most of the town's lands of Dassiegreen and Peitbog, used by the salmon fishers for landing their boats and drying their nets, and now included in Glasgow Green, had to be realised for payment of debt, but they were reacquired in 1664, and adjacent portions were subsequently added, the latest considerable acquisition for the Green being made in 1792.¹ In 1650 Gorbals lands were purchased as a joint venture by the city, Hutchesons' Hospital, and the Trades House;² the Barony of Provan was acquired by the city on its own account in 1667;³ and in 1668 lands at Newark were secured in connection with the establishment of the harbour, since known as Port-Glasgow.⁴ Of these purchases, so far as land revenues are concerned, Gorbals has been the most productive. At present the yearly feu-duties drawn for a portion of the lands amount to more than double the price originally paid for the city's share of the whole. The remaining heritable properties, detailed in the published accounts, are of comparatively recent acquirement.

As has been already observed, mills connected with royal burghs originally belonged to the sovereign, who often leased them to the burgesses for payment of a fixed rent. Similarly, in Glasgow the bishop set to the community a mill on the Molendinar Burn, while other mills on the Molendinar as well as the Kelvin were subsequently acquired, and for a long time the revenues derived from that source formed the largest item in the Common Good account. All the mills have for some time been sold or discontinued, but a remnant of the old town mill lands has still a place in the assets. Petty customs, including "ladle" dues, were collected till 1847, when they were abolished, and a payment of £1500 yearly

¹ *Water Supply, etc.* Appx. p. 28; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 873.

² *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 19-29.

³ *Ib.* p. 120.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 132.

provided from the police rates as compensation. Dues on the admission of burgesses have been continuously collected and regularly appear in the accounts. According to the published account for 1905-6 the entry-money amounted to £284. The principal revenues, as shown by these accounts, consist of feu-duties and ground annuals, £5457; Old Clothes and Bird and Dog Markets, City Hall and St. Andrew's Halls, £8276; heritable property, £3875; allowance in lieu of petty customs, £1500; and £35,000 contributed by the Tramway Department in respect of expenditure out of the Common Good on the construction of tramways.

The earliest preserved account of "commone guddis" is that for the year 1573-4. The "tounne myln" then produced in Scots money £108 13s. 4d., but the tacksman got back £21 "be ressoun of the greit droutht." Then there were received for the town mill land £14 13s. 4d.; market dues, called "ladill," £130; dues levied at the bridge, £68 13s.; the "common annuells," corresponding to ground annuals or feu-duties, £30 19s. 9d.; and the "burgess fynes," being dues payable on the admission of eighteen burgesses at £6 17s. 4d. each—£123 17s. The revenues for the year reached a total of £569 6s. 1d. On the disbursement side of the account, the larger sums may be grouped under (1) Works and furnishings paid by the treasurer with money given by him to the master of works for expenditure, £115; (2) members of council and officials visiting Edinburgh and other towns, messengers and travelling expenses, £142; and (3) banquets, entertainments, and wine presented to noblemen and others, £121. The Earl of Argyle, then Lord-Chancellor, got several donations of wine, making twenty gallons in all, at a total cost of £20. Lord Boyd, the Provost,

besides his annual fee of 20 marks, was presented with two hogsheads and six quarts of wine at a cost of £35 6s. 8d. To the Provost's kinsman, "my Lord of Glasgow, quhen he wes admittit bischop," there was presented "ane galloun of wyne." Each of the three bailies got an annual fee of £6 13s. 4d., and the like remuneration was given to each of the common procurator, common clerk, treasurer, master of work, and the town's advocate in Edinburgh. The advocate's "servand" was allowed 20s. "in drynk sylver." At the close of the year's intromissions the treasurer found himself in possession of a surplus of £40.¹ The earliest published account thus resembles the latest in having the balance on the right side, though there is a considerable difference in degree, as in the account of the Common Good for the year 1905-6 revenue exceeded expenditure to the extent of £16,605 10s. 7d.

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 447-53.

X.

THE OLD GRAIN MILLS OF GLASGOW

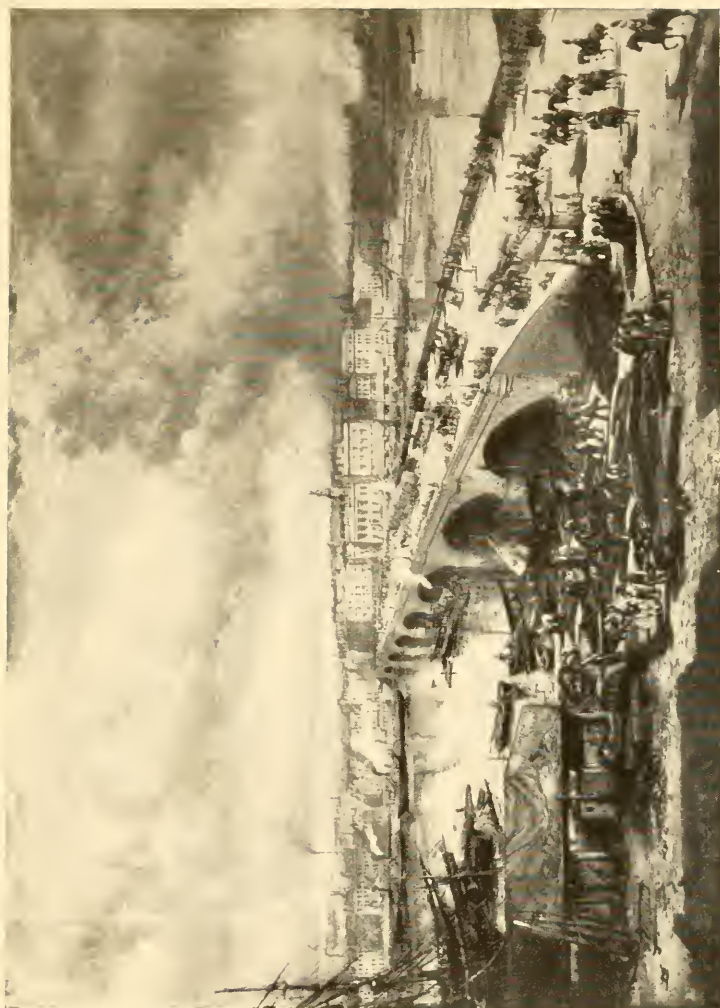
IT has been claimed for corn-milling that it is the oldest continuously conducted industry in the world. Primeval man began the process by pounding grain into meal with unshapely stones, on which improvements were gradually made till the revolving quern was invented. A further advance resulted in the handmill, provided with simple machinery, such as a crank and wheels. Roman authors relate how at first these mills were worked by slaves and criminals, and how latterly cattle were employed in driving machinery of a similar type, but of a more complex construction. Water-power, it is believed, was first used for mills shortly before the opening of the Christian era, and it may be assumed that mills of that description were introduced into the British Isles during the Roman occupation.¹ Scotland, with its ever-recurring glen and burn, was well adapted for the development of the new system, and accordingly, when our national history opens, every large landowner possessed his mill, to which his tenants and dependents were bound to resort; each of the royal burghs had its mill, for which rent was usually paid to the king, and many of the great religious houses likewise possessed mills among their endowments.

¹ See *History of Corn Milling*, by Richard Bennet and John Ellon.

The heavy expense of erecting and maintaining water-mills could only be met by massing contributors, and this was accomplished by assigning to each mill a district called the "thirl," the grindable produce of which must either be brought thither or the dues paid for whatever grain was carried elsewhere. Monopolies thus established became lucrative, and among other efforts to render them more complete, the use of handmills was generally prohibited, though still allowed in exceptional cases, such as during a scarcity of water, or when used by a particular class, as in the case of burghesses of a royal burgh. The Burgh Laws of the thirteenth century contain various regulations regarding mills. Briefly summarised, these laws forbid the grinding of wheat, mixed grain, or rye at handmills, unless compelled by great storm or want of water-mills; the Great Chamberlain, when on circuit, was to inquire "gif any man keip hand-mylnes other than ane burges," "gif roumes in the mylne be duly keipit for the burghesses," and if any withheld multures "fra our lord the kingis mylnes"; the tacksmen of the king's mills in burghs and his servants were to be "of gud fame," chosen by the good men of the town, and were to swear fealty to the king and of "rychtuis multyr to be tane." Multure was the quantity of grain due to the miller for grinding the grain, and sequels were the smaller quantities, known as knaveship, bannock, and lock or gowpen, which were given to the servants at the mill.

As territorial lords, the bishops had several mills throughout the barony of Glasgow. Govan Ward was not provided with suitable water-power,¹ and one mill on the Kelvin served it

¹Gorbals, in Govan Ward, had a windmill which stood some little distance west of the spot now occupied by Jamaica Street Bridge, on a site which, according to Macgeorge (*Old Glasgow*, p. 160), is now deep water, near



BROOMIELAW BRIDGE, 1850.
From Water Colour by Sam. Bough, R.S.A.

and Partick Ward. Badermonach Ward, corresponding to the modern Cadder parish, had its mill at Bedlay, and Clydesmill supplied the wants of Cuik's Ward or West Monkland. There were also mills connected with the territorial endowments of two of the cathedral prebends, one of these being the mill of Provan, to which the lands in that barony were thirled, and the other was the subdean's mill, situated on the Molendinar Burn, at the foot of Drygate. Besides these five, the origin of which cannot be traced, two additional mills were set agoing on the Kelvin in the sixteenth century. A waulk or fulling mill, called "the new walkmyll of Partik," was leased to one Donald Lyon in 1517; and his son, Archibald

the centre of the river. The mill, which gave the name of Windmill Croft to adjoining ground, is depicted, in a dismantled condition, in a view of Glasgow from the south-west, about 1768. Part of the croft was acquired for harbour purposes at a later period, and the remains of the mill, if any existed, must then have been removed, while its site would be submerged. Gorbals can be traced in the possession of the Elphinstone family from at least the year 1520, and when, in 1608, the town secured the monopoly of the mills, Sir George Elphinstone was owner. The earliest extant reference to the windmill occurs in 1599, but it was probably in existence long ere that time. In order that its competition might be got out of the way, when in the beginning of the seventeenth century the town acquired a monopoly in the mills, Sir George had to be reckoned with, and the negotiations resulted in his being paid "for the maill of his wind milne," 160 merks yearly till 1629, and during each of the last three years of his lifetime (1631-4) the allowance was increased to £200. Whether the mill was for a time kept by the town as a going concern, or whether it was from the first allowed to fall into decay, has not been ascertained, but that the yearly allowance was personal to Sir George, and not regarded as the rent of a structure, is indicated by the fact that a sum of £200 was paid to him after he sold Gorbals in the beginning of 1634, while the last half-yearly payment was made in 1635 to the representatives of "umquhile Sir George Elphinstoun." Subsequent proprietors do not seem to have got similar allowances, and in any case liability would cease in 1650, when Gorbals was purchased by the town.

Lyon, on succeeding to the rental right in 1554, was allowed to transform it into a mill for grinding any manner of corn, on condition that the thirlage of Partick mill should not be prejudiced, and that the lessee should grind such wheat as was required for the bishop's house free of multure.¹ The other new mill was that erected by the baxters of Glasgow about the year 1569, a date which goes so far to support the popular tradition that the baxters obtained the site in reward for their services at the battle of Langside.²

The three "ward" mills were probably in existence in the twelfth century, when the burgh of Glasgow was founded, but it may be assumed that at that time the inhabitants, in accordance with the practice of a later period, got their meal ground nearer home. Molendinar Burn was always at hand, and was sufficient to supply the water-power needful for a small community, and, following the precedent set by the king with regard to royal burghs, the bishops of Glasgow must from the first have provided a mill for their burgesses. Perhaps the earliest town's mill, as already suggested,³ was situated near the place called Milndam, now included in Glasgow Green, or it may possibly have been the mill which was latterly added to the endowments of the sub-deanery, as the position of either of these was more convenient for the inhabitants than was the site which, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, was assigned to them for their town mill. With regard to the erection of this mill, we fortunately have some authentic particulars. It was situated at a higher part of the same stream which supplied water-power to the sub-dean's mill, and adjoined the lands of Garngad possessed by the community. As set forth in a document, dated 4th February, 1446-7, and still preserved, Bishop Cameron

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 512.

² *Ib.* p. 548.

³ *Antea*, p. 49.

(1426-46) allowed the burgesses to erect a mill on the "Malyndoner" Burn, upon the south side of "Gardyingad," in consideration of their giving two pounds of wax yearly to the keeper of the lights around St. Kentigern's tomb, and it was acknowledged that the stipulation had been regularly implemented during the bishop's lifetime.¹ This mill and its successors on the same site existed for upwards of four centuries, but little is known regarding the management of these mills till the preserved Council records begin in 1573. Six years previous to that date "the common mill, kiln, and mill lands" were mortgaged in security of 400 merks, borrowed at 10 per cent., the usual rate of interest at that period.² In 1573-4 the sum of £108 13s. 4d. was received by the town treasurer as rent of the mill, and £14 13s. 4d. for the mill lands.³ The tacksman of the mill was remunerated by multures and other dues contributed in kind by those who brought grain to be ground. An entry in the Burgh Court book, dated 4th March, 1574-5, records that one Jonet Fary had broken the lock of the "multour kist," and taken away "v multouris and thre knaifschippis of malt."⁴ In November, 1576, during the Provostship of Lord Boyd, the Town Council, by way of augmenting the Common Good, resolved that, at the time of their admission, burgesses should undertake to bring all their corns to the town mills to be ground, if that could be done on as easy terms as were obtainable elsewhere; that all brewers and makers of aquavitæ should bring their malt to these mills, and that in future the common mills and such others as the town might acquire were not to be feued or set on tacks for more than a year.⁵ Shortly after this time it was reported that the "commone

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 25.

² *Glasg. Prot.* No. 949.

³ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 447.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 35.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 56.

towne mylne is alluterlie ruinous," and preparations were made for its being rebuilt. Meanwhile, as it was considered that the mill, though repaired, was insufficient to supply the inhabitants, they acquired from Archibald Lyon his rights in the mill on Kelvin. The sum of £188 18s. 10d. was thereafter paid by the town "to wrichtis, masounes, and quarioris for new bigging of the commone towne mylne, quhilk wes tane doune and new biggit in the symmer."¹ The rebuilt mill had a thatched roof, as appears from a minute in 1599, when instructions were given "to caus by straye and theik the tounes mylnes sua that the same may be maid watterfast." In 1577 the "commowne towne auld mylne" was set to tacksmen for 160 merks, and the mill on the Kelvin for 30 bolls malt and 20 bolls meal, but as these quantities of victual had to be given to Lyon yearly during his lifetime, the latter mill did not increase the town's revenues at that time. After Lyon's decease his heirs were to be entitled to receive 100 merks yearly till redeemed by payment of the capital sum of 1000 merks, and the archbishop had likewise to be paid his yearly rent of four merks.²

After the thirlage resolution passed in 1576 had been in operation for a few years it was found to be oppressive and unworkable, and in June, 1581, when Esme, Earl of Lennox, was Provost, it was abrogated. The reasons assigned for reverting to the former practice of allowing the inhabitants to resort to such mills as they pleased were that the two mills belonging to the town were insufficient "to mak continewale and daylie service to this tounschip, being populus and haifing hourelie victuale of gritt quantitie to grind, and becaus the said mylnis are situat on burns quhilk will stand the hail

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 2964.

² *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 58, 199; *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 553-7.

symmer seasoun dry without watter." Farther, even if there were a sufficiency of water, the two mills could not "mak service to the haill inhabitantis of this toun, the saidis inhabitantis being burdenit with the furnising of passengeris and repair of noble men, togidder with the repair and charge of the Helandis, and als with the furnesing of fischeris and traficqueris of this toun to the Isles, Yrland, and ellisquhair, to mak change of aill and aquavytie, with the furnesing of the Universitie, the repair of mercatt folkis twyis in oulk, be the quhilkis ocasiones and reasones foirsaid the said toune and communitie ar inricht and doith stand for the maist parte." The inhabitants engaged in this prosperous traffic felt a peculiar hardship in having to pay "double multuris," the one to the farmer of the mill to which they were thirled, but which might be stopped "in symmer seasoun for laik of watter," and the other to the mill where the grain was actually ground.¹ No farther change of any consequence is noticed in the management of the mills, which continued to be let to tacksmen at varying rents, such as 568 merks in 1589 and £500 in 1596, till the year 1608, when the town, heavily burdened with debt, sought relief in a speculation whereby they obtained control over additional mills on the Molendinar and Kelvin. The archbishop leased Partick mill to the community for nine or ten years, they paying as rent 50 bolls of malt yearly, and a ten years' lease of the Subdean mills was likewise obtained from the laird of Minto at a yearly rent of £400. This accomplished, thirlage was re-established, and the inhabitants bound to bring their grain to the town's mills to be ground at as cheap a rate as was charged elsewhere, and no malt was to be brewed except such as was ground at these mills; but the new regulations were "without prejudice

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* 1. pp. 86-88.

to the baxteris to grind quheit and rye in thair awin mylnis." The mills owned or rented by the town were thereupon set to tacksmen on a five years' lease for payment of 4400 merks (£244 sterling) yearly. In 1616 the rent was increased to 6466 merks, and in succeeding years there was usually a progressive rise in the rental, the mills being for a long time the most productive source of the town's revenue. Each of the mills, according to a regulation passed in 1628, was to be served by "ane myller and ane knave, tua persounes allanerlie," and the miller was to "sustain his knave upoun his bonok," which was to be collected with measures supplied by the Dean of Guild under the town's seal. Next year, when similar regulations were passed, the knave is styled "under myller," and it was specially provided that no "loik" or other dues should be exacted beyond "ordinar multour, knaifscip, and bannock."¹ The multure taken for malt was the 28th part of the quantity ground at the mills, and the bannock was the 56th part, being half as much as the multure.

Considerable opposition was raised to the thirlage scheme by "sum malicious personis," and James Elphinstone, of Woodside, who had a mill of his own, took proceedings for having the resolution suspended,² but the system, sanctioned by a royal charter obtained in 1611, took effectual root and continued till well on in the nineteenth century. Before the expiry of the ten years during which thirlage had been imposed in 1608, it was made permanent, and the following clause was inserted in the oath taken by each burgess on admission: "I shall not brew na malt bot sic as is grund at the townes mylnes, nor by aitis to be grund at any uther mylnes bot

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 368-9; ii. pp. 555-67.

² *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. pp. 358-9.

the same allanerlie, or ony uther stuf except quheit, quhilkis I sal happin to inbring within this burgh or sauld be me thairintill.”¹ The exception of “quheit” preserved the privileges of the baxters’ mill. In 1655 the Town Council referred to the success of the thirlage, “whereby the towne, be the blessing of God, hes bein inabled to repair thair kirkis, brigs, build thair tolbooth, commoune caseys, paying thair ministeris stipends, and many mae commoune workis, to the great guid, commodatioune, and decorment of the citie.”² Renewal leases of both Partick and Subdean Mills were procured when the ten years expired, and in 1619 the town purchased the latter mills from Sir Walter Stewart of Minto, for payment of a yearly feu-duty of 900 merks, which was redeemed some years afterwards by a cash payment of 20,000 merks. This purchase included not only two water mills but also a “man mill,” which probably performed good service when water was scarce, and there were also 23 kilns, the possessors of which paid to the town feu-duties amounting to £102 13s. 4d. yearly. The lands of Easter and Wester Craigs, both outside the burgh, were thirled to the mills, thereby farther increasing the revenue.³ Partick mill, which in 1660 was reported to be of little profit on ordinary occasions, “but verie stedable to the toune in tyme of ane drouth and frost,” was possessed by the town on rental right till a feu charter was obtained from the crown in 1738. The feu-duty payable under this charter was composed of the former rents, viz., 50 bolls ground malt for the mill, 8 bolls oatmeal for 4 acres of adjoining land, and 10 merks with 4 capons for the house and yard attached to the mill.

¹ *Historical Glasgow*, p. 58.

² *Glasg. Rec.* ii. p. 309.

³ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 302-14; ii. pp. 5-18; *Glasg. Rec.* iii. pp. 544-5.

For increasing the volume of water in the Molendinar Burn some impounding and collecting works were executed at Hogganfield and Frankfield Lochs. The natural outfall of the latter loch was towards Luggie Water, but its contents were brought by an artificial cut into Hogganfield Loch, and thence sent down Molendinar Burn. The lochs were situated within the barony of Provan, belonging, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, to the Hamiltons of Silvertonhill, and the town seems to have had some early arrangement with these proprietors for improving the water supply. In 1625 the town treasurer paid to the laird of Silvertonhill £100 "for the libertie of his watter to the tounes mylnes thir thrie yeiris bygane,"¹ and similar payments were subsequently made. The laird's own mill of Provan being situated on the same burn, about a mile above the town's highest mill, he had the first use of the water, though any improvement of the supply would be of mutual advantage. In 1667 the Town Council of Glasgow got entire control over the water supply by the purchase of the barony of Provan, including the lochs and mill.² After they entered into possession further operations at the lochs and cast between them were carried out, and the mill, which, besides grinding the produce of the newly acquired barony, was a useful auxiliary to its neighbours farther down the stream, was set to a tacksman on a 19 years' lease.

In 1732 mention is made of a malt mill which had been erected on the Molendinar Burn a little below the old town's mill, and in 1765 this malt mill is described as "now erected into a miln for grinding snuff." Ninian Bryce, the tacksman, had incurred large expense in repairs and alterations, and in order that he might be recouped he got a tack for the period of twice 19 years, at a yearly rent of £5 sterling, but, "to

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 349.

² *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 120.



OLD BRIDGE AND HOUSES, AT PARTICK.
From Water Colour by William Simpson.

encourage him to carry on his work in manufacturing and grinding tobacco," the £5 was allowed to him in pension for life if he continued the mill as a going concern. In 1786, by which time Bryce was dead, the snuff mill was reported to be ruinous, and subsequently steps were taken for having it re-let. At a later period the mill was used for the making of files, and was known as the File-mill.

As the mills on the Molendinar burn, thus increased in number and improved in water supply, became sufficient for the town's purposes those on the Kelvin were disposed of. Archibald Lyon's mill was, in 1771, sold to the Incorporation of Bakers, who held it till 1874, when the site was reacquired by the city and laid out as part of Kelvingrove Park. Partick mill was sold in 1809, and the site is now occupied by the Bishop Mill in Old Dumbarton Road. When the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations issued their report in 1835 it was stated that the mills belonging to the city of Glasgow were Provan-mill, Subdean-mill, Town-mill, and the File-mill. Along with attached lands the mills then produced an aggregate rent of £592, and they were valued at £8975 sterling. Experiencing the common fate of their class, the old Town-mill was destroyed by fire in 1857 and the File-mill in 1862, and they were never restored. In connection with the formation of Alexandra Parade, planned in 1869, Molendinar burn was arched over, and the hollow, which included the sites of the two mills, was filled up. The dam of the Subdean mills, especially in hot weather, had latterly become objectionable, and from 1855 onwards various attempts were made to dispose of the property. An opportunity for closing the mill and covering over the offensive water-course occurred in 1874, when the Improvements Trustees acquired the site for the widening of Ladywell Street and other reconstruction

purposes, and the buildings were removed about that time. Provan-mill, with its water-wheel driven by the "Malyn-doner" as of old, though for other purposes than the grinding of grain, is now the sole survivor of those possessions which in other days and under other conditions formed the backbone of city finance.

XI.

EARLY CUSTOMS AND TAXATIONS

THE code of burgh laws, sanctioned by Royal authority and believed to be in operation in Scotland as early as the twelfth century, owes much of its completeness to the late period at which burghal institutions became general in this country. In England, where burghs had been established from a time long anterior to the Norman Conquest, legislation had necessarily proceeded piecemeal. Our great lawgiver, King David I., who was on intimate and friendly terms with southern magnates, and familiar with their modes of government, had the opportunity of lifting this statutory accumulation in a body and adopting so much of it as was applicable to the peculiar needs of his northern kingdom. By this time a burgh retained little of the significance implied by the original "burg," a stronghold. The military side was no doubt represented by the castle, which was still a distinguishing feature in the equipment of a royal burgh, but greater prominence was gradually being given to the market, with its facilities not only for the encouragement of commerce but also for the collection of revenue. In subsidiary burghs, such as those which lords of regality, spiritual or temporal, were empowered to establish, the market was the main, if not the only, essentiality. When King David authorised

the canons of Holyrood to have a burgh between their Church and his burgh of Edinburgh, provision was made for their burgesses buying and selling their wares as freely as the king's own burgesses; and by the charter under which the Bishops of Glasgow were allowed to establish a burgh the leading privileges are a weekly market, with all the freedoms and customs pertaining to royal burghs. A regality was in many respects a miniature kingdom, and in the case of a regality burgh its lord was entitled to exact customs on goods coming to his market similar to those which the king received on goods sold in the market of a royal burgh.

At first the king's own officers collected the customs direct, but from an early period the more convenient practice of letting these to the community of a burgh, in consideration of a yearly fixed rent, was generally followed. In this way any surplus was appropriated by the burgh, and applied on public works; and as the usual tendency was toward development of trade and proportionate increase of customs, while the rent remained stationary, considerable revenue was frequently derived from this source. A similar course was often adopted in burghs of regality, but there are no extant records or accounts to show how long the bishops of Glasgow collected the customs direct, or under what circumstances the customs were leased to the magistrates. In 1449-50, when Renfrew and Rutherglen were enjoined not to hinder their burgesses from frequenting Glasgow market, in "prejudice to the privilege and custum grantyd to the Kirk of Glasgow of auld tyme," and were forbidden to take toll or custom within the barony, it may be inferred that the bishops rather than the magistrates had the main interest in the revenues.¹ It is not till the year 1573-4 that we

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 27.

have definite particulars on the subject. At that time "the casualiteis of the mercatt callit the ladill," were drawn by the community, and were, for a rent of £130 Scots, let to a tacksman, who that year got a rebate of £10 to make up for "tinsell."¹ About this time the burgh of Rutherglen claimed exemption from the imposition, but in 1575 the Supreme Court refused the claim, and found that the community of Glasgow were entitled to exact "ane ladill full of all cornis and victuale of ilk sek cumand to the mercat of the burgh," the proceeds being expended on "sowping and clangeing of thair calsay." The "ladill full" is stated to be "neir" the fourth-part of a peck.² To incur liability for ladle duty grain required to be brought into the burgh, and it happened that on the lands of Wester Craigs, on the east side of the Molendinar Burn, were "divers and sindry killis quhairof the awnaris byis mekill beir and bringis to thame furth of the cuntrey about the towne, nocht being presentit to the marcate, quhairthrow the firmararis and havearis of the said laidill wantis the dewitie thair of." To secure duty on the grain which was thus withheld from the town's market, the magistrates in 1592, arranged with Sir Matthew Stewart of Minto, proprietor of Wester Craigs, for exaction of ladle duty there for the next nineteen years, in consideration of a yearly payment of £20.³ A few years afterwards the town acquired from Sir Matthew's successor the mills and kilns at Wester Craigs, and this would no doubt put an end to further evasion from that quarter. In 1594 the burgh of Lanark put in a claim of exemption from "ladle" duty; but the Convention of Burghs decided against them. Glasgow's title to the exaction was, in 1611, ratified by a Crown charter,

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 447, 452.

² *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 164.

³ *Ib.* ii. pp. 5-7.

which for the first time conveyed the burgh to the community direct, previous charters of that nature being in favour of the prelates. The grant of 1611 included the weekly market, with right to uplift the Customs, and the yearly rent payable to the archbishop for the burgh and all its privileges is stated at 16 merks Scots.¹ The revenue from "ladles" was therefore nearly all gain, and its increase was continuous. Taking sterling money, and omitting fractions, the following yearly tack duties may be cited: 1631, £112; 1662, £162; 1689, £222; 1781, £400. When the impost was levied in kind, the tacksmen were supplied with the requisite measures, as in 1644, when "the ladillars hes gottin seavin ladils, and ther is ane new ane to be made farder to them to mak up eight."² In his *Annals of Glasgow*, Cleland says that the dues were chiefly collected by persons stationed at the eight ports of the city, viz.: "The old and new bridges, head of Jamaica Street, Cowcaddens Toll, Townhead Toll, Whitehill Toll, Gallowgate at Calton Mouth, and the middle of Great Hamilton Street." The dues, varying on different kinds of grain from 1-64th to 1-96th part, were levied along with a multure duty of 6d. per boll of malt brewed within the burgh; and both imposts, in the year 1811, realised £1405 in all, eggs and butter-milk brought £31 10s., and fish and potatoes, £140. Meal and malt used by burgesses were exempt from ladle duty, and a lower rate was exacted for grain brought to the Broomielaw by water.³

In the report of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations, issued in 1835, it is stated that the right to levy from every sack of grain imported into the burgh of Glasgow a ladle-full of the produce had been long converted into a

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 278-83.

² *Glasg. Rec.* ii. pp. 57, 71.

³ *Annals of Glasgow*, pp. 80-4.

money-tax, and that this tax had been extended to fruit and salt as well as meal; but it was considered to be a very vexatious impost, troublesome to levy and expensive to collect. Commutation had often been considered, and, pending the discovery of a suitable scheme, the Town Council had suspended the imposition of the duty in 1834, "in consequence of the great reduction of expenditure and of the very favourable state of the Corporation revenue." Twelve years afterwards the Petty Customs were finally abolished by 9 and 10 Vic., c. 289, the Act under which Gorbals, Calton, and Anderston were included within the municipal boundaries. To compensate the city funds for the consequent loss of revenue, as well as to defray the additional expense of the municipal establishment and elections, the police funds became liable for an annual sum not exceeding £1500 yearly, a contribution which has been regularly paid up to the present time.

Besides the Petty Customs already referred to, there were for a long time exigible in Glasgow certain dues connected with the "tron," the establishment and management of which have some historical interest. In former times merchandise liable to the great Custom, payable to the Crown, could not be legally exported without a cocket, being a certificate under the seal of the proper officer that the dues had been settled. Lords of regality who owned burghs of export had generally a grant of cocket, entitling them to export merchandise duty free. The bishops of Glasgow do not appear to have had the privilege till the year 1489-90, but on 4th January of that year Bishop Blacader and his successors were empowered to have a free tron for weighing the merchandise and goods of the citizens and tenants of the barony, and it was provided that they should have for their own use the customs of such

merchandise and goods, causing cockets to be given thereon, and that the citizens and tenants should be free of all other customs in any other towns, ports, and places within the kingdom, on showing the cockets received by them.¹ The revenues derived from this source appear to have been drawn by the prelates, or those authorised by them, till some time after the Reformation. In 1547 Archbishop Dunbar gave to Henry Crawford, parish clerk of Cadder, a nineteen years' tack of the tron customs, for payment of £24 yearly, whereof £20 were assigned to the college and the remaining £4 to the chaplains of two altars. In 1577 Archbishop Boyd granted to Matthew Boyd, who was tacksman at the time, a nineteen years' tack of the "customs of the tron weights, of the firloths, pecks, and others his customs of all boats repairing by water to Glasgow, and all weights and customs whatsoever of the town of all goods customable," for payment of a yearly rent of £50 Scots. Four years later the same archbishop, with consent of his chapter, mortified to the college "our customis, of our troneis of Glasgow, great and small customes, fair or mercat customis, or of mett measure or wecht pertaining to us within our said cietie of Glasgow."² The college would thus become entitled to the yearly tack duty, but subsequent archbishops seem to have made some claims on the dues, and there ensued considerable discussion regarding the ownership.

In 1613 the Town Council agreed with the archbishop for a nineteen years' tack of the tron, in consideration of a payment of 3000 merks; but in the following year charters were granted by the archbishop and the college giving the town the duties and customs of the tron in perpetuity at the price of 4500 merks. On their part the Town Council agreed to pay a yearly feu-duty of £50 Scots of old ferm,

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 83-4.

² *Ib.* pp. 189, 447; ii. p. 511.

with £16 13s. 4d. of augmentation, making together an annual payment of £5 11s. 1d. sterling.¹ For some years subsequent to 1614 the Council records are wanting, and it is not till 1626 that the tron revenues are known. In that year a sum of 530 merks (£29 8s. 10d. sterling) was realised, and a similar amount was secured in 1631. Up till that time what was called "the custowme of the peckis and casualities therof" had been let along with the customs of the tron, but in 1636 and subsequent years they were kept distinct. In 1636 the tron was set for £25 and the pecks for £32 sterling; in 1689, tron £45, pecks £50. The "pecks" were dues connected with the meal market, a building situated between High Street and Shuttle Street. In 1788 parts of the market granaries were converted into a correction house, but as more commodious premises for the latter were procured elsewhere the whole property was sold to the College in 1792, and no substituted market seems to have been provided.² Cleland says that in 1811 the dues of the tron and weigh-house, then a large building at the corner of Montrose Street and Ingram Street, partly used as a storehouse, produced a revenue of £284. The site of this weigh-house was sold in 1821, and substituted accommodation was acquired at the Bazaar in Candleriggs. Under various general statutes, passed in 1824 and in subsequent years, the supervision of weights and measures has been organised on a plan which has superseded the old system established in the days of the archbishops.

In the year 1571 the Town Council obtained royal authority for uplifting an impost on herring and other fish, for the

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 291-6; *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 337.

² Part of a wall of the old meal market still stands at the back of the houses on the north side of College Street.

special purpose of repairing and maintaining their bridge over the Clyde, a structure which was even at that early time getting old and decayed.¹ This tax, which was continued and augmented from time to time, and which served its purpose till superseded by modern devices, rose from 80 merks in 1574 to 2800 merks (£155 sterling) in 1758, about which time additional bridge accommodation became necessary.

For some years before 1690, when the Town Council obtained authority to elect their own magistrates, the city debt had been gradually accumulating, and it was hopeless to expect a clearance by means of the ordinary revenues. King James VII., in the second last year of his reign, authorised the Town Council to levy a yearly tax on ale, wine, and other liquors, for the space of nineteen years, but there was opposition to its collection, and in consequence of the troubles which immediately ensued it is probable that little profit was got from the "gift," the procuring of which cost more than £1000 sterling.² A similar grant of a more durable nature was embodied in an Act of Parliament, dated 15th June, 1693. The preamble of this Act refers to the loyalty of the citizens "since the late happy Revolution," the great debts and burdens of the town "occasioned by the malversation of the former magistrates, whereby that once flourishing place is like to be brought to outer ruine," and the desirability of the town being relieved and its debts paid. To effect this object Parliament authorised the imposition of two pennies Scots on each pint of ale or beer brewed, sold, or brought within the town and its suburbs, for the space of thirteen years from the following November. Besides payment of their own debt, the magistrates were directed to

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 146.

² *Ib.* ii. p. 229; *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 395-7.

provide out of the proceeds of the impost a sufficient tolbooth for detaining persons sent to them by the bailie of the regality and for holding his courts.¹ At the start a tacksman got a three years' lease of the dues for payment of £1800 sterling yearly, but the arrangement apparently fell through, as they were again exposed to public roup in 1695, when, nobody making a suitable offer, the Town Council retained the collection in their own hands. Though originally granted for only thirteen years, the impost was kept up by Continuation Acts till 1839, in which year the net proceeds amounted to £1262.

Previous to the passing of the Poor Law Act of 1845 the magistrates of Glasgow, in accordance with the usual practice of royal burghs, assessed the inhabitants for the support of the poor. This assessment, as reported by the Municipal Commissioners in 1835, averaged over £8000 yearly. The only other municipal tax of old standing was the cess, consisting of an annual payment to government of £2125, which sum was raised from the inhabitants by a tax to the extent of three-fourths on real property, the remainder being laid on trade. Cess was originally contributed by royal burghs in consideration of their enjoying the exclusive privilege of trade, and as such monopolies ceased long ago, the burghs, a few years ago, succeeded in stopping the further collection of the tax. A new tax, the police assessment, was begun in 1800, but with it, and the many other rates of more recent invention, Glasgow people are kept sufficiently familiar by the annual issue of collectors' billets, and the subject need not be further referred to here.

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 249-51.

XII.

THE BURGH COURT

IN England, whence they were imported into this country, burgh Moots or Courts are traced in the tenth century. Treating of their origin, Professor Maitland says: "Our oldest laws seem to know no 'burh' other than the strong house of a great (but he need not be a very great) man. Early in the tenth century, however, the word had already acquired a new meaning. In Æthelstan's day (925-40) it seems to be supposed by the legislator that a moot will usually be held in a burh. If a man neglects three summonses to a moot, the oldest men of the burh are to ride to his place and seize his goods. Already a burh will have many men in it. Some of them will be elder-men (aldermen). A moot will be held in it. Very possibly this will be the shire-moot, for, since there is riding to be done, we see that the person who ought to have come to the moot may live at a distance. A little later the burh certainly has a moot of its own. Edgar (959-75) bids his subjects seek the *burh-gemot* as well as the *scyr-gemot* and the *hundred-gemot*. The borough-moot is to be held thrice a year. At least from this time forward the borough has a Court."

Again, speaking of a period when the system had reached a farther stage of development, the same author remarks: "In the great and ancient boroughs, the boroughs which stand out as types and models, there was from a very remote time a court, a borough-moot or portman-moot, a unit in a national system of courts. Of the form that the borough court took we can say little. Perhaps at first it would be an assembly of all the free burg-men or port-men. As its business increased in the large boroughs, as it began to sit once a week instead of thrice a year, a set of persons bound to serve as doomsmen may have been formed, a set of aldermen or lawmen whose offices might or might not be hereditary, might or might not run with the possession of certain specific tenements."¹

In consequence of the earliest extant ms. of any portion of the burgh laws of Scotland not going further back than the thirteenth century, it cannot be definitely asserted that the code so long attributed to David I. belongs to his reign. Still, as this country had the opportunity of profiting by the experience gained in England during a probation of two centuries, it is possible that by the middle of the twelfth century there had been put together the substance of that body of burgh laws and customs regarding which Professor Cosmo Innes has expressed the opinion that no other so ancient and so well authenticated exists in the world. Among the Burgh Court regulations contained in this old collection of laws is one requiring each burgess to attend the three head courts to be held at Michaelmas, Yule, and "Pasche" or Easter, yearly, this being in accordance with English custom. Ordinary courts were to be held once a fortnight for the disposal of civil cases as well as punishment

¹ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 185, 210-1.

of transgressors ; all pleas among burgesses were to be tried in their own court, and burgesses were to be judged only by their peers (*pares*).¹

Institutional writers on the law of Scotland have remarked that royal burghs had as extensive a civil jurisdiction within burgh as the sheriff had in his territory, but in Glasgow Sheriff Courts were not introduced till a comparatively modern date. Previous to 1748, when the Act abolishing hereditary jurisdictions came into operation, the bailie of the regality performed in and around Glasgow the functions which in an ordinary shire fell to the sheriff. In his history, published in 1736, M'Ure says that the Duke of Montrose was then heritable bailie, and that he or his deputies, sitting three times a week during the session, held the Regality Court in the Justice Court Hall of the city. Apart from the Diocesan Court, over which the archdeacons, or the judges styled officials, presided, the Regality Court was doubtless the oldest tribunal connected with Glasgow, having subsisted from that remote period when the bishops of Glasgow first became territorial lords. The Burgh Court itself may be regarded as coeval with the foundation of the burgh in the twelfth century, though no part of its proceedings for the first hundred years has been preserved. The earliest extant reference to the court, contained in a charter granted between the years 1280-90, illustrates the care taken to prevent burgesses from alienating their heritage to the prejudice of their heirs. In this charter it is set forth that a burges, on the plea of extreme need for relief of his poverty, was allowed to sell his land, but only with consent of his wife and heir and after it had been offered to his nearest relations and friends "in the Court of Glasgow,

¹ *Ancient Laws*, pp. 6, 19, 37, 177.

at three head Courts of the year and at other Courts often, according to the law and custom of the burgh.”¹ Another charter, granted in 1293, narrates a gift of land to St. Mary’s light in the Cathedral, and the ceremony of investiture took place in presence of the bailies and citizens assembled in the courts of the burgh.² In these cases only the bare result is stated, and it is not till about 200 years later that we have a fragment of actual court procedure. It appears that the vicars of the choir in the Cathedral were entitled to an annual rent payable from a tenement on the south side of Ratonraw, but it had fallen into arrear, and the tenement was waste and ruinous, “destitut of all bigging and reparation,” with no rents to attach, and the vicars could only secure their own by entering into possession of the property. This was accomplished after public investigation into the facts, conducted with much formality in four successive head courts of the burgh, “haldyn in the Tolbuth” by the provost and bailies. These courts, in accordance with the old law, followed the three feasts of Yule, Pasche, and Michaelmas, and were held on the fourth Tuesday of January, first Tuesday of April, and second Tuesday of October, respectively.³ When the regular series of records begins in 1573-4 the Yule Court was held on the third Tuesday of January, the next court being connected with a movable feast varied in different years, and the third or Michaelmas Court continued on the second Tuesday of October. The record of each court begins with the formula “the sutis callit,” meaning that the burgesses were called to give “suit” or attendance and to act as an inquest or jury if required. Courts were held at frequent intervals, weekly or oftener, as occasion

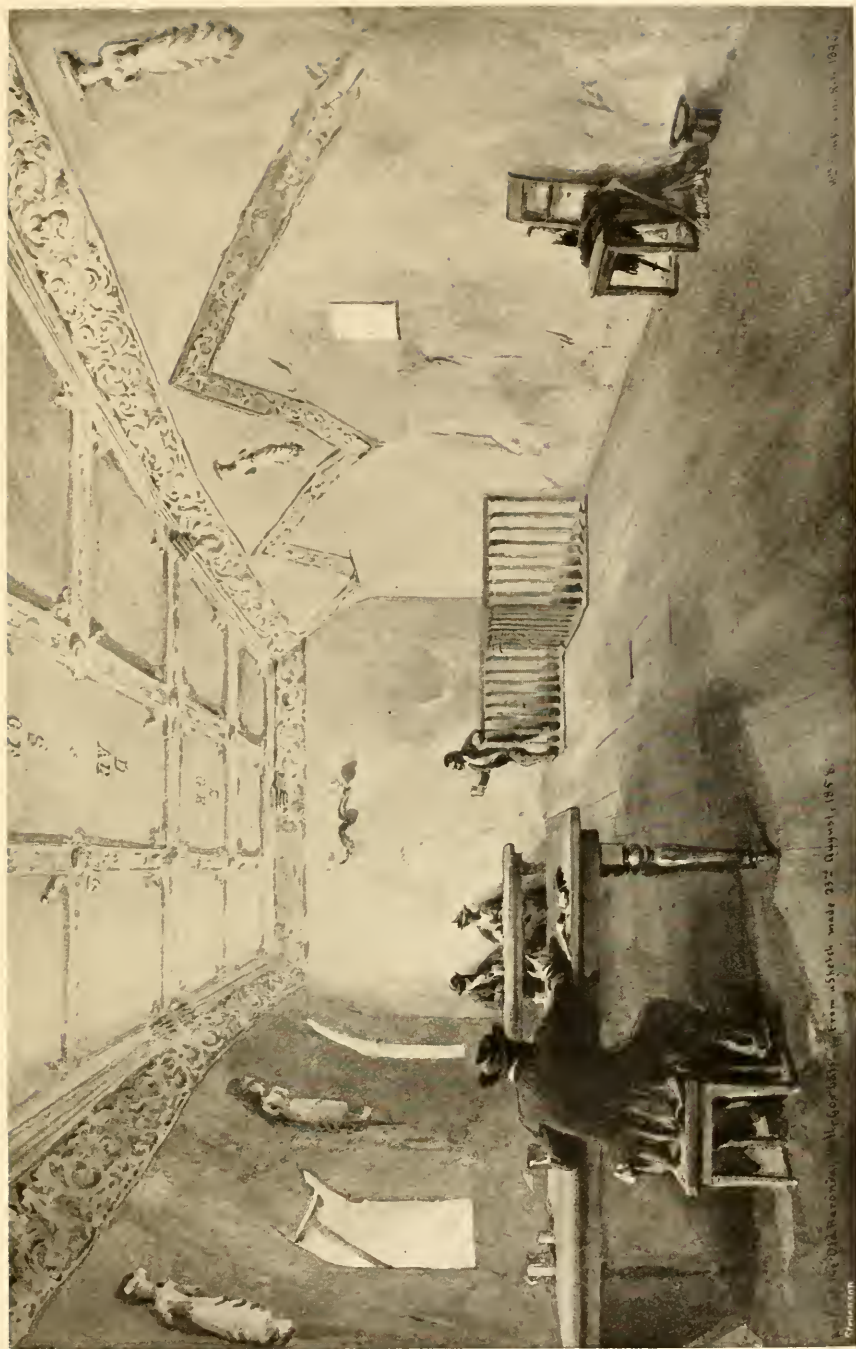
¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 17.

² *Ib.* p. 20.

³ *Ib.* p. 66 (1477-9).

required, one or more of the magistrates presiding, and sometimes about a dozen cases being disposed of at a sitting. The earliest ejectment case noticed in the printed records is at the instance of the Earl of Eglinton against tenants of his property in Drygate, probably that which was at one time the manse of the parson of Douglas, and subsequently occupied as a correction house.¹ Criminal as well as civil cases came before the court, in conformity with the common law under which magistrates of a royal burgh had the care of the king's peace within their bounds, and were entitled to repress, by suitable punishments, transgressors against the quiet or good order of the town. As the printed records show, Glasgow had a sprinkling of quarrelsome people, both male and female, who caused disturbance by "rugging" each other's hair, "stryking with ane quhinger," attacking with a "drawin suerd," "casting stanes," and blaspheming, and the supervision of these restless people required some attention from the court. In civil affairs, such as those relating to debts and questions of possession among the inhabitants, not encroaching on the privileges of the Bishop's Court, the magistrates claimed exclusive jurisdiction. Acting on this view, the bailies on one occasion fined a burgess for appealing one of their decisions to the Bishop's Court "for caus ilk juge suld put his awn sentence till executione." This was in the year 1510, when the Earl of Lennox (who three years afterwards fell at Flodden) was Provost, and he maintained before the Chancellor and Official-General that no citizen was entitled to summon another before a spiritual judge-ordinary respecting a matter which could be competently decided in the Burgh Court; but ultimately the dispute was arranged by the Provost, on behalf of himself and the citizens, renouncing

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 16.



INTERIOR OF BARONIAL HALL, GORBALS.
From Drawing by William Simpson.

all statutes, if any were made by them, against the liberty and jurisdiction of Holy Mother Church, promising never to put them into execution in time to come.¹ Courts were lucrative, and recipients of the fines and fees did not care to see these going into another channel. In 1605 the magistrates of Glasgow agreed that in future the fines which they were entitled to should be applied to the common use of the town. Among the purposes to which the fines were from time to time applied are noticed donations to the poor, putting prentices to trades, the purchase of a bell for Trongait steeple, putting windows in Blackfriars Church, and defraying the expenses of "ane denner on the day of the electioun of the magistratis." In 1674 the fines amounted to £269 12s. 8d.²

An entry in the printed records in 1684 narrates "the great clamouris made by the touns people by the abuses committed be the lait magistratis these few yeiris past, by decerning severall persons to pay debtis and sowmes of money to others, and extorting and exacting fynes from severall of them without using any probatioun or decerning any formall sentence against them in publict court, far contrair to the law and practique of the burgh." To remedy this grievance the Town Council directed that no burgh magistrate, Gorbals bailie, or water bailie should have power to fine any transgressors except by bringing them before a public court, using legal probation, and giving a formal sentence against them.³ Of the court books in which the judicial proceedings are entered nearly 300 volumes are still preserved, indicating that as a general rule due formality was observed. With reference to the Gorbals

¹ *Dioc. Rec. Prot.* Nos. 498, 503.

² *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 184.

³ *Ib.* pp. 368, 383.

and water bailies, it may be mentioned that the Baronial Court of Gorbals was kept up till the district was annexed to Glasgow in 1846. The Court of the Bailie of the River and Firth of Clyde, existing long before, but formally sanctioned and confirmed by the city's great charter of 1636, differs from the ordinary burgh courts in several respects,



OLD BARONIAL MANSION, GORBALS.

and chiefly in the area of its jurisdiction, which in ordinary maritime cases extends from Glasgow to the Clochstane, and for enforcement of the Pilot Board regulations as far as the Cumbræes. Previous to 1852 both civil and criminal causes were brought before this court, but since that year the former branch of judicial procedure has fallen into abeyance, while, on the other hand, the naval developments of recent years have added to the court's activities in dealing with crimes and offences.

Burgh Courts are what are called courts of record, that is to say, deeds can be recorded there for preservation and execution. The original deeds are retained in the burgh repositories, and extracts given out by the Town-Clerk bear equal faith with the originals, and also have, where applicable, the full force of decrees pronounced in judicial proceedings. In Glasgow many thousands of these recorded deeds are preserved, and the number is still being augmented, though on account of variations in legal practice few additions have been made in recent years. Another branch of court procedure, viz., the service of heirs, whereby an heir made up a title to his ancestor's heritage, after evidence was led before a jury or inquest of fifteen persons, fell into desuetude in consequence of an Act of Parliament passed in 1860 altering the mode of completing titles to burgage property.

Previous to 1772 written pleadings were competent in the Burgh Court, however small the debt might be, but in that year the Town Council established a court for the disposal of claims not exceeding 20s., a limit which was latterly advanced to 40s., with a minimum of 5s. The new procedure was applicable only to cases in which both litigants were alive, the debtor in a defended action had to appear personally, and after hearing sworn evidence the presiding magistrate summarily disposed of the case. This court, in which reference to oath formed a distinguishing feature, was usually called the Conscience Court. It was held on each Monday. The ordinary court for the disposal of cases involving personal obligations to pay or perform to any extent, in which procedure was conducted by procurators in writing, was held each Friday, except during Court of Session vacation, when monthly sittings sufficed. For cases of urgency a Summary Court was held any lawful day without

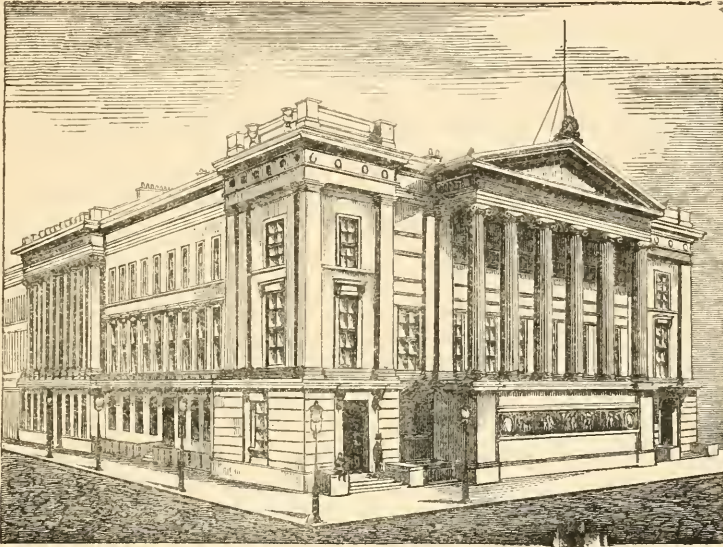
stated diets. The "Convene or Small Debt Court," for claims not exceeding 10s., was held each Tuesday and Thursday, and here the presiding bailie gave his decision off-hand, no assessor being present and no record being kept. The following abstract indicates the business disposed of in the Burgh Courts for the years 1815 and 1832, respectively :

		1815.	1832.
Town or Bailie Court, -	-	1658	389
Summary Court, -	-	608	372
Inferior or Monday Court, -	-	1053	243
Convene or Small Debt Court			
(estimated by Dr. Cleland), -	-	1560	—

In 1815, 720 criminal cases were disposed of by the bailies acting under the common law, in addition to 8452 cases decided by the sitting magistrate in the Police Office, under the authority of the local Police Act. In 1832 the common law cases had fallen to 172, and in 1845 the diet book comes to a close.

The marked diminution in the number of civil cases had been brought about by the operation of an Act of Parliament, passed in 1829, giving special facilities for the disposal of small debt claims in the Sheriff Court, and the more effective Act of 1837 finished off the "Monday" court altogether, the last case having been called on March 13th of that year. Other branches of Burgh Court procedure were likewise affected by this legislation, emphasised as it was by the Royal Commissioners on the Scottish Law Courts, who in 1834 had recommended the transference to the sheriffs of the jurisdiction then exercised by burgh magistrates. No special abolition of burghal jurisdiction has been carried, but by a process of absorption almost the whole business

formerly transacted in the Burgh Court has gradually passed to the Sheriff Court, and in 1870 Royal Commissioners dealing with the subject could report that "the jurisdiction of Burgh Courts in civil causes has become practically obsolete,



CITY AND COUNTY BUILDINGS.

except in applications for aliment under the act of grace and for liberation of civil prisoners on bills of health and in cases of removing of tenants." To this it may be added that since the abolition of imprisonment for debt in 1881, the applications for aliment and liberations are few and far between, so that the business of the court is now almost wholly confined to the removal of tenants, the cases in which department number about twenty thousand in a year.

XIII.

QUEEN'S PARK AND THE OLD CAMP

A PICTURE post-card recently on sale in Crosshill has a pretty view of a bit of the old camp in Queen's Park, but its lettering, "Scene of Battle of Langside," indicates that, notwithstanding the accessibility of accurate information,¹ and the publicity afforded by monumental inscription and street nomenclature, an old error which was prevalent two hundred years ago has not lost its vitality. William Dunlop, Principal of Glasgow College (1690-1700) and royal historiographer for Scotland, wrote a description of Renfrewshire, in which he stated that the battle was fought at the "old camp on the top of the hill,"² and this observation was quoted with approval in George Crawford's *Description of the Shire*, published in 1710.³ The writer of the *Old Statistical Account* of the Parish (c. 1791-5) says that "by the common people the place is called Queen Mary's camp," but he himself favours the opinion of some historians that it was constructed by the Romans.⁴ When writing the *New Statistical Account* (1845), the late Dr. Smith likewise assumed that Roman garrisons had occupied the encampment,

¹ E.g. *The Battle of Langside*, by A. M. Scott (1885).

² *Lanark and Renfrew*, p. 146.

³ *Renfrew Collections*, p. 7.

⁴ *Old Statistical Account*, v. pp. 348-9.

and even assigned a position to the prætorium or general's tent.¹ Roman camps, however, were almost always rectangular, while this one is circular. There is nothing to show that the site lay in the line of march, and no Roman relics, so far as is known, have been found in the vicinity.

The camp apparently belongs to the well-known type of British forts of which numerous examples are to be found throughout the country. Such forts were usually composed of two or more concentric circles, consisting of ramparts and trenches; but at Camphill the outer rampart, measuring about 400 yards in circumference, is all that can now be traced, unless the rising ground at the north-west corner, which Dr. Smith supposed to be the prætorium, may be the remains of another rampart. Probably enough the inner surface of the camp was levelled, ploughed, and cropped before the existing full-grown trees were planted. A number of large stones now lying about may, according to the common method, have formed part of the demolished works. One huge boulder has been blown in pieces by explosives, the bores in some of the fragments being quite distinct. Dr. Smith gives seven feet as the height of the rampart on its outer side, and four feet as its width at the top, and states that it was "still very perfect." It is now broken down in some places, and for a considerable distance towards the north-east has almost wholly disappeared. The width at the base appears to have been about 20 feet. Before being worn away by exposure to the weather, the height would much exceed seven feet, and in its effective condition the top would be palisaded. The interior, whether supplied with other fortifications or not, would be partly occupied by houses suitable for the accommodation of the garrison. The

¹ *New Statistical Account* (Renfrewshire), pp. 502-3.

period of construction may have been any one of several centuries preceding the introduction of Norman keeps.

It is in more out-of-the-way corners of Clydesdale that such prehistoric fortifications have had a better chance of survivance. One of the most interesting of these is the mote situated between the public road and the river Clyde, about a mile north of Abington village. When Mr. Vere Irving was compiling the archæological section of *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, published in 1864, an excavation of the mound to the depth of six feet disclosed a layer of wood charcoal, mixed with animal remains, and this was supposed to indicate a sepulchral origin, though latterly a fortress was evolved. Mr. Irving gives a ground plan of the whole earthwork, and concisely describes it as consisting of a "considerable mount," partially natural and partially artificial, rising abrupt from the bank of the Clyde, and surrounded by a ditch on the land side. From this projects a rampart and ditch in the form of a horse-shoe, which is evidently of later construction, and is entered by two gates on its opposite sides. In his work on *Early Fortifications in Scotland*, Dr. Christison mentions that the flat top of the mound measures about 70 by 35 feet, that it rises 30 feet above the river, but only about 6 feet above the "somewhat horse-shoe shaped base-court, which measures about 240 by 180 feet. The rampart round this court is shown in the plan of 1864 as in an almost perfect condition; and, though in some places slightly broken down, it remained fairly complete till the summer of 1905, when, by a deplorable mistake, a slap of about 12 feet was made in its north side. A section of the broken rampart was thus exposed to view, measuring in the centre about 4 feet in height, and tapering on each side to the base, which is about 20 feet wide. Part

of the displaced material, consisting of boulders, gravel, and turf, was displaced, and some of the earth was used for binding road metal under pressure of the steam roller ; but, on the initiative of the council of the Glasgow Archæological Society, the county authorities gave instructions which will prevent the recurrence of a similar mishap.

Situated on the top of a hill which rises about 700 feet from its base, the ancient fortification called Arbory Fort is safe from such dangers as those which befel its neighbour, the Abington Mote, on the opposite side of the Clyde. Had the relative positions of the mote and fort been reversed, one might conceive how the broken-down interior wall of the latter, consisting of an immense pile of gathered whinstone, would sooner or later have been transferred to the stonebreaker's heap. Luckily this particular fort is largely exempt from the usual risks of its class, except weather-wearing, and is in a state of wonderfully good preservation. The stone wall, which must originally have been of considerable height, occupied the peak of the hill, enclosing a circular space of 135 feet in diameter, and it was surrounded on the slopes by two concentric trenches, furnished with ramparts, all of which earthworks are still conspicuous. The whole fortification covers an irregularly shaped circular area upwards of 400 feet in diameter. Through the stone wall only one opening appears. The inner rampart has three openings and the outer four, but none of these entrances being opposite to each other, the interior could only be reached by a zigzag course. A peculiarity of Arbory Fort is its great height, being 1406 feet above sea level, an altitude which, according to Dr. Christison, is exceeded by only seven other forts in this country. It is probable that such an inconvenient perch was selected in warlike times and for

aggressive purposes. As an outpost of an invading force it would be invaluable, for there is reason to believe that a small garrison might have been able to hold it against superior numbers so long as provisions lasted. For these reasons, as well as on linguistic grounds, the suffix "bory" being recognisable as a form of the Saxon "burh," the construction and early occupation of the fort may plausibly be attributed to Saxon invaders, with whom in the days of old the Strathclyde Britons had many a tough contest.

Though deprived of such protection as Arbory Fort possesses by its isolated position, the remains of the old fort at Camphill, as now railed in and protected, are safe from further serious dilapidation. To previous owners, likewise, some credit is due for preserving so much of its original character. These owners may, with some degree of certainty, be traced from the date of the first King David's grant of "Kerkert" to Walter the Steward. From the Steward the noble family of Cathcart is believed to have attained the principal lands in the parish. In 1543 Lord Cathcart sold that estate to a brother of Lord Sempill. John Blair of Blair, who married a daughter of Lord Sempill about the year 1565, may have acquired that part of the Langside lands which included the fort, as his descendants are found in possession in 1610. In 1615 Bryce Blair sold these lands to James Hamilton of Akinheid, whose descendants possessed them for several generations. In 1786 the lands had come into the possession of Robert Crawford of Possil, who in that year feued to Thomas Crawford, a Glasgow merchant, the portion called Camphill Farm, including the camp. Twelve years afterwards Thomas Crawford sold the farm to Robert Thomson, manufacturer in Glasgow. Neale Thomson, merchant in Glasgow, acquired the property in

1853, his trustees sold it to the governors of Hutchesons' Hospital in 1866, and twenty-eight years later it was purchased by the Corporation of Glasgow and added to the Queen's Park.

In title deeds it is usual to describe lands by the old valuation, or "extent," as it is called, a valuation which in most cases goes back to at least the thirteenth century. Precise area is not to be looked for in this mode of description, but a pound land is taken as approximately representing 52 acres. The division of Langside, which included the camp, was a £9 10s. land, bounded on the east by a 6 merk 10s. land, and it happens that if the boundary between the two divisions had continued in a straight line it would have intersected the camp; but it curved eastward along the outer edge of the rampart, thus leaving about one half of the camp protruding into the adjoining property. Old hedges along the south and north approaches to the camp still indicate the original boundary at these parts. The east property, the most of which is now included in the Queen's Park, belonged of old to the Abbey of Dunfermline. At what date the abbey acquired it has not been ascertained; but as it is known that Walter, the owner of Cathcart in King David's reign, bestowed on the abbey a toft in the burgh of Renfrew, it is not improbable that lands in the shire were given at the same time. The abbey lands in Cathcart parish extended to both sides of the river Cart, and were conveyed by James Betoun, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Comendator of Dunfermline, to the Earl of Eglinton by a charter dated 22nd July, 1527. In that charter the lands are described as the £5 land called Newlands, the 6 merk 10s. land of Langside, and the 5 merk land called Taggart

land (or Tolgartlie) and Murlie, in the lordship of Cathcart.¹ Taggart in Gaelic signifies priest, and Taggart (or Priest) land may thus have been so named in consequence of its connection with the church of Dunfermline. In subsequent title deeds the name was transformed into Tankerland. Muirlie, probably signifying moor lea, has been perpetuated in Merrylee, a familiar place-name in Glasgow's southern suburb, but Newlands and Langside have retained their original form. The superiority of the 6 merk land of Langside has remained with the Earls of Eglinton, but the property itself was in the possession of their feuars, the Maxwells of Pollok, for about a hundred years previous to 1854, when Sir John Maxwell sub-feued the portion called Pathhead to Mr. Neale Thomson, of Camphill, from whom it was, in 1857, acquired by the Town Council of Glasgow and laid out as a public park and recreation ground.

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* iii. No. 482.

XIV.

THE BLACK FRIARS AND GREY FRIARS IN GLASGOW

CRAIGMAK AND GLASGOW FAIR

THE rise of the order of Friars following the rule of St. Dominic, usually called the Preaching or Black Friars, and the establishment of one of their convents in Glasgow, belong to the first half of the thirteenth century. According to tradition "thair Place in Glasgw wes biggit and foundit be the Bischop and Cheptour." The precise date is not known, but it must have been in or before 1246, because there is a bull of Pope Innocent dated 10th July of that year, granting forty days' indulgence to all the faithful who should contribute to the completion of the church and other edifices which the Friars Preachers of Glasgow had begun to build. The site chosen lay midway between the Cathedral and the Market Cross, and on the east side of the thoroughfare between these points. In 1270 a house bequeathed by Robert of Lanark, subdean of Glasgow, to the vicars in the Cathedral is described as lying next to the Friars Preachers in the town of Glasgow.¹

¹ "My house, with croft and all pertinents, which I have bought from Philip, the fuller, who held the same of me; which house is situated next to the

This house, if it remained with the vicars, appears to have lain on the south side of the Friars' place, as Sir Gavin of Hamilton, provost of the collegiate church of Bothwell, in or before 1454, gave the friars the use of a tenement on the north side of their kirk, with four acres of land in Dowhill, on condition that the tenement and land might be resumed at any time. Resumed both tenement and land must have been shortly afterwards, and having come into the possession of James, the first lord Hamilton, he, in 1460, conveyed them to the Principal Regent of the Faculty of Arts in the newly founded University, and his successors, thus providing the site on which the College buildings were subsequently erected.¹

According to their original constitution, the Dominicans renounced all worldly possessions, and had to rely on voluntary alms for their support. These conditions were eventually relaxed, and at the time of the Reformation Glasgow friars were possessed of considerable endowments, which eventually came into the possession of Glasgow College, along with the parchments forming the title deeds. A selection from these writs was published by the Maitland Club in 1846, in a volume edited by Dr. Joseph Robertson,

Friars Preachers in the town of Glasgow, between the said Friars and the house of William of Bellidstane" (*Reg. Episc.* No. 220). By a subsequent but undated charter, Alan, sacristan of the church of Glasgow, granted to Sir John of Carrick, chaplain of the parish of Glasgow, "that land which was then vacant, with all its pertinents, lying within the burgh of Glasgow, opposite the Friars Preachers, in length and breadth, between the lands of Malcolm called Scot on the north and the vennel of the said Friars on the south" (*Ib.* No. 254). This is not unlike a description of property on the west side of High Street, part of which was subsequently occupied by the Franciscan Friars.

¹ *Munimenta*, 1. pp. 9, 14.

whose preface embodies a most valuable contribution to the history of Glasgow.¹ Among the printed documents is a charter by David de Cadioch,² precentor of the church of Glasgow, who gave to the Friars Preachers 28 annualrents, in sums varying from 8d. to £1 4s., and amounting to 12 merks yearly in all. The purpose of the endowment is stated to be the celebration of religious services at the altar of the Virgin Mary, in the Friars' Church, but reference is made to a deed of foundation for particulars. The charter is dated 10th May, 1454,³ and the deed of foundation, which is still preserved, was granted on the 1st of the same month. After the usual solemn invocation, and an avowal of the regard entertained by the donor for the friars, with his

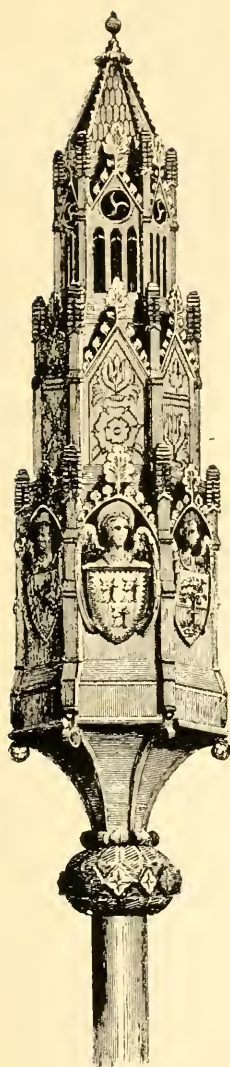
¹ *Lib. Col.* pp. xxxv. *et seq.*; 147-231.

² David de Cadow or Cadioch was a canon of the cathedral who in 1440-1 presided over the judicial business in Glasgow diocese, and in subsequent years held the office of "precentor," having charge of the choral arrangements of the cathedral. He was the first Rector of the University, and one of its earliest benefactors. On the occasion of his re-election in 1460, he gave 20 nobles to procure a rod of office, and with that sum and other contributions the mace which is still in use at the University was purchased. Cadyow had apparently the art of accumulating money, and he invested largely in heritable securities in the form of annual rents. Some of these revenues, to the extent of 12 merks yearly, he in 1463-4 bestowed as an endowment for a clerk in the Faculty of Canon law, whose duty it was to read in the public schools within the city "as was the custom of other universities," and he was also required to celebrate a daily mass for the soul of the donor, at the altar of the Virgin Mary in the crypt of the cathedral (*Munimenta*, i. p. 17; ii. p. 68). The rector read at least some of his lectures in canon law in the chapter-house of the Friars Preachers, and it was probably on account of the friendly relationships existing between the college authorities and the friars that the latter obtained the benefaction noticed in the text.

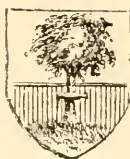
³ *Lib. Col.* pp. 173-6.

desire for the more efficient celebration of divine service, the deed of foundation sets forth that the endowment was to be applied towards the maintenance of the friars and the repair of their church and place, and it was specially provided that the prior and convent should cause one of the brethren to celebrate a daily mass, at the altar of our Lady, about the hour of seven in the morning. Before beginning the mass the great bell of the church was to be tolled, and after the offertory the *De Profundis* was to be said, with prayers and orisons "for the souls of the said Master David, his parents, friends, and benefactors, living and dead, and specially for the souls of all those who repose in this holy place." It was also stipulated that on each Saturday, immediately after vespers, the prior and convent should assemble before the image of the Virgin Mary, at the same altar, which was to be lighted with a wax candle, and there engage in devotional exercises, including the singing of *Salve Regina*. On the day of the donor's death (which, it may be noted, occurred on 19th August, 1467), and on each anniversary thereof, the prior and convent were required to sing *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and on the morrow to celebrate a mass for the deceased benefactor and his friends. On these latter occasions the hand-bell of St. Kentigern, or another if it could not be got, was to be tolled through the town, that the ceremonies might be more imposing.

Apart from the main purpose of the foundation deed, it has also an accessory interest. For its better authentication, and as a guarantee for fulfilment of the conditions, three seals were appended. The first was that of David Raite, vicar-general of the order of Friars Preachers of Scotland; the second was the common seal of the Glasgow convent;



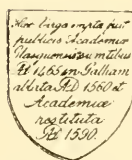
MACE OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.



CITY OF GLASGOW.



REGENT MORTON.



INSCRIPTION.



LORD HAMILTON.



SCOTLAND.



BISHOP TURNBULL.

COATS OF ARMS OF THE MACE OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF GLASGOW.

and the third, which has disappeared, was the common seal of the city. Raite's seal is lettered: "S. VICARII FRATRVM ORDINIS PREDICATORVM SCOCI."—seal of the Vicar of the order of Friars Preachers of Scotland. It is thus described: Within a canopied niche a full-length figure of St. Andrew holding upon the dexter side his cross, which has a star between the upper extremities. Beneath the cross is a friar kneeling towards the saint. The background underneath and at sides of the niche is decorated with foliage and flowers. The seal of the friars is thus described: Within a canopied niche a representation of the coronation of the Virgin. The Father seated on the sinister with arched crown and nimbus, his right hand holding up the chrism, the Virgin seated on the dexter with open crown and nimbus. Above is what is supposed to be the dove. Legend: "S. CME. FRATRV. PREDICATORV. GLASG."—common seal of the Friars Preachers of Glasgow.¹ In a charter dated 1427, David Raite is styled the King's confessor and "vicar" of the order of Preachers within the kingdom.² As used in that charter and in the foundation deed, vicar and vicar-general appear to be synonymous, and it may therefore be assumed that for at least twenty-seven years David Raite was at the head of his order in this country, but holding his appointment from the Provincial of England. One John Mussilbruch held the office of vicar-general in 1468, and he was succeeded in 1470 by Prior John Mure, of Glasgow, who became Provincial when Scotland was itself erected into a province.

In the beginning of the year 1560, a detachment of the lords of the congregation was in Glasgow, and it is not unlikely that the dwellings of the friars suffered from the

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 441-4.

² *Reg. Mag. Sig.* ii. No. 94.

rough usage which was then commonly applied to similar buildings elsewhere. An order of the Privy Council dated 15th February, 1561-2, after reciting the uses to which "the places of freris, as yet standand undemolissit," might be applied, authorised the provosts and bailies of "Abirdene, Elgin, Inverness, Glasgow and utheris burrowis of this realme, quhair the samyn ar nocht demolissit, to interteny and uphold the saidis freris places standand in the saidis townis" for the common weal of these towns till further instructions were given.¹ This seems to indicate that one or both of the friars' places in Glasgow still stood, though not necessarily intact. An example of the straits to which the expelled friars were subjected is afforded by a writing granted by the convent of the Friars Preachers of Glasgow to John Graham, the son of a burgess in Glasgow. In this deed, which is dated 13th November, 1560, the dispersion of the order of friars is narrated, and it is stated that without the aid rendered by Graham to the Glasgow friars, in their extreme necessity, they could not have sustained life; and, therefore, in return for that aid they granted Graham the great tenement occupied by him, with the gardens belonging thereto, but excepting the cemetery. A feuduty of four merks yearly was to be paid to the friars, and it was provided that if they and their order were restored they should be reponed in the gardens, but the tenement was to be retained by Graham for payment of a feuduty of three merks. This grant was subsequently set aside on the ground of illegality,² and the property was

¹ *Privy Council Reg.* i. p. 202.

² *Lib. Col.* pp. lxiv-lxvii. The decree of the lords of session (7th June, 1578) annulling the grant, states that it was "maid lang efter the moneth of August, 1559, at the quhilk tyme, and be the space of twa monthis

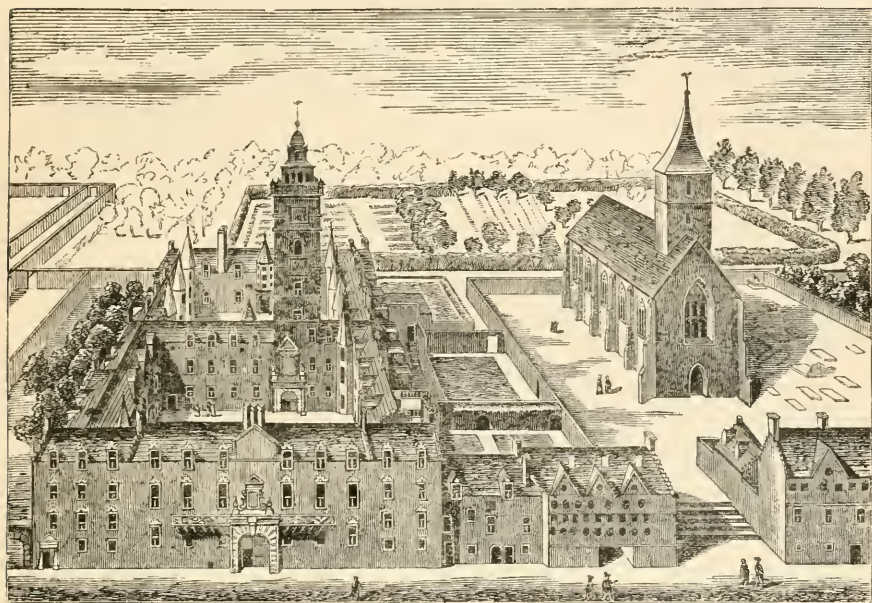


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SEALS OF (1) DAVID RAITE, VICAR-GENERAL OF THE FRIARS PREACHERS OF SCOTLAND;
AND (2) THE FRIARS PREACHERS OF GLASGOW.

formally transferred to the College. The “manse and kirkrowme” of the friars, with various pieces of land and annualrents, had already been granted to the College under Queen Mary’s charter dated 13th July, 1563. The



SLEZER'S VIEW OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE COLLEGE AND BLACKFRIARS.

remaining endowments were included in the charter by the magistrates and council to the College in 1572-3.¹

Captain Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*, first published in 1693, contains a bird's-eye view of "The Colledge of Glasgow,"

immediately preceding, or thairby, the haill places of freris within the realme wes demolischit and cassin downe, and the conventis quhilk maid residence within the samin wer dispersit" (*Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 924, 1425).

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 129-30, 149-62. It was provided by the latter charter that the regents of the College should conduct services in the church which was "before called the church of the Friars Preachers."

including Blackfriars Church, an oblong Gothic building which, surrounded by burying ground, stood at the distance of about 250 feet east of the High Street. It seems certain that this building was to some extent of pre-Reformation craftsmanship, but it had undergone so much patching that the new and old were not always distinguishable. In 1574, being only a few years after the dispersion of the friars, "the wester ruinous gavel" was ordered to be taken down,¹ and therefore it is probable that the tame end wall so conspicuous in Slezer's view represents not the original design but hurried masonry put up for utility rather than architectural effect. Further repairs were going on in 1588; in 1625 a loft was built in the west "gavel"; and five years later the roof was slated.² Up till this time the church had belonged to the College, but in 1635 the town agreed to take it over as a city church. In the contract narrating the transfer it is said that the Town Council had undertaken not only "to re-edifie and repair," but also to enlarge the building, which was "altogidder ruinous and decayit."³ In 1643 George Duncan of Barrowfield gifted money to purchase "ane bell to be hung in the stiple of the Blackfrier Kirk," which bell was to be rung at stated hours daily, the earliest being five in the morning and the latest ten at night.⁴ On account of the hard work which the bell endured it aged rapidly, and, in 1670, was sent to Holland "to be castine over againe." The instructions which were then given to have the re-cast bell inscribed

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 9. This was in April. A burgh court was held in "the Blackfreir Kirk, sumtym callit sua," in the following July (*Ib.* p. 18).

² *Ib.* pp. 123, 345, 372.

³ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 359-60.

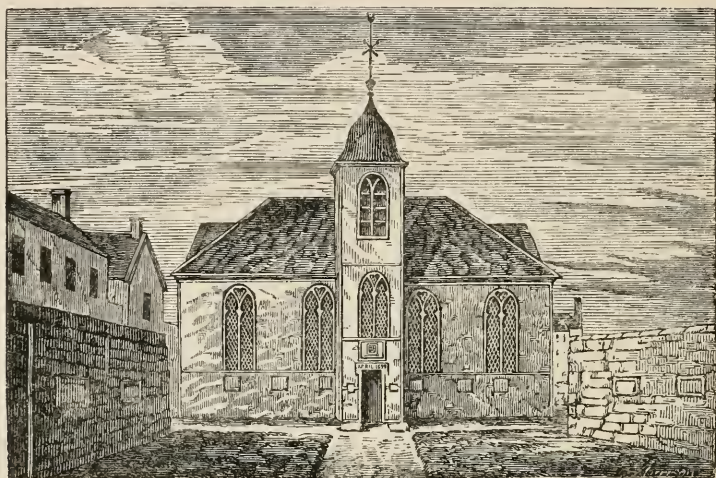
⁴ *Glasg. Rec.* ii. p. 60.

“with the same name, armes and year of God as is presently therwpon,”¹ does not inspire confidence in the reliability of similar testimony. The bell was returned, and was probably rehung by the beginning of October; but before the end of that month a great catastrophe occurred. In Law’s *Memorialls* it is stated that on “October 29, 1670, there was a suddane thunderclap by seven of the morning, that fell out at Glasgow, and lighted on the Blackfriar Kirk, the like whereof was not heard in these parts; it rent the steeple of the said church from top to bottom, and tirmed the sclattes off it, and brake down the gavills in the two ends of it, and fyred it, but was quenched afterwards by men.”² In 1670 there were other four churches in the city, viz., the Barony, the Inner High, the Outer High, and the Tron; but as many of the inhabitants sided with the Covenanters and “dishanted publict ordinances,” these places were not overcrowded, and no inconvenience was caused by the closing of Blackfriars, and it was not rebuilt till 1699. For a few years preceding November, 1670, William Anderson, session clerk, was paid a salary as precentor in the “Blackfreir Kirk,” but on 28th October, 1671, his allowance is given for “service as precentor in sundrie of the kirkis of this burgh.” In 1672 and the subsequent years of his precentorship he officiated in the Outer High Kirk. So far as has been noticed the last occasion on which services in the old church are referred to was on 12th November, 1670, when a sum of £20 was ordered to be paid “to Mr. Archibald Dennestoune for taking up the Psalmes in the Blackfrier Kirk the tyme the professour kepted the exerceis ther.” Though apparently never restored, some

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 128.

² Law’s *Memorialls*, p. 33.

parts of the ruins must have stood for a considerable time, as in the treasurer's account for the year 1688-9 there is an expenditure of £12 8s. "to men for working at the Blackfriar Kirk," besides a payment for mason work there and elsewhere. Rebuilding was resolved upon in 1698, when the Town Council "taking to their consideration

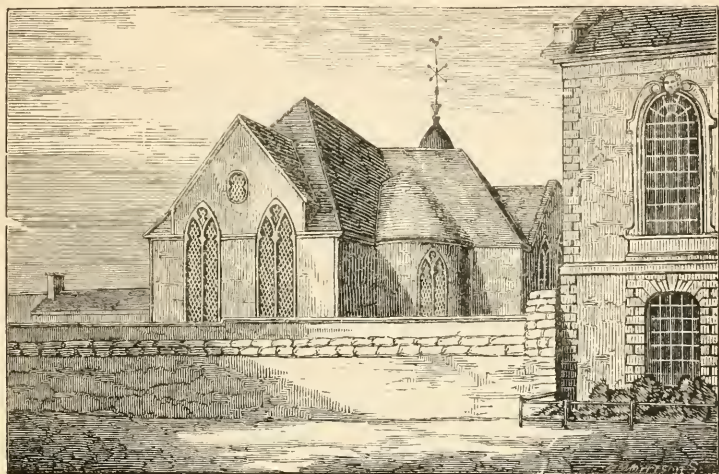


BLACK FRIARS' OR COLLEGE CHURCH (FRONT VIEW) IN 1848.

that the increase of this burgh and inhabitants thereof necessarily calls for the building of an new church therein, and that the place where the Blackfriar Church was formerly seems to be the most fitt part for building of the said new church, doe therefore unanimously purpose and resolve to go about the said building." On 27th October, 1701, it was reported that "the building of the new church in that place where the Blackfriars Church was formerly situate is now perfected and finished."¹

¹ *MS. Council Rec. ; Glasg. Chart. ii. pp. 274-80.*

In the letterpress descriptions given in the 1874 edition of Slezer it is erroneously stated that the view in that work represents the church which replaced the one destroyed by lightning. From a sketch of the 1699 church given in *Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times*, published in 1848, it may be seen that they are different buildings.



BLACK FRIARS' OR COLLEGE CHURCH (BACK VIEW) IN 1848.

Captain Slezer says that he had received encouragement in his artistic work from King Charles II. This takes us back to at least 1685, and seeing that the church is depicted as entire, we may conclude that the sketch was made in or before 1670.

In Slezer's view both college buildings and church are represented as in a complete condition. Now, the former were not finished before 1660, and as the church was substantially damaged in 1670, the sketch must have been made in the intermediate period, if it was meant as a delineation of the buildings as they collectively existed at

any particular time. Here, however, a difficulty crops up. On 7th March, 1657, the Town Council appointed "ane stair to be built upone the north syd of the Blackfreir Kirk, for macking ane entrie to the Counsell loft thair, be ane of the windowes." About the same time the Town Council arranged for the building of a dyke or wall on the north side of the church. Both works were carried out before the end of 1658, as on 13th November of that year a mason was ordered to be paid the balance due to him "for building of the dyck about the north syd of the Blackfrier Kirk and ane new stair ther, laity."¹ Slezer has depicted the wall, but there is no sign of the stair. Unless it had been removed—and of this there is no trace in the records—a possible explanation is that the excrescence was kept out of the view for the sake of artistic effect.

The Franciscan or Grey Friars, otherwise called Friars Minors, settled in Glasgow during the episcopate of John Laing (1473-82). About the year 1419 a branch of the Franciscans adopted certain reforms, calling themselves Observantines, on account of their more strict observance of the Founder's rule, and it was the section of the order holding these views that acquired a residence in Glasgow. The spot selected was situated a short distance west from the High Street, nearly opposite the place of the Friars Preachers, which was on the east side of the street. Access from the High Street was obtained by a lane which acquired the name of Greyfriars' Wynd, and is now known as Nicholas Street. The present Shuttle Street was also sometimes called the Greyfriars' Wynd, and it seems to have formed the eastern boundary. Some particulars regarding the coming of the friars to Glasgow are ascertained

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* ii. pp. 359, 398, 409-10.



CITY ARMS INSCRIBED ON STONE OVER ENTRANCE
TO BLACKFRIARS CHURCH, 1699.

from a charter of King James III. dated 21st December, 1479, whereby he confirmed to the Friars Minors, of the Observantine Order, the sites belonging to them in Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Glasgow. The Glasgow site is stated to have been gifted by Bishop Laing and Mr. Thomas Forsythe, rector of Glasgow.¹ The ground on the west remained the property of the bishop and rector, respectively, and it may therefore be inferred that the site was partly taken from the rectory or parsonage lands. In 1511, the rector of that time, Robert Blacader, gave to the friars a strip of ground, 20 feet in breadth, and the bishop gave them a further strip, 22 feet in breadth, from his lands of Ramshorn. The two strips, with the ends joined together, extended along the western side of the friars' property, and were stated to be given for enlargement of their monastery, house, and yards.² There is very little on record bearing on the history of the Greyfriars in Glasgow. Adhering to their original vows of poverty, they do not seem to have possessed other lands, and consequently had no title deeds. In the year 1539 Jerome Russel, a Grey Friar, was burned in Glasgow for heresy, but it is supposed that he belonged to Dumfries.³ The Glasgow friars appear to have dispersed in or before 1560, and their buildings are understood to have been destroyed about that time. One of the last references to the friars, in their congregate capacity, is contained in an exchequer account for the year 1559-60, where credit is taken for two barrels of herrings delivered to the Friars Minors of Stirling and Glasgow, by gift of King Francis

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* ii. No. 1434.

² *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* Nos. 560, 565.

³ See works of John Knox, edited by D. Laing, i. pp. 63-6.

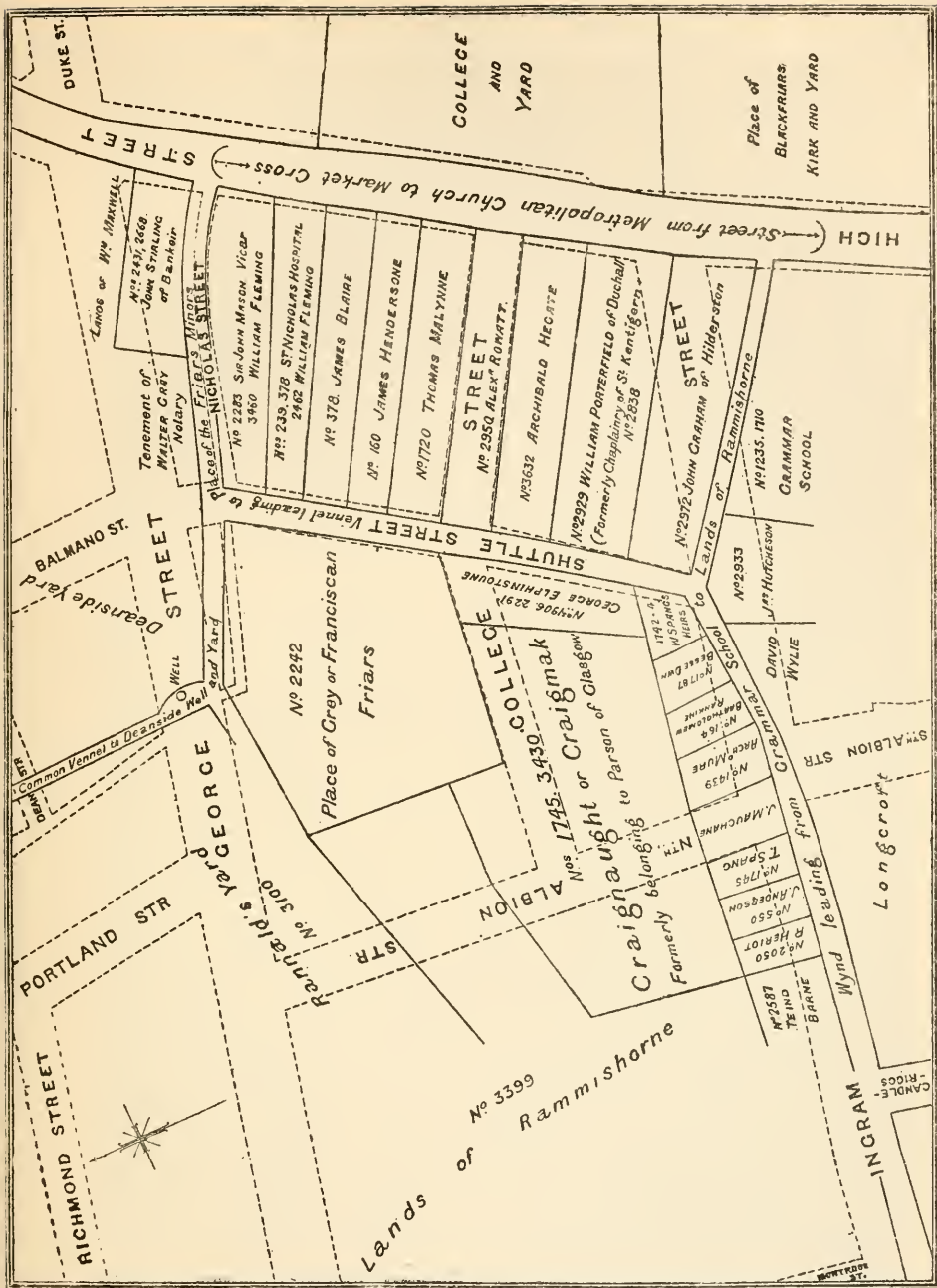
and Queen Mary.¹ After the Reformation the site of the monastery, cemetery, and yard came into possession of the town of Glasgow, and was disposed of in the usual way for payment of feuduties or annualrents which, with other church revenues, were transferred to Glasgow University.²

Adjoining the place of the Grey Friars was a piece of rocky ground called variously Craigmak, Craigmacht or Craignaught. The derivation of the prefix is obvious—a ridge of whinstone running through the ground sufficiently accounting for *craig*, but the remainder of the name cannot be satisfactorily explained. At this place an open-air court was annually held on the eve of Glasgow Fair, but how the practice originated or why it was continued has not been discovered. On 6th July, 1574 (being the earliest July of which any town council records are preserved) “the court of the burgh and citie of Glasgw” was “haldin at Craigmak, upon the fair evin,” when “the baillies, counsale and communitie, present, ordanis everilk buyth halder to have in reddines, within the buyth, ane halbert, jak and steilbonet, for eschewing of sik inconvenientis that may happin, conforme to the auld statute maid thairanent.”³ M’Ure, writing long afterwards (1736), says: “It was at the special instance of a prior of the convent of the Greyfriars that the fair . . . was procured, and the community of this city was so sensible of this favour, and the advantage of that fair, or concourse of the neighbourhood

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, xix. p. 142.

² *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1217, 1370, 1374, 2242, 2291. The Sketch Plan here reproduced is given by Mr. John Edwards, along with a valuable article on the “Greyfriars in Glasgow,” in the *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. iii. pp. 179-92.

³ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 18.



SKETCH PLAN SHOWING APPROXIMATELY THE PLACE OF THE GREYFRIARS OF GLASGOW AND SURROUNDING PROPERTIES.
(For descriptions see Glasgow Protocols, to which the figures refer.)

of all ranks coming to the city, that every last day of the fair, annually, they went and paid their complements to the prior of the Grayfriars at the convent; and to this day the fair is fenced¹ within the inclosure or garden where the convent stood, at a place they call (but upon what account I cannot tell) Craignaught.”² As is well known, Glasgow fair was instituted long before the order of Greyfriars came into existence, so that the annual meeting at Craigmak cannot have originated in the way stated by M’Ure. Nor was it correct to say that the Greyfriars’ enclosure included more than a small portion of Craigmak. The proximity of the two places appears to have prompted the curious speculation just noticed as to the origin of the fair.

Though, according to Almanac information, as well as custom, Glasgow Fair begins on the second Monday of July, it happens that no law or regulation was ever passed to that effect, and that it is only now and then that the authorised and actual dates tally. When instituted by King William the Lion, more than 700 years ago, the Fair was appointed to be held annually, for eight full days from the octaves of the Apostles Peter and Paul. The date thus indicated was 6th July, which was adhered to till about a century and a half ago. The 6th was treated as the “Fair evin,” when arrangements were made at the open-air assembly of the citizens above referred to, and the Fair was proclaimed, in anticipation of business being commenced on the morrow. The proclamation ceremony took double form, as in 1581, when the officer of the barony proclaimed the peace of the Fair on the Green and the burgh officer did the same upon the market cross, in these words:

¹ “Fenced”—proclaimed.

² M’Ure, p. 57.



GLASGOW FAIR ABOUT 1832.

By John Knox.

“Forsamekle as this day is the sext day of Julij, quhilk is the fair evin of Glasgow, and the morne the fair day, quhilk fair continewis the space of aucht dayis, thairfore I inhibit and forbiddis straitlie, in our Soverane Lordis name and in name and behalfe of ane noble and potent lord Esme erle of Lennox, provest, and bailie of the baronie, and in name of the bailies of this toun, that nane of oure Soverane Lordis legis cumand to this fair, repairing thairin or gangand thairfra, do ony hurt or trublens ane to ane uther, for auld debt or new debt, auld feid or new feid, bot leif peceable and use thair merchandice and eschange, under Goddis peace and our Soverane Lordis protection, under all hiest pane and charge that may be imput to thame doand in the contrare, and to be callit and accusit for breking the Kingis Majesteis pece and trublance of his hienes mercatt.” In 1581 the 6th of July was a Thursday. In 1607 the proclamation, made as usual on 6th July, announces “the seventh day of the said month the fair day of auld,” and enjoins peaceful behaviour “fra this day (6th) furth to the 15th day of this moneth of Julij inclusive.” In that year the 6th was a Monday and the 15th a Wednesday with one Sunday intervening, but sometimes there were two Sundays within the eight days. This occurred in 1577 when the opening 7th being a Sunday the magistrates forbade traffic on that day.¹ By the royal charter of 1636, the city was authorised to have three markets, weekly, and “four free fairs,” yearly, “the fourt fair to begin yeirlie upon the sevint day of Julij and to hald and continew for the space of aucht dayes thairefter, according to use and wont.”² By that time it was not the

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 60, 88, 154, 267.

² *Glasg. Cha.* i. pt. ii. p. 386; ii. p. 596.

habit to reckon by the Saints' calendar, but the date remained the same.

The date of holding the fair was slightly changed in 1744. A minute of the Town Council, dated 3rd January of that year, refers to two of the town's fairs, one held on 13th January, and the other "upon the seventh day of July, called the Fair of Glasgow," each continuing for eight days, "whereby the Sabbath intervening in these eight days stops and interrupts the course of the fair." To remedy this inconvenience the Town Council ordained that the former fair should begin on the second Monday of January and the latter on the first Monday of July, and that each should continue only till the end of the week in which it was begun. So far as can be ascertained, no further regulation has been passed regarding the date of holding the July fair, but the transition, in 1752, from the old to the new style appears to have operated indirectly in producing a change. Notwithstanding the alteration in the calendar, the old style was too deeply impressed on popular usage to be lightly set aside, and as a rule it was adhered to in regulating the dates of fairs. Glasgow Fair continued to be held on the first Monday of July, old style, and this turned out in some years to be the second Monday, and in others the third Monday, new style. This continued for a long time, but latterly people lost grip of the old style, and, without any formal sanction, gradually dropped into the now prevalent custom of accepting the second Monday of July according to the current calendar. In the year 1906 first Monday O.S. corresponded to third Monday N.S., and consequently the fair was held a week earlier than it would have been under the Town Council's resolution of 1744.

XV.

PREBENDAL ENDOWMENTS IN GLASGOW BARONY

IT has been mentioned that certain lands within the barony and regality of Glasgow were set aside as endowments for the clergy connected with the Cathedral.¹ Twenty-three prebends or benefices, held by the clergy, are specified in a list compiled in 1401, but in consequence of subsequent erections the number was increased to thirty-two, and these were in possession of an equal number of canons composing the chapter of the Cathedral. With few exceptions the canons derived their incomes not from lands, which in ecclesiastical phraseology were termed temporalities, but from teinds and oblations, known as the spiritualities of parish churches throughout the diocese. Ten of the parishes whose teinds were thus appropriated were situated in Lanarkshire, viz., Glasgow, Govan, Cadder and Monkland, Cambuslang, Kilbride, Hamilton, Carstairs, Carnwath and Douglas, and the others were distributed in the following order: Cardross and Luss, in Dumbartonshire; Campsie and Killearn, in Stirlingshire; Renfrew, Erskine, and Eaglesham, in Renfrewshire; Ayr, Tarbolton, and Cumnock, in Ayrshire; Durisdeer, Moffat, Kirkmahoe, and Sanquhar, in Dumfries-shire;

¹ *Antea*, p. 110.

Peebles, Stobo, and Eddleston, in Peeblesshire ; and Morebattle, Ancrum, Ashkirk, and Auld Roxburgh, in the shires of Roxburgh and Selkirk. As the canons had to reside one part of the year in Glasgow and at other times in their respective parishes, they were during absence represented in town by vicars of the stalls and in the country by parochial vicars. Only thirty-one churches are above enumerated, and as Cadder and Monkland were combined there is a shortcoming of two prebends. The discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that Glasgow supplied two prebendaries, one possessing the parsonage and the other the vicarage of the parish, while another prebendary was in the peculiar position of having no parochial charge and drawing no teinds, but deriving his income solely from the produce of land. This last was possessor of the prebend of Barlanark or Provand, which is first noticed as an independent endowment in the year 1322. The lands themselves, comprising an estate of about 2000 acres situated to the east of Glasgow, belonged to the Church at the time of the inquest in or about 1116. In 1172 Pope Alexander III. confirmed the bestowal by Bishop Herbert (1147-64) of "Barlanark-cum-Budlornac" in augmentation of the prebend of Cadiho or Hamilton.¹ When, after a long interval, the lands are again heard of in connection with the Church they form a separate prebend. By a charter granted in the seventeenth year of his reign, King Robert I. authorised John Wyschard, "canon of the prebend of Barlanark of the Church of Glasgow," and his successors, to possess the prebend in free warren, for ever, and all persons were forbidden to cut wood, hawk or hunt on the lands, without license of the prebendary.² Free warren was a sort of

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 28.

² *Ib.* No. 272.

forest right, and in the case of Barlanark was probably the beginning of that which eventually merged into the baronial jurisdiction of later times. During the reign of James II. his secretary, William Turnbull, who was afterwards Bishop of Glasgow, is sometimes designated in charters "dominus Prebende," *i.e.* lord or laird of the prebend, and this is understood as indicating that he held the prebend of Barlanark. The Latin *prebenda* is equivalent to the English *provender*, and appears in the Scottish vernacular as *Provand*. So far as is known Bishop Turnbull did not possess the prebend during his episcopate, but it appears that one of his successors had designs on its appropriation. In 1487 Bishop Blacader, coming to an agreement with the Dean and Chapter on various matters, renounced certain Papal bulls which had been sought for the union and incorporation of the prebend of Barlanark with the Bishop's own benefice.¹ In a document dated about six years after this time King James IV. is designated a canon of the Cathedral,² and some writers have suggested that he held the prebend of Barlanark, probably because no parochial duties were involved in its possession. But it was not essential that a canon should hold a prebend, and in the absence of evidence it need not be assumed that either James IV. or James II., who was likewise a canon of the Cathedral, possessed the lands of Barlanark. It was customary for continental sovereigns and princes to be honorary canons of religious establishments in their respective territories, and the Scottish kings, in becoming canons of Glasgow Cathedral, were only following the precedent set in other countries. In some remarks on cathedral services, based on information contained in the ms. Register of Glasgow Bishopric, then

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 450.

² *Ib.* No. 465.

preserved in the Scots College at Paris, Father Innes refers to "King James IV., who was honorary canon of Glasgow, as the Kings of France are of St. Martin of Tours."¹ Altogether it is more than likely that the connection of the Scottish kings with the Cathedral did not affect its prebendal arrangements.

In 1522-3 the prebend was held by a Master of Arts, William Bailye, who is designated in a Bull by Pope Adrian VI. as "canon of the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow and prebendary of the prebend of Barlanark, otherwise called Provand." Bailye, with the Pope's approval, resigned the canonry and prebend of Barlanark, *alias* Provand, called "the prebend of the church of Glasgow," in favour of Thomas Bailye, another canon, but under reservation of his own liferent. The next recorded appointment occurred in November, 1549, during the interval between the death of Archbishop Dunbar and the appointment of his successor, when Gavin Hamilton, "dean of the metropolitan church and vicar-general of the vacant see," conferred the canonry and prebend on "Mr. William Baillie."² Within a few months from the date of his appointment, if not previously, Baillie was a Senator of the College of Justice, and was latterly President of the Court, taking the title of Lord Provand. In consequence of the Reformation, religious services in the Cathedral on the old system were brought to a close, and many of the prebendaries took the opportunity of disposing of their temporalities to the best advantage. Under ecclesiastical as well as civil law, churchmen were entitled to feu their lands provided their benefices were not thereby diminished in rental, and this was the

¹ *Spalding Club Misc.* ii. p. 365.

² *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 350-1 (*see* corrections p. xxvii.).

course adopted by Lord Provand. By a charter dated 10th April, 1562, "Mr. William Bailzie, canon of the metropolitan church of Glasgow, and prebendary of the prebend of Barlanark, *alias* Provand," conveyed these lands to "Thomas Bailzie of Ravenscraig." The charter alludes to the sanction given by sacred ordinances and the statutory law of the realm for feuing of church lands, and to the necessity of the time (than which nothing in church affairs was remembered as more disturbing), and then narrates that, for the improvement of the land and the augmentation of the yearly revenue and advantage of the prebend, the granter had resolved to feu the lands, a course which was approved of by the dean and chapter after full discussion and consideration. Thomas Bailzie had paid down a capital sum of £1000 Scots, and he further became liable for a yearly feuduty equivalent to the old rental and three merks in augmentation. The old rental consisted of 32 bolls horse corn and 8 dozen poultry with £95 7s. Scots in money, and as the feuar had the option of converting into money the corn at 5s. the boll and the poultry at 6d. each, the gross feuduty may be stated at £107 15s. yearly, a sum which was payable to the Crown after the annexation of temporalities in 1587.¹ From a successor of the feuar the Town Council of Glasgow purchased the lands of Provan in 1667.² One of the objects which the new proprietors had in view was the securing of a supply of water to their mills on the Molendinar Burn. With slight exceptions the lands themselves were sold long ago, but Provanmill and the water rights are still retained, and the practice is likewise continued of appointing the Bailie of

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* v. No. 2209 ; *Regality Club*, iv. pp. 174-5.

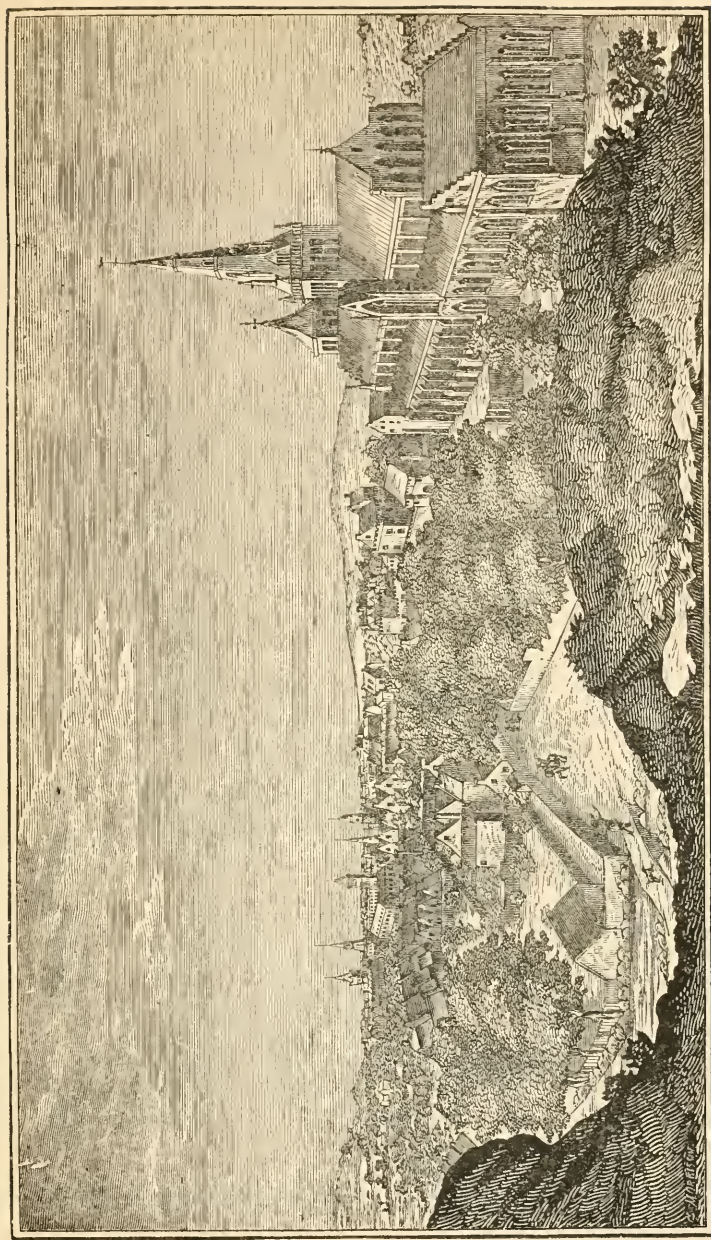
² *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 120.

Provan, a relic of the time when questions with the tenants relating to rents or thirlage were decided in the barony court.

The lands of Easter and Wester Craigs were so named from their principal feature, a craggy ridge stretching about a mile eastward from the left bank of the Molendinar Burn. Along their south side lay the Gallowmuir, and northward was the Town Mill Mailling, surrounding those mills which Bishop Cameron (1426-46) authorised the burgesses and community to erect "on the south side of Gardyngad, upon the burn which is called Malyndonier." After curving round the west base of the ridge, the burn supplied motive power to another set of mills which, from a remote period, stood on the lands of Wester Craigs. Both Craigs were from early times assigned to two of the Cathedral dignitaries, the subdean possessing Wester Craigs and the mills, and Easter Craigs forming an endowment for the treasurer.

Unlike Provan the other Cathedral prebends consisted either wholly or partially of "spiritualities," and there had been assigned to the treasurer the church of Carnwath, which was erected into a prebend as early as the twelfth century. In a roll of church benefices made up in 1275 the treasurer's prebend is valued at £160. Subsequent to the Reformation (1561) it was reported that the prebend was let on lease for £200.¹ In 1563 "Mr. Thomas Leveingstoune" was treasurer, and on 4th May of that year he, with consent of the dean and chapter, and in accordance with the practice at that time, feued the lands of Easter Craigs to "John Leveingstoune," his brother. John Livingston was succeeded by his son James, who

¹ *Origines Parochiales*, i. p. 126.



GLASGOW FROM THE MERCHANTS' PARK, OR NECROPOLIS, ABOUT 1690, BY CAPT. SLEZER.

conveyed the lands to Sir Matthew Stewart of Mynto in 1595. Sir Matthew had already come into possession of Wester Craigs. From at least the year 1554 the subdeanery had been held by James Hamilton,¹ who in 1558 is likewise found in possession of the bishopric of Argyle. By a tack granted in 1562 Hamilton, there designed "bischof of Argyll and subdeane of the Metropolitane Kirk of Glasgow," leased Wester Craigs to his brother, "ane maist reverend fader in God, John archbishop of Sanct-androis," and it is stated that this was done in consideration of 1000 merks paid "aforehand to us be the said maist reverend fader, in our urgent necessitie, to our support in this trublus tyme." Two years later the lands, mills, and kilns were permanently disposed of under a feu-charter granted by the subdean to Alexander Stewart of Castlemilk, by whose successors they were in 1569 transferred to "Mathew Stewart, sone and appeirand air to Sir Johne Stewart of Mynto, knight, and Jonat Stewart, his futur spous."² By the operation of the Act of 1587 annexing temporalities to the Crown, King James became superior of both properties, and in 1599 he confirmed them to Walter Stewart, eldest son of Sir Matthew. From this confirmation it is ascertained that the feuduty payable for Wester Craigs was £20 3s. 4d. and for Easter Craigs £14 yearly.³ In 1619 Sir Walter conveyed the mills and right of thirlage, together with the superiority of 23 kilns, to the Town Council and community, who already possessed the other mills in the city.⁴ The lands of Easter and Wester Craigs were purchased by the Merchants' House of Glasgow from Sir Ludovic Stewart in 1650, and since then have been

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 211.

² *Merchants' House*, pp. 42, 518-9.

³ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vi. No. 939.

⁴ *Antea*, p. 159.

subjected to numerous transmissions. With the exception of the area occupied by the Necropolis almost the whole lands, embracing what is known as the Dennistoun district, is now covered with streets and buildings.

The two parishes of Cadder and Badermonoch, or Monkland, were early erected into a prebend for the subdean, and, as that dignitary possessed, in addition, not only the lands of Wester Craigs already referred to, but also those of Deanside and Provanside, his endowments were more than usually lucrative. This fact perhaps accounts so far for the liberal donations of Roland Blacader and James Houstoun, who in succession held the subdeanery between 1503 and 1551, the former having founded and endowed a hospital in the Stablegreen with relative chaplainry in the Cathedral, and the latter having founded and endowed the collegiate church of St. Mary in Trongate. Deanside and Provanside adjoined each other, though at one part they were separated by the tenements in the ancient thoroughfare of Ratounraw formerly described.¹ Throughout this territory belonging to the subdean, extending from Ramshorn lands on the south to Broomhill and Cowcaddens on the north, the subdean's bailie held his own Courts, gave sasine to vassals and served heirs in properties, all in the same manner as did Glasgow bailies in the burgh or the bishop's bailies throughout the regality. This system was continued when the lands were in the Crown's possession under the Annexation Act of 1587, but it doubtless terminated in 1613, when they were incorporated with the burgh under a charter whereby King James VI. gave them to the community of Glasgow. It was stated in the charter that the gift was in recompense of the great charges incurred by

¹ *Antea*, pp. 13, 14.

the community in repairing the metropolitan church and upholding the bridge, these "being two monuments and ornaments of our kingdom," but it is not apparent that any immediate pecuniary advantage accrued to the town from the gift. The "ancient feu farm" formerly payable to the subdeans, was 36s. 8d. Scots; and this sum, with an augmentation of 3s. 4d., was in future to be paid by the community to the Crown over and above certain rents and duties owing to the College and the Crafts' Hospital. In the town's rental of 1657-9, "the tenandry of Ratounraw, quhilk of old pertained to the subdean," is set down as yielding £1 5s. 9d., the whole having apparently been disposed of before the year 1613 for payment of small rents or feuduties.¹

When the church of Erskine first appears on record it belonged to the Abbey of Paisley, but in the year 1227, as part of an arrangement regarding dues called procurations, payable to the Bishop of Glasgow for the Abbey Churches, it was agreed that the church of "Yrskin" should become the property of the Bishop. At what date the parsonage was erected into a prebend is not known, but it appears as such in the list of 1401. From the Book of Assumptions, a record containing rentals of church benefices at the Reformation, it is ascertained that the parsonage was in 1561 let for 200 merks.² The detailed contents of this valuable record are not yet accessible in print, but it may be assumed that the lease included Blythswood, which, being described as a £3 land, may be estimated as containing over 150 acres. The lands were situated outside the west border of the burgh, Glasgow or St. Enoch's Burn

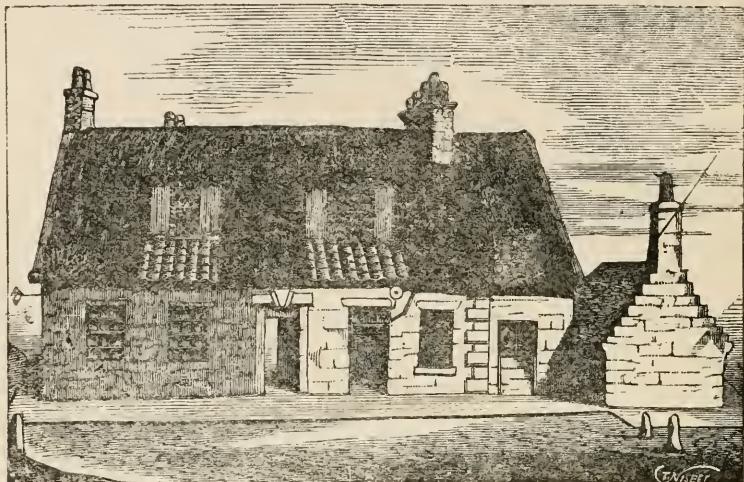
¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 284-91; ii. pp. 621-2; *Glas. Rec.* iii. p. 543.

² *Origines Parochiales*, i. p. 80.

forming at one part the line of separation. In sixteenth century titles parts of the lands are described as laid out in crofts, one being called the "Schort Holm" and another the "Langholme." The "hill of Blythisuod" is referred to as "lying between the burn of Glasgow on the east and the lands of Cowcaldanis on the north." There are also "the pece under the hill" and the "muir of Blythisuod, bounded by the lands of Cowcaldanis on the north." David Steward was in possession of the prebend at the Reformation, and, like most of his brother canons at that time, he parted with the temporalities for payment of an annual feuduty. By a charter dated 30th March, 1562, "David Steward, canon of Glasgow and prebendary of the prebend of Erskyn," conveyed the £3 land, old extent, of Blythswood, with the pertinents, to John Steward of Mynto, knight, but this appears to have been only a temporary arrangement, as on 1st May in the following year the lands were feued by the same prebendary to George Elphinston. In the feu charter it is stated that Elphinston had paid to the prebendary great sums of money for his relief from certain debts contracted for his sustenance in the late turbulent time, and it was stipulated that, in addition to these advances there should be payable a yearly feuduty of 5 marks as the old rental and 3s. 4d. in augmentation.¹ In 1595, Sir George Elpinstoun of Blythswood, knight, succeeded his father as proprietor, not only of these lands, but also of the adjoining lands of Woodside, as well as Gorbals on the south side of Clyde, and the whole were consolidated into one holding. By a charter granted by King James VI., "after his lawful and perfect age, and all his revocations, and the annexation to the crown of the

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1513, 1548.

temporalities of all benefices and prelaties within the kingdom," the several lands were united into a free barony to be called the barony of Blythswood.¹ About forty years afterwards Gorbals was severed from the other lands, which were left to form the nucleus of what is now known as the entailed estate of Blythswood. It was not till so recent



BUILDING CALLED "LORD DARNLEY'S COTTAGE."

a period as 1830 that the city's boundary was extended west of Glasgow Burn, but the territory then added to the municipal area included along with the greater Blythswood that portion of the land which of old was possessed as a prebendal endowment by the successive parsons of Erskine.

The manse of the parson of Erskine was situated near the Bishop's Castle, on a space now embraced in Cathedral Square. Occupying part of the site of the former manse, was a small one-story building which, though of no great

¹ *Glas. Prot.* No. 3176.

antiquity, passed for many years under the name of Lord Darnley's Cottage. In another old house, at the back of this cottage, the late Gabriel Neil, in December, 1857, discovered a stone,¹ inscribed with initials and armorial bearings. From the letters printed in *Glasghu Facies* (pp. 682, 1264) it appears that, beyond the recognition of the Cunningham coat of arms, any attempt to interpret the



other markings had not been successful. But the mystery has been cleared up by the publication of a protocol narrating that, on 18th June, 1562, the Parson of Erskine sold his manse to Thomas Forret, citizen of Glasgow, and Joan Conyngham, his spouse.² The initials are thus identified as those of the purchasers, and the stone was evidently meant as a memorial of their joint ownership. It may be added that all the old buildings which stood on the site of the manse in 1866 were removed by the Improvements Trustees under the authority of their Act of that year.

The Parish of Glasgow, including the district which in post-Reformation times was set aside as the Barony Parish,

¹ Now preserved in Kelvingrove Museum. ² *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1467.

supplied two prebends, the parsonage being designated Glasgow *Primo* and the vicarage Glasgow *Secundo*. Both were in existence before 1401, but only one is referred to in 1172 when Pope Alexander III. confirmed the privileges of the parish along with the ploughgate at Renfrew, which Bishop Herbert gave in augmentation of the prebend.¹ Besides the Renfrew property the prebend was endowed with several pieces of land in the vicinity of Glasgow. As already mentioned, the parson provided part of the site for the Greyfriars' Monastery,² retaining the remaining lands, known as Craignaught. According to the Book of Assumptions (*Origines Parochiales*, i. p. 2), the prebend was at the time of the Reformation valued at £60 4s. 8d. in money, 32 chalders 8 bolls meal, 9 chalders 3 bolls bear, 3 barrels herring,³ and other 10 marks in money. Henry Sinclair,

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 28.

² *Antea*, pp. 200-1.

³ According to the valuations of benefices above referred to, the parson of Glasgow received three barrels of herring, and the vicar was entitled to "the third part of the teynd of the boats coming to the brig of Glasgow." During the temporary suppression of Prelacy in the reign of Charles I., the Town Council acquired the parochial teinds, both parsonage and vicarage, and the printed minutes give some information about the revenue derived from herrings and other fish. In 1649 the Council appointed a "table of the viccaradge fische" to be subscribed, and directed the Water Bailie and his sergeants to assist in exacting the dues there set down. Unfortunately the "table," which might have supplied some curious particulars, has not been preserved. Five years afterwards the "teynd fische" were set, by public roup, to a tacksman, realising £60 Scots. In 1659, 95 merks (£63 6s. 8d.) were got, but in the following year the Council resolved "not to sett nor roup the tynd fisch as formerlie, in regaird of the great discouragment of theis who brings in the killing (*i.e.* large cod), in respect ther was takine frome them sex of there best killing in name of tynd out of every boat, quhilk is now dischargit to be exacted heirafter; and dry killing and dry ling, and all small fishes to be frie of tynd heirafter, but that ilk



THE CLYDE AT GOVAN DURING WIDENING OPERATIONS, 1859.

From Water Colour by Sam Bough, R.S.A.

who was at one time president of the Court of Session, and latterly Bishop of Ross, possessed the parsonage from about the year 1548 till his death in 1564-5. "Maister Alexander Lauder" next held it, and in 1570 he was succeeded by Archibald Douglas, who had been implicated in Darnley's murder, and whose subsequent career did not improve his reputation. By a charter dated 1st May, 1573, "Mr. Archibald Dowglas, canon of Glasgow and prebendary of Glasgow Primo," with consent of the dean and chapter, and in consideration of the payment of 1000 merks and

boat that brings in fresh killing, ling or skait, pay in name of tynd 13s. 4d. (a merk) ilk tyme, and the herring and wthers to pay as of befor; and the Water Baillie to collect the same quhill farder advysment" (*Glasg. Rec.* ii. pp. 169, 294, 422, 446). On their restoration, the archbishops resumed possession of the teinds which they set by successive tacks to the Town Council "with the haill teind herrings and other teind fish of the Water of Clyd." The Crown, after the final abolition of Episcopacy, granted similar tacks, which subsisted till the beginning of the nineteenth century; but whether, in the town's hands, the exaction of such teinds was continued or allowed to fall into desuetude has not been ascertained. Nothing regarding their collection has been noticed in the printed minutes subsequent to the entry above quoted, and since the last tack terminated, about a hundred years ago, any claim in that direction must have rested with the Crown.

Other Glasgow churchmen besides the parson and vicar were pecuniarily interested in the herring fisheries. In the thirteenth century, Dervorgilla of Baliol, daughter of Alan of Galloway, and widow of John de Baliol, gave to the church of Glasgow various lands then lying in the lordship of Largs, and afterwards included in the parishes of Largs and Dalry. A confirmation charter by her son, King John, states that the endowment was for the support of four chaplains who were to celebrate divine services (*Reg. Episc.* Nos. 230, 250); but the lands appear to have come into the possession of the canons forming the Chapter of Glasgow Cathedral, by whom they were held till the Reformation, when under the stress of "urgent necessity" they were sold for a price payable so much in cash and the remainder by yearly feuduty (*Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 522-8, 542-3). As indicated by the charter of

of assistance rendered to him in the time of much peril, granted in feu-farm to "Mr. David Rollok of Kincladye" and his spouse 13 acres called "Personis-croft," near the Stabell-greene, lands near Brumelaw on the west side of the city, and lands called "Personis-hauch, *alias* Rankynnis-hauch," lying near Stobcross; but reserving to the prebendary a place for gathering the teind sheaves of his prebend. The "lands near Brumelaw" adjoined those of Blythswood and lay on the north side of what is now Argyle Street, formerly a road termed in a title deed of 1706 the

sale, the canons had been entitled to receive, as a pertinent of the lands, a yearly supply of 6000 red or cured herrings, and it may be assumed that this quantity was, from an early date, apportioned on those tenants who occupied the shore properties and practised the fisher craft. To the feuduty of twelve merks exacted from the feuwar in respect of the herrings the Crown acquired right under the Benefices Annexation Act of 1587, and that sum is probably still collected by the Crown Receiver, whatever may have become of the obligation on the tenants to supply the 6000 herrings.

King David I., founder of Holyrood, gave to the monks of that abbey a free right to fish for herrings in the River Clyde at Renfrew. Subsequent sovereigns exacted a tax on the fishing in the western seas called the "Assyse of Herring," and this tax was latterly farmed. By a charter, dated 28 February, 1561-2, Queen Mary granted to James Campbell, nephew of Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, the "assyse herring" of the west seas, extending from the Pentland Firth to the Mull of Galloway, and where the sea flows within the River Clyde, for payment of six lasts and two barrels of sufficient herring, at the burgh of Glasgow, between Martinmas and Candlemas yearly. An account of the sums received for the year 1596 has been preserved. Five merks were charged for each boat, realising £1557 6s. 8d. Scots in all. The town of Renfrew had 19 boats, the laird of Newark (afterwards Port-Glasgow) had 12, the laird of Greenock 78, the parish of Inverkip 79, Saltcoats and Kilbryde 28, and the remainder, numbering about 470 in all, belonged to other places on the coast, including the Cumbræes (*Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, iv. p. 481; *Glasg. Prot.* vol. v. pp. xii, xiii). Out of the money collected from the fishing boats the rent to the Crown and other expenses

“commone lone leading to Drummoderhill.¹ Consisting of 12½ acres, “called Parson’s Land,” this property was in the early part of the eighteenth century acquired by the Incorporation of Taylors, in two or three separate parcels. Thereafter the incorporation formed Bishop Street through the land and disposed of the remainder in building lots. The yearly feuduty payable to the parson under the charter of 1573 amounted to £20, being composed of £18 16s. 8d. of old rental and £1 3s. 4d. of augmentation.² The parson had likewise at one time lands situated between Provost-haugh (now included in Glasgow Green) and Barrowfield, and these are found in possession of James Forret of

would be met, any surplus being profit. In 1600 the Countess of Argyll was lessee, and subsequent lets were mainly to the Argyll family. In a tack by Queen Anne to the Duke of Argyll in 1705 it is stated that “he and his predecessors have been lessees of the said assyse herring for many ages.” Latterly the yearly rent payable to the Crown was £1000 Scots, and it is stated, in 1681, that the charge per boat was then £5. The tax on fishing boats, which was not confined to the West Coast, frequently formed the subject of complaint by the Convention of Royal Burghs, as in 1733, when it is stated that “the coast fishing and small boats is much discouraged by ane syse or duty imposed upon every boat both in the Firth of Forth and in the Firth of Clyde and in the Isles.” In his *History of Glasgow*, published in 1795, Andrew Brown mentions that every boat formerly paid to the Crown 1000 herrings each drave or voyage, and that “this lordship” had long been vest in the noble family of Argyll; “but we have not heard at what period they desisted from exacting this tribute.” Another exaction, “the assyse aill,” accounted for by the Sheriff of Dumbarton, and yielding £12 yearly, is described by Sir William Purves in his *Revenue of the Scottish Crown* (1681) “as ane auld dewtie payed to his Majestie for the aill that is drunken and spent att the fishing of the west sea, bot ther is hardly anything payed since anno 1646.”

¹ *MS. Sas. Reg.* 1705-9, pp. 41-2.

² *Reg. Mag. Sig.* iv. No. 2954; *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1037-8.

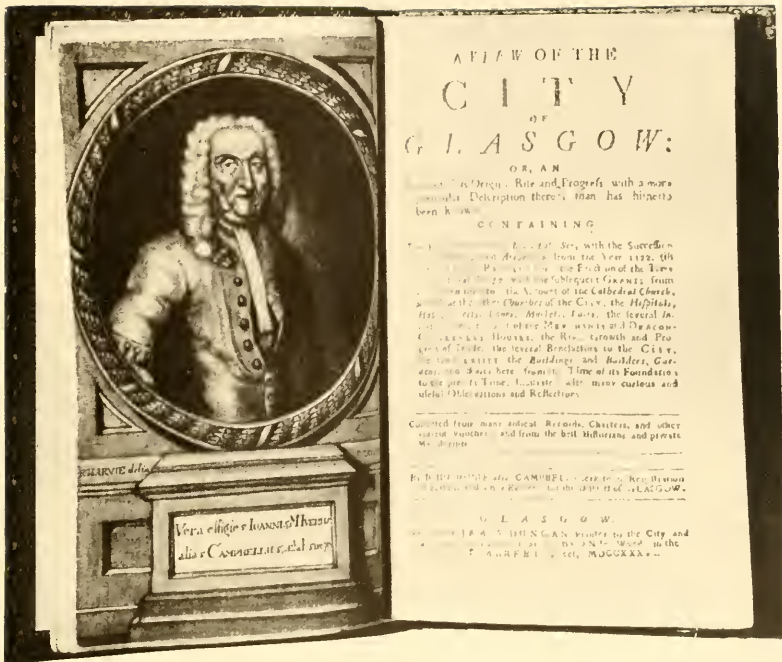
Barrowfield, who, in 1590-1, obtained a crown charter in "the lands called Brumewaird, of old belonging to the rector of Glasgow," for payment of 15s. yearly.¹

Adjoining the lands of Stobcross, and situated not far from "Parson's Land," through which Bishop Street was formed, lay a piece of rising ground called "Cranstounhill or Drummoderis Aikeris," which belonged to the Parson of Renfrew, and was set by him in feu to James Hill, for the yearly payment of £6 9s.² A local historian, who named the place "Drum-over-hill," says it was so called "from the fact that all the vagabonds who were banished furth of the city, were accompanied to the spot by the town's drummer, playing the 'Rogue's March,' and this official saw them fairly beyond the bounds."³ All this is purely imaginary, and as the story, devoid though it is of either historical or etymological authority, has been repeated elsewhere, it may be as well to take the opportunity of trying to stop its further currency.

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* v. No. 1833.

² *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 3348-9; *Regality Club*, iv. p. 171.

³ *Past and Present*, i. p. 53.



A VIEW OF THE CITY OF GLASGOW BY JOHN MURE.

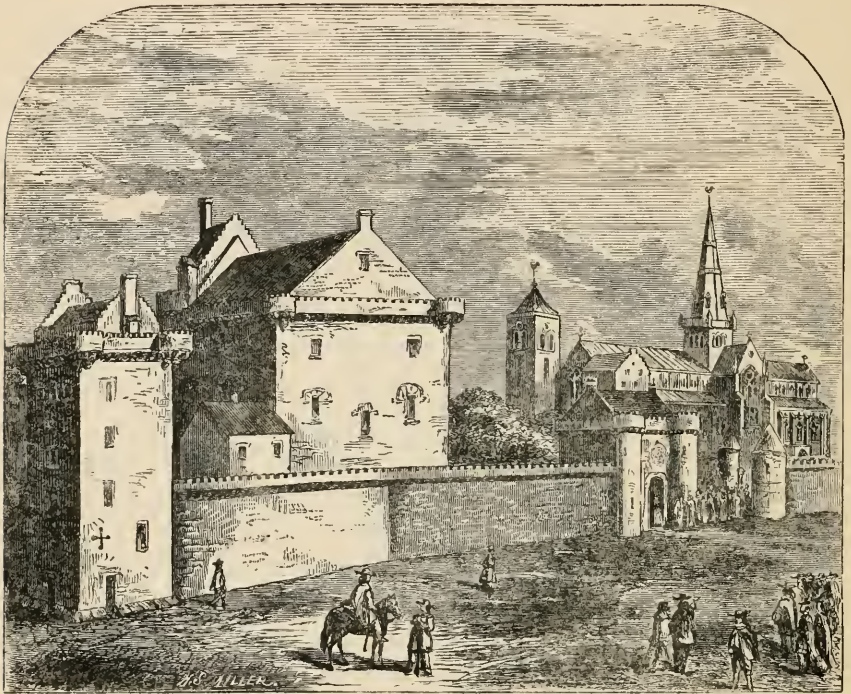
XVI.

PRE-REFORMATION CHAPELS AND CHURCHES OF GLASGOW

GLASGOW'S earliest historian has observed that "there were several churches or chappels before the Reformation within the precincts of the city, such as St. Enoch's Church without the West Port, the remains of which is yet to be seen; St. John the Baptist's Chappell at the head of the Drygate, at the back of Sir George Elphinston's great lodging; and another chappel called St. Rook's Chappel, a little way without the Stablegreen Port. There is no vestige remaining of the building, but the yard that was round it is still conspicuous."¹ In this passage two aspects of M'Ure's method are well illustrated. While statements based on his personal knowledge may always be accepted without reserve, caution is needed where his authority consists of tradition or interpretation of old writings, but even where mistakes occur there are usually underlying facts worthy of investigation. That in 1736 the ruins of St. Tenew's Chapel were still visible and the cemetery which had surrounded the vanished chapel of St. Roche remained are interesting bits of information known to the narrator, and fortunately noted in his pages. But what is said regarding a chapel

¹ M'Ure, pp. 61-2.

of St. John was the result of misconception. A property at the corner of High Street and Drygate formed one of the endowments of the chaplainry or altarage of St. John in the Cathedral, and was so described in title-deeds,¹ the



EPISCOPAL PALACE AND CATHEDRAL.

perusal of which apparently led to the erroneous assumption that a chapel had existed there. But though St. John's Chapel must fall from the list, there are others to be added; and as recent investigations have enlarged our

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 468.

knowledge of most of the pre-Reformation churches and chapels, the opportunity may be taken of noticing a few of the more important particulars regarding them.

Passing over the Cathedral, accounts of which, with varying fulness, have been given by several writers, the first to be noticed is the

CHAPEL OF ST. TENEW.

According to early tradition the earthly remains of St. Kentigern's mother were interred on the spot where the chapel bearing her name was reared. That name has many variations in ancient chronicle and charter. Thanew and Tenew were the more common forms till about the end of the sixteenth century, when St. Enew and Sanctennoch came into use, and it was an easy transition from these to the now familiar St. Enoch. As regards the authenticity of the story which associates the site of the chapel with the tomb of St. Tenew, little more can be said than that it carries no inherent improbability, and that from a remote period it was accepted as historical fact. In the Aberdeen Breviary, the printing of which in 1509 is connected with the introduction of the typographic art into Scotland, it is stated that the venerable matron died and was buried in Glasgow, and there are likewise on record earlier notices to the same purport. By a charter dated 8th July, 1401, Joanna, Countess of Douglas, for the weal of her soul and the soul of her late husband, Earl Archibald, and for the devotion which she bore to St. Kentigern and the Church of Glasgow, directed that from the revenues of her barony of Bothwell three stones of wax yearly should be provided for the lights of the church.¹ These lands subsequently reverted to the

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 321.

Crown; and King James III., having ascertained that the contribution had for some years been neglected, and being desirous that in future the church should not be prejudiced, ordered that the three stones of wax should be regularly levied from the lands of Odingstoune (Uddingston), in the lordship of Bothwell, $2\frac{1}{2}$ stones to be used at the tomb of St. Kentigern in the cathedral, and the remaining half-stone at the tomb of St. Tenew "in the chapel where her bones lay." This charter was granted on 14th October, 1475, but in 1498 it was found that the contribution was seven years in arrear, and Archbishop Blacader thereupon took proceedings in the Court of the Official of Glasgow against fifteen possessors of the lands of Uddingston for fulfilment of their obligations. The defaulters were promptly ordained to deliver 18 stones of wax to the church and 3 stones to the chapel, under penalty of excommunication, which was to be pronounced with the usual solemnities of tolling bells and lighting and extinguishing candles.¹ It thus seems evident that in the fifteenth century people believed that the reputed tomb was genuine. But in mediæval times the remains of departed saints were not always allowed to lie intact. This was illustrated in the case of St. Tenew, as a catalogue of cathedral relics and ornaments, compiled in 1432, contains this entry: "Item, two linen bags with bones of St. Kentigern, St. Tenew, and sundry other saints."²

At an early date the chapel gave name to the thoroughfare now known as Trongate and Argyle Street. From 1426 onwards there is a series of documents in which "via Sancte Tenew" is the designation of the street leading from the market cross to the chapel. Regarding the architectural appearance of the chapel and the religious services conducted

¹ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 407, 478-9.

² *Ib.* No. 339.

in it, no particulars have been preserved; and most of the meagre details concerning the endowments relate to the period succeeding its dissolution. The building was surrounded by a cemetery, and there were likewise a few acres of adjoining land, which went by the name of St. Tenew's Croft.¹ This croft, with the cemetery, extended westward from the tenements on the west side of Stockwell Street to Glasgow Burn, which flowed somewhat in the line of the present Adam's Court Lane. On the south was the Old Green, while the northern portion of the croft bordered on Pallioun Croft, though perhaps divided from it by a road in the line of the present Argyle Street. Following the example of the bishops in the management of their more extensive lands, the inferior clergy disposed of their crofts to rentallers, who gradually acquired right to the subdivided rigs or plots by heritable title for payment usually of small feuduties or annualrents. Previous to the Reformation, a considerable portion, if not the whole, of St. Tenew's Croft had been disposed of in this manner, and the published protocols narrate numerous transmissions by individual proprietors. In one of these, dated 27th July, 1569, John Blackwood conveyed to Robert Pollok in Partick an acre of the croft, but reserving right of redemption on payment of £30 and a "hogheid" of herrings (or £4 for the herrings) if settled at the ensuing Feast of the Nativity. For any subsequent redemption the price was to be £38, and this sum was paid in 1570.² Several of the properties are bounded by a lane leading to a spring called St. Tenew's Well, around which traditions of sanctity long lingered. The well is supposed to have been situated in St. Enoch's Wynd, a little to the east of the present square, and the spot must

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 2462.

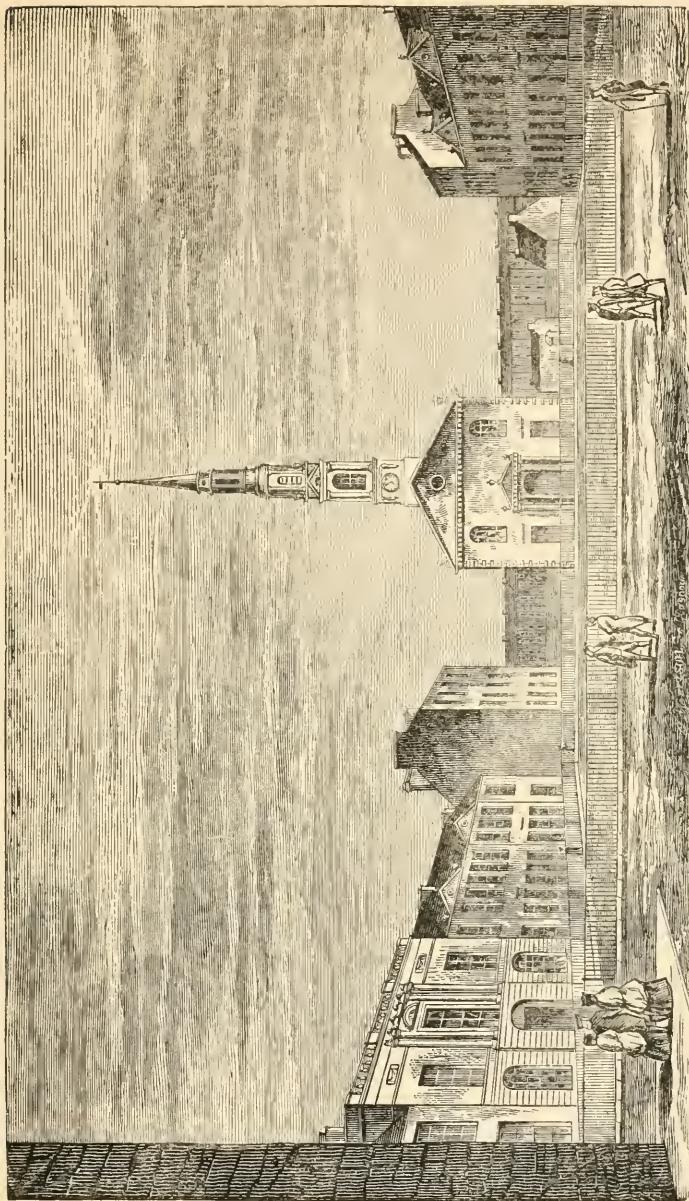
² *Ib.* Nos. 1665, 1687.

now be hid from view by the superstructure of the railway station. At the Reformation about three acres of land, including the cemetery, remained around the church, and by some process, of which no record is extant, these properties came into the possession of a citizen named James Fleming, who had also acquired the site of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary. In 1582 Fleming destined to his daughter and her spouse various properties, including the "old church sometimes called Sanct Tenwis Kirk, then being a barn, with yard adjacent, and three acres of land lying about the church in the croft of St. Tenew."¹ Though thus used as a barn, it is probable that little or no alteration was made on the exterior, seeing that in M'Ure's time the building was still recognisable as a chapel. An entry in the kirk-session records, dated February 22, 1593, refers to a chapel in the Trongate, where some images were found.² Whether these images were discovered in St. Tenew's Chapel or in that of St. Mary is not stated, but they had evidently escaped the clearance at the Reformation, when all the churches and chapels were purged of idolatry. For a considerable time the surface of the cemetery was preserved unbroken. In 1593 Fleming, the then proprietor, appeared before the Presbytery, and was asked "gif it be of treuthe that he intendis to teill the kirkyardes of Sanct Roche and Sanct Tenes, or to convert the said kirkyardes in buyldit houses and landis." An assurance was given that there was no such intention, and that before applying the kirkyards to any other purpose than that to which they were then put, presumably pasture ground, the consent of the Presbytery would be obtained.³ As M'Ure does not mention a burying-ground in connection

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 2462.

² Wodrow's *Collections* (Weems), p. 9.

³ *Maitland Club Miscellany*, i. p. 61.



ST. ENOCH'S SQUARE AND CHURCH.

with the church it is probable that the old cemetery was then undistinguishable from the adjoining croft. Three acres of land, which appear to have included the kirkyard, were acquired by the Merchants' House in 1629, and were then described as arable. A minute of the Town Council dated 30th March, 1756, refers to an encroachment on the Green by a tenant who, when tilling St. Enoch's yard, had ploughed a piece of vacant ground on the south belonging to the town. In 1750 the Town Council bought the Merchants' ground for the purpose of their establishing a live cattle market. The market scheme was not proceeded with, and about the year 1768 the ground was laid off in building lots, but more than 20 years elapsed before these were fully taken up, and St. Enoch's Square completed. The first church, opened in 1782, was replaced by the present structure, erected in 1827. The precise sites of the chapel and cemetery are not ascertainable, but it is probable that underneath the latter the busy traffic of the Subway is now conducted, while overhead there has long been effaced any memorial suggestive of proximity to the ancient shrine of St. Tenew.

CHAPEL OF ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR.

Little more than two years after Archbishop Becket of Canterbury had been slain in his own cathedral, on 29th December, 1170, he was canonised as St. Thomas the Martyr, and became the object of widespread veneration both in England and Scotland, as is evidenced by the dedication to him of numerous churches and chapels. King William the Lion, who about that time authorised the bishop to have a burgh at Glasgow, founded the abbey of St. Thomas at Aberbrothick, and endowed it with valuable possessions, including a toft

in each of the royal burghs. Whether the chapel of St. Thomas at Glasgow dates from this or a later period there is no record to show; but about a century and a half thereafter it is referred to as an existing establishment. In 1320 Sir Walter Fitz-Gilbert, progenitor of the ducal family of Hamilton, bequeathed to the cathedral a suit of priests' vestments, under provision that they might be borrowed twice yearly for the use of the chapel of St. Thomas at Glasgow—namely, on the festival of his commemoration (29th December) and the feast of his translation (7th July).¹ Other evidence of Glasgow's veneration for the martyr is afforded by entries in the Inventory of 1432, already noticed, showing that his comb and his hair shirt were preserved in the Cathedral. There is reason to believe that the chapel adjoined, and may have been in some way connected, with that of St. Tenew. What is now Trongate and its continuation was in 1426 referred to as the street leading from the market cross to the chapels of St. Thomas the Martyr and St. Tenew, and there are subsequent descriptions to the like effect. From interesting entries in the Papal Registers, referring to certain benefices, it is ascertained that in the year 1422, and subsequently, the "perpetual chaplainry of St. Thomas the Martyr, without the walls of Glasgow, without cure, and of the patronage of laymen," was held by "David de Hamylton, rector of Cumnock." Hamylton possessed other benefices, and in one place he is stated to be a "bachelor of canon law, and is of a race of great nobles, and has studied theology for six years at Paris."² It appears that the College authorities, who had some early connection with the chapel, eventually acquired it as their property. By a statute of the Faculty of Arts passed in 1462 it was provided that, preparatory

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 267.

² *Papal Reg.* vii. pp. 241-2, 258, 425-6.

to the annual procession through the city after the Feast of St. Nicholas, all the masters and students should assemble and hear matins in the Chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr.¹ A rental, compiled in 1565, of the "Auld Foundatioun of the College," meaning endowments possessed previous to the Reformation, specifies "Sanct Thomas Kirk and the Kirk-yaird."² There is no trace of any "kirkyaird" in St. Tenew's gait other than two burying grounds—one adjoining the Chapel of St. Tenew, and the other at the Collegiate Church of St. Mary. In these the college had no interest at the date of the rental, and therefore the "kirkyaird" there referred to may have been connected with that adjoining St. Tenew's Chapel. Subsequent to the Reformation the college acquired the endowments of St. Thomas's altarage in the Cathedral (founded in the beginning of the sixteenth century by Adam Colquhoun, rector of Stobo), and these according to a rental included a "ruid of land in St. Tenew's croft." Possibly there had been an amalgamation of the endowments of the chapel and those of the altarage, but on this subject the rental and accounts of the college are not explicit. For one thing, it seems not improbable that the chapel, if it was separate from that of St. Tenew, had disappeared previous to the Reformation, as its existence at that time or subsequently is not noticed in any records now extant.

CHAPEL OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

It is probable that the burgesses of the new burgh founded under King William's authority lost no time in making provision for religious services appropriate to their needs and the custom of the period. In the vicinity of the Cross

¹ *Munimenta*, ii. p. 39.

² *Ib.* i. p. 93.

the mercantile and artisan class were gathered together, and their distance from the Cathedral was not inconsiderable. The Tolbooth, close by the market cross, occupied the corner where the steeple, a seventeenth century edifice, now stands, at the west side of High Street and north side of Trongate. Immediately west of the Tolbooth a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary was erected. The time and circumstance of the erection are not specifically known, but having regard to its situation it may be conjectured that like the Tolbooth itself, and contemporaneously with that building, the chapel was established by the burgh authorities for the benefit of the community. As in the case of St. Tenew's Chapel, St. Mary's had an endowment for its lights, and it is with reference to lands held for this purpose that in a charter dated 15th September, 1293, the name of St. Mary's Chapel first appears on record.¹ From the Calendar of Papal Registers, it is ascertained that one Walter Wan, of the diocese of Glasgow, held the chapel of St. Mary in the year 1384.² It is interesting to note that in a protocol book dated 1530-7 "our Ladye gait" is used as an alternative designation to St. Teneu's gait at its eastern end where it fronted the old chapel.³ The Collegiate Church of St. Mary and St. Ann, founded by James Houston, and erected on the opposite side of the street about thirty years before the Reformation, appears to have superseded the chapel and taken possession of it as an endowment. There is still in existence a charter, dated 10th February, 1555-6, whereby the chaplain and prebendary of St. Mary in the Collegiate Church (in consideration of 11 merks yearly payable to him and his successors), with consent of

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 20.

² *Papal Reg.* i. p. 566.

³ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1051.

(1) the other prebendaries, (2) the Town Council as patrons of the Collegiate Church, and (3) the Archbishop, feued the disused building and its site to George Herbertsoun and spouse. The building was described as a tenement, "otherwise called the chapel," and it is said to have been "then ruinous and would come to complete ruin unless immediate provision should be made for repair thereof."¹ This is the last that is heard of the chapel as such. At a subsequent period the site must have been acquired for extensions of the Tolbooth or the Town Hall and adjoining buildings, but owing to the rebuilding and other transformation the site has long been undistinguishable from the surrounding properties.

CHURCH OR CHAPEL OF LITTLE ST. KENTIGERN.

In 1539 a property on the north side of Gallowgate is described as bounded by a tenement belonging to George Colquhoun, "which was sometime the chapel of St. Nicholas."² No trace of this chapel has been found elsewhere, but still the definite phraseology of the description does not look like a clerical slip. Of another chapel situated on the north side of Gallowgate more satisfactory particulars are available. The founder was David Cuninghame, who seems to have had a favourable opportunity for gathering money, as he held simultaneously three lucrative appointments—viz., the archdeaconry of Argyle, the provostry of the Collegiate Church of Hamilton, and the post of official or judge in the consistorial Court of Glasgow. In 1495 Cuninghame had manifested his interest in the celebration of religious services by founding

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 513-7 ; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 3728.

² *Lib. Col.* p. 122.

and endowing a chaplainry at the altar of All Saints in the nave of the cathedral.¹ Five years later he founded a chaplainry in what is described as a church built on his costs, outwith the walls of the city, in the Gallowgate, beyond Malindoner Burn, near St. Kentigern's trees. The endowments of this chaplainry consisted of a tenement in Trongate, and several acres of land in Dowhill, Gallowmuir, and Provanside, with annual rents from the lands of Drips and an orchard near Rutherglen.² As shown by contemporary records, progress was being made with the church furnishings in 1504-5; and in 1513 a chaplain, in succession to one who had died, was inducted by delivery of the keys of the church, the bell rope, book, chalice, and ornaments of the altar.³ Subsequent to the Reformation the endowments were transferred to the college, along with other church properties. The church itself and surrounding burying-ground passed into the hands of a feuar, whose successors, Donald Conynghame of Aikinbar, and Marion Lyoune, spouses, in 1593, sold to the Town Council, "the chapell and hows callit St. Moungeois chaipplanrie, with kirkyairde and pertinentis thairrof," one of the conditions being that the purchasers were "nocht to alter the Conynghames armis af the said kirk, presentlie thairupone, in all tymes cuming, sa lang as the wall standis."⁴ The purpose then in view was the providing of a hospital for the poor. Entries in the kirk-session records at that time likewise narrate preparations for fitting up the kirk as a hospital; but it is not certain that the scheme was carried into effect. Remaining in the town's possession till 1754,

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 471.

² *Glasg. Rec.* No. 481; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 2701.

³ *Dioces. Reg. Prot.* Nos. 91, 652.

⁴ MS. Contract of Sale; *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 454, No. 105.

the property was then sold for the erection of an inn, the purchaser being allowed to take building material from the East Port, a structure which was then being removed. The famous Saracen Head Inn, erected in accordance with these arrangements, long flourished on the site. The building latterly consisted of a tenement of dwelling-houses and shops, immediately west of Saracen Lane, but till its removal in 1905 the walls carried the massive stones of Gallowgate Port, and it was in other respects an interesting memorial of bygone times.¹

CHURCH OF ST. ROCHE.

War and pestilence were the prevailing evils which disturbed the equanimity of town life in ancient times, but of the two a visitation of the "pest" inspired the greater dread. Periodically and at brief intervals Town Councils were either dealing with an outbreak or taking measures to avert infection from other places. But the medical and sanitary appliances then at command provided no effectual check, and the prospect of deliverance by supernatural aid was eagerly welcomed. It has been said of the time preceding the Reformation that there was a saint specially to be invoked for each particular ail that could afflict humanity, and the plague was too widely known to be neglected in this respect. A Frenchman named Roche or Roque, who in his lifetime had the reputation of working miraculous cures, and who died in the year 1327, was canonised, and thereafter regarded as a saint whose intercession was specially devoted to the relief of those afflicted by the malady. Churches were dedicated to St. Roche in various countries, and it seems to have been a custom that

¹ *Glasg. Arch. Trans.* v. pp. 51-8.

persons dying of the plague should be buried in adjoining cemeteries. In 1502, and for a few years previously, the inhabitants of Edinburgh suffered severely from the trouble, and it was probably in connection with this visitation that a chapel dedicated to St. Roque was erected in their burgh muir. As shown by the Lord High Treasurer's accounts, King James on 20th March, 1501-2, gave 14s. to the "wrichtis of Sanct Rochis Chapel"; on 11th July he supplied the chapel with 15 ells of linen cloth; and on 30th October there was paid the large sum of £10 10s. "to the French frere (friar) that brocht ane bane of Sanct Rowk to the King." This relic was no doubt regarded as a powerful antidote to the pest, and it was probably placed in the chapel, where in subsequent years the king made occasional offerings. It was just about this time that a church dedicated to St. Roche was founded in Glasgow. On 20th June, 1506, a property in Ratounraw was conveyed to Sir Thomas Forbes, chaplain of the Church of St. Roche, founded and then about to be built "*in territorio Glasguensi*."¹ Passing through the variations of Roque, Rowk, and Rollock, the name has for some time settled into the well-known form of St. Rollox; and the site, though not precisely identified, was apparently between what are now Glebe Street and Castle Street near the place intersected by the canal. A cemetery and croft surrounded the church, and through part of these grounds the modern Tennant Street and Kennedy Street are formed. The church site and grounds appear to have been part of the town's common muir, and, therefore, it is probable that the community were the originators of the scheme. In 1508, Thomas Muirhead, a canon of the Cathedral and rector of Stobo, endowed two chaplainries in the church, and appointed

¹ *Diac. Reg. Prot.* No. 181.

the Town Council as patrons of one of them.¹ On the foundation, about twenty years later, of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, in which the Town Council took a special interest, the chaplainry of which they were patrons was merged in one of the prebends of the Collegiate Church, but provision was made for continuance in the church of St. Roche of the religious observances prescribed by the founder.² The Dean and Chapter of Glasgow were patrons of the other chaplainry. Besides the croft lands, the church had endowments from property and annualrents in different parts of the city, all of which, except, perhaps, the revenue of the chaplainry which was under the patronage of the Town Council, came into the possession of Glasgow University along with the other ecclesiastical property transferred to it subsequent to the Reformation. Edinburgh records show that the chapel there was used not only for religious services connected with visitations of the pest, but also for the secular operation of disinfection, while those who died of the malady were interred in the adjoining burying ground. Unfortunately, the extant Council records of Glasgow do not commence till 1573, and no information as to its chapel is available from that source; but it may safely be assumed that both chapel and cemetery were applied to purposes similar to those in Edinburgh. One may almost go a step farther, and surmise that the structural arrangements of the two chapels would be somewhat similar; and in this connection it is interesting to note that the ruins of the Edinburgh chapel, as they existed about the year 1770, are depicted in a sketch which first appeared in Hugo Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, and which has been reproduced in Cassell's *Old and New Edinburgh*. Arnot alludes to the

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 97-9; ii. pp. 479-80.

² *Lib. Col.* p. 32.

ruins as those of a "large chapel." His sketch shows the gables and one of the side walls of a one-story building. In one of the gables is a large doorway with a Gothic arch. Captain Grose gives another view of the chapel, and mentions that it was taken in 1788, at which time there were "little more than the two gable ends and part of the side walls standing." The ruins finally disappeared in the beginning of last century.

In the year 1569 Glasgow Town Council, acting under authority contained in Queen Mary's gift of the kirk livings, transferred the Church of St. Roche and its cemetery to feuars, but reserved right to bury the dead of the city in the cemetery in all time coming. This provision is said to have been taken advantage of during an epidemic of the plague in 1645-6. It would almost seem as if more than right of burial was possessed by the Town Council, as, by a tack dated 3rd June, 1665, they gave a nineteen years' lease of "that kirkyaird called St. Rollok's Kirkyaird, and hail grase thereof," on condition that the tenant should not delve or till the yard, and that it should be lawful for the town council "to caus burie the corpes of any persone whatsom-ever they pleas within the said kirkyaird at all tymes."¹ The yard, which is described in the tack as lying "neir to that place called Plummers holl," was "still conspicuous" when M'Ure wrote in 1736; but there is reason to believe that towards the end of that century, in consequence of drainage and the progress of building in the neighbourhood, any trace of the ancient landmark would gradually disappear.²

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 54.

² *Antea*, pp. 134-8.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. MARY
AND ST. ANN.

The last and, with the exception of the Cathedral, the most ambitious scheme of church-founding in Glasgow previous to the Reformation was instituted less than forty years before the collapse of the ancient system and the suppression of the Roman ritual. James Houstoun, the founder, when his name is first mentioned in connection with the new church, is designated vicar of Eastwood, but latterly he held the subdeanery, one of the richest prebends in the Cathedral. Roland Blacader, the previous subdean, had been a liberal donor, founding a chaplainry in the Cathedral and a hospital for casual poor at the Stablegreen port, the northern entrance to the city. He likewise left £300 towards the building of a monastery near the Church of St. Tenew, to be dedicated to St. Katherine of Senis, and £100 for building a hospital near the new Collegiate Church.¹ Owing probably to the advent of the Reformation neither monastery nor hospital came into existence. In February, 1523-4, Houstoun set aside a property on the south side of the Street of St. Tenew for the building of the new church, and some progress seems to have been made with its erection. On 29th April, 1525, Archbishop Dunbar, along with the dean and chapter, assembled in the chapter-house of the Cathedral, had the founder's proposals under consideration, and he was authorised to proceed with the work on condition that the endowments were sufficient.² At this time there is no allusion to a collegiate arrangement, the designation being simply the Church of the glorious Virgin Mary of Laureto and St. Anne her mother. The site chosen is now occupied by the Tron

¹ *Lib. Col.* p. lxxii.

² *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 494-7.

Church. In 1525 there were comparatively few buildings so far west from the Cross. Between the church and the street a vacant space was set aside as burying-ground, and there were plots to the south and west laid out as gardens for the prebendaries, while immediately adjoining was the open field called Mutland Croft. Preliminaries being satisfactorily adjusted, the scope of the new foundation developed into larger proportions, and its equipment was proceeded with till by the year 1548 the Collegiate Church had attained its full complement of a provost, eleven canons or prebendaries, and three choristers. The abbot and convent of Kilwinning transferred to the church the vicarage of Dalry, as an endowment for the provost, whom they, as patrons, appointed. The prioress and convent of the Cistercian nunnery of North Berwick, as patrons of the church of Maybole, gave that benefice to the first prebendary, styled the arch-priest. Under the same patronage the "greater sacrist," who kept the books, chalices, copes, vestments, and ornaments, held the second prebend, and received one-half of the fruits of the vicarage of Maybole. The "lesser sacrist," elected by the provost and prebendaries, had to ring the bells, light the candles, open and shut the church doors, and keep the keys. The Magistrates and Council nominated the third prebendary, who had charge of the organ, and was bound to keep a song school for the instruction of youth. His benefice consisted of the rent of a house in Saltmarket, and his school was situated on the west side of the church. The fourth and fifth prebends (St. Mary and St. James) were also in the patronage of the Town Council, and their endowments consisted of lands, houses, and rents. St. Roch, or Rocque, was the designation of the sixth prebendary, who, as already mentioned, had to continue religious services in the chapel on the moor, as well as to

perform other duties in the new church. St. Kentigern, St. Nicholas, and St. Andrew were the designations of the next three prebends, all of which were under the patronage of the Town Council. That body had, with the consent of the community, gifted to the church 16 acres of land in Gallowmuir, and these lands were allotted to eight of the prebendaries. Sir Martin Reid, chaplain of the altar of St. Martin in the Cathedral, founded the tenth and eleventh prebends, and assigned the patronage of both to the Magistrates and Council. The twelfth and last prebend was that of the three choristers, one of whom was to be chosen by the Town Council and the other two by the provost of the Collegiate Church. Besides the preponderance which the Town Council had in patronage, they were also entrusted with the supervision of the church building and of the houses forming the endowments. Ample details regarding the foundation of "Our Lady College" and its endowments, the rules prescribed for the conduct of its affairs, the masses and other religious services, in some of which poor people, men and matrons, almsmen and lepers, were assigned a share, will be found in the Register edited for the Maitland Club by Dr. Joseph Robertson, whose preface no one interested in Glasgow history should fail to read.

Nothing is known as to the architectural style of the buildings, and apart from what is contained in the printed register there are only a few incidental references to the church during the time it was occupied as such. One of these occurs in a protocol dated 13th March, 1556-7, where a redemption price is stated to be payable "in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary the Virgin, in Glasgow, on the high altar thereof."¹ Within two or three years after this the new system was introduced, and the church ceased to be available for the

¹ *Glas. Prot.* No. 1337.

purpose for which it was founded. In a historical fragment published by the Wodrow Society, it is related that on 2nd July, 1559, "my Lord of Glenkarne, with the gentlemen of the West Countrie, came to Edinburgh, after that they had purged the churches in Glasgow of idolatrie."¹ This reference to purging implied that the altars, images, and ornaments had been removed, leaving little more than the bare walls. But the dismantling does not seem to have stopped at the furnishings, as eleven years afterwards the church is described as "destroyed and thrown down." The church and its revenues were included in Queen Mary's grant to the town in 1566-7, but as the prebendaries were left in possession of their benefices during their respective lifetimes, the gift was not immediately productive. In August, 1570, the Town Council feued the church site and cemetery for payment of £5 6s. 8d. Scots yearly,² and two years afterwards they transferred to the University nearly all they got from Queen Mary. Certain annual rents of the Collegiate Church were retained for bursaries, but instead of being applied for the benefit of poor students, these revenues were monopolised by the "richest menis sonnes," and they were accordingly resumed in 1594 and given to the city ministers.³

The sites of the Collegiate Church and cemetery were possessed by the feuar and his successors till 1592, when they were reacquired by the Town Council, who reconstructed the old church and fitted it up as a Protestant place of worship. The present church was erected on the site of the former building, which was destroyed by fire in 1793. In consequence of its detached position the Tron Kirk steeple escaped that conflagration. Heightened between the years

¹ *Wodrow Miscellany*, i. p. 62.

² *Glas. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 140-5.

³ *Ib.* pp. 242-3.

1630 and 1636, there is some uncertainty as to when the lower part of this structure was built. A "belhous," which had been used in connection with the original church, was let to a tenant who, for the year 1593, when the church was being reconstructed, was allowed an abatement of rent "in respect the steiple was tane downe."¹ A new steeple appears to have been then erected, but whether on the old or on a new site is not known, and it was this steeple which was heightened into its existing shape in 1630-6. Unless, therefore, the "new steeple" erected about 1593-5, rested on some part of an older fabric, no part of the existing masonry can be claimed as belonging to the original church, but it seems certain that the foundations were laid more than 300 years ago, while the upper part wants only thirty years to reach its tercentenary.

The chapels and churches above referred to complete the list of those occupying independent positions. The conventual church of the Blackfriars has already been alluded to,² and the chapels attached to St. Nicholas Hospital, in Castle Street, and the Leper Hospital, in Gorbals, will be noticed in connection with the institutions to which they were related.

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 175.

² *Antea*, p. 189.

XVII.

PRE-REFORMATION HOSPITALS OF GLASGOW

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN OF POLMADIE

TO those versed in Covenanting annals Polmadie will ever be associated with one of the darkest of those shady deeds which stained the Scottish Administration of the last of the Stuart kings. Wodrow's narrative, repeated as it has been by most historians of the period, and epitomised in the well-known inscription in Cathcart Kirkyard, has made the story of the Polmadie martyrs familiar to many people who may not be aware that some centuries earlier there existed in the same locality a retreat for poor people, patronised by royalty and endowed by the pious and benevolent of many successive generations.

In early times hospitals for the reception of the poor and the sick, as well as for the entertainment of pilgrims and travellers, were numerous. Near the entrances to towns hospitals for the sick were usually placed, while on the sides of highways, at the approaches to ferries, and on mountain passes accommodation for those requiring shelter was provided. Regarding one of those outlying hospitals, that of Soutra, in Haddingtonshire, placed on a bleak mountain ridge, fuller particulars than usual have been preserved. Soutra is supposed

to have been founded by King Malcolm IV., and was used partly for the celebration of religious services and partly for the support of poor persons and accommodation of travellers. Like it, Polmadie Hospital was not improbably a royal foundation, but, so far as situation is concerned, it can be classed neither with the Haddingtonshire establishment nor yet as a town hospital. According to reliable etymologists, the name Polmadie, signifying wolf's pool, was originally applied to the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the lands. Later names are Mallsmyre Burn, so called from the myre or marsh where it rises, and Jenny's Burn, for some reason not yet expounded. Since the acquisition of Richmond Park, which it intersects, the burn is more conspicuous, and is likely to become better known. It is understood that the hospital occupied a site opposite to what is now Richmond Park, on the south side of Rutherglen Road and west side of the burn, ground which has now been laid out for building purposes. The existing road is in the line of an ancient thoroughfare leading between King David's burgh of Rutherglen and the ancient monastery and town of Govan. A Roman highway is said to have passed through Mallsmyre in the direction of Paisley, and it has been supposed that one branch road from that highway led southward, while another branch passed northward across the river Clyde and through Glasgow. The hospital may thus have been situated at the intersection of several ancient thoroughfares, attracting wayfarers from all parts. There is no clue to the date of foundation, and no definite information regarding the founder, though a royal origin may not unreasonably be conjectured. That royal foundations of this sort were not uncommon is indicated by the terms of an Act of Parliament passed by King James I. when he was attempting to put national affairs in order on

his return from captivity. By statute 1424, c. 2, it was ordained that hospitals for the poor and sick "fundit of almous dedis throu Kingis," should be visited by the Chancellor, "as hais been done in the Kingis progenitouris tymis," and those founded by bishops or other lords, spiritual or temporal, were to be visited by the bishops and others concerned, the object of such inspection being the reform of the hospitals "to the effec of thare first fundacione." Polmadie appears in record as one of the boundaries of the territory which King David I. gave to his burgesses of Rutherglen, but there is no extant reference to the hospital earlier than the reign of Bruce. A charter then granted, however, shows that the hospital existed at least as early as the reign of Alexander III. By that charter, which was granted by King Robert at Rutherglen in 1316, it was ordered that the masters, brethren, and sisters of the "Hospital of Polmade, near Ruglen," should enjoy all the privileges which they had in the time of Alexander, the king's predecessor, and specially that no one should seize the goods belonging to them in "Strablathy," or any other place, and that no one should presume to trouble or molest them, contrary to the king's protection.¹ "Strablathy," indicating the kirk and kirklands of Strathblane, was an endowment, the origin of which cannot be traced. This connection with Strathblane gave the Lords of Lennox an interest in the hospital, and in 1333 Earl Malcolm confirmed to the brothers and sisters freedom from all kinds of service, burdens, and exactions, both as regarded their own house and their church of Strathblane.² The bishops of Glasgow likewise exercised authority in the hospital's affairs. In 1316 Bishop Robert appointed Sir Patrick Floker to be master and guardian of the hospital, with power to exercise discipline over the

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 265.

² *Ib.* No. 284.

brethren, sisters, and pensioners. Floker was at the time connected with the church of Kilpatrick, and it was a condition of his new appointment that he should employ a curate to officiate at Kilpatrick in his absence, so that divine service should not suffer, nor the church be defrauded of its offerings.¹ Four years afterwards Bishop John made a substantial addition to the endowments. The revenue was found to be insufficient for continuing the celebration of divine service and the maintenance of the poor brothers and sisters dwelling in the hospital, and the bishop, therefore, gave for these purposes the east half of his adjoining lands of Little Govan.² Among the meagre details of management there is one instance of a Glasgow bishop presenting a beneficiary to the hospital, and another of the same bishop objecting to the administration of its affairs by a nominee of the Earl of Lennox.

In all the documents hitherto noticed the hospital is styled simply the Hospital of Polmadie. A fuller designation occurs in a writ, which had a curious origin. When King Edward II. was at York in July, 1319, on the eve of his unsuccessful invasion of Scotland, he issued presentations to a large number of prebends, churches, and other benefices in that country, and included in the list is a grant to William de Houk of the guardianship of the "Hospital of St. John of Polmadde in Cliddisdale."³ It is not probable that the appointment took effect. In 1347 the Queen of David II. presented a master to the hospital; and this is the last occasion on which royalty is known to have interposed in its affairs. Between the bishops and the earls there were apparently rival claims of long standing; but these were amicably settled in 1424, when Earl Duncan renounced all right which he or his progenitors had

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 263.

² *Ib.* No. 269.

³ *Parish of Strathblane*, by J. Guthrie Smith, p. 170.

assumed over the hospital and its annexed church and church lands of Strathblane.¹ This arrangement resulted in a radical change, as the hospital and its united church were forthwith erected into a prebend of the Cathedral, and the endowments applied towards improving the music in the choir. If the hospital, as a refuge for poor men and women, did not then terminate, the close must have been reached in 1453, at which time Isabella, Duchess of Lennox and Countess of Albany, daughter and heiress of Earl Duncan, founded the Collegiate Church of Dumbarton; and by some arrangement, to which the Bishop of Glasgow must have been a party, though the particulars are not now extant, the whole endowments of the hospital, both in Strathblane and Little Govan, were transferred to the Collegiate Church. It happens that just about that time St. Nicholas Hospital in Glasgow was founded by Bishop Muirhead; and therefore it is not improbable that the new foundation was to some extent designed to carry on the beneficent work of its predecessor at Polmadie.

LEPER HOSPITAL AT GORBALS.

At the distance of little more than a mile west from Polmadie another hospital existed from an early date. Used for the reception of lepers, this hospital was one of a numerous class not only in this country, but throughout Europe. From the tenth to the sixteenth century leprosy prevailed in almost every district. One of the virtues attributed to St. Kentigern by Joceline of Furness was that of cleansing lepers, and he further asserts that affected persons who visited the saint's tomb were healed. Joceline wrote in the twelfth century, and his views were no doubt tinged with the notions and

¹ *Parish of Strathblane*, by J. Guthrie Smith, p. 170.

experiences of the period. An old burgh law, which may have been in force in Joceline's time, directed that those afflicted with leprosy who had sufficient means should resort to the hospital, while for those in poverty the burgesses were to gather money for their sustenance and clothing. Another law provided for the collection of alms "for the sustenance of lepers in a proper place outwith the burgh." By one of the early Acts of King James I. lepers were allowed to enter towns on certain occasions, but not to ask alms "except at their awin hospitale and at the port of the toune and uther places outwith the borowis." The story current since M'Ure's time of Lady Lochow being the founder of Gorbals Hospital receives no support from extant records, and seems to have been based on a fallacy. There is little doubt that, in compliance with the statutory enactments above alluded to, the Bishops of Glasgow provided accommodation for the lepers of their burgh. Gorbals, on the south side of the river Clyde, formed part of Govan lands bestowed on the see by David I., and its position outside the town's gates complied with the necessary requirements for a site. A bridge over the Clyde existed before the end of the thirteenth century, and it is possible that the hospital, placed, as it was, only a few yards beyond the south end of that structure, would then be in use. In accordance with custom, a cemetery adjoined the hospital, and there was a vacant space in front towards the river. Hospital and grounds were thus close by and on the east side of the thoroughfare which then led southwards in the line of the modern Main Street. A chapel in connection with the hospital, but situated about 100 yards farther south, where the thoroughfare just mentioned joined Rutherglen Lone, was founded by William Steward, a canon of the Cathedral. Both hospital and chapel were

dedicated to St. Ninian, who was the favourite patron saint of such institutions. In 1494, shortly after the chapel was built, the founder endowed it with a tenement on the south side of Bridgegate and various annualrents, stipulating that yearly, on the anniversary of his death, twenty-four poor scholars should assemble in the chapel and celebrate services for the weal of his soul and of the souls of all the faithful dead. Each of the poor scholars who performed the duty was to receive a penny, and on such occasions twelve pennies were to be given to the lepers. The lepers dwelling in the hospital were directed to ring the chapel bell every night, and to pray in the chapel for their benefactors.¹ Endowments of the hospital were sometimes bestowed for securing the intercession of the inmates for the souls of the donors. Thus, on 30th June, 1485, Thomas Huchonson, burgess and citizen, with consent of George Huchonson, his father, gifted an annualrent to the poor and leprous persons, male as well as female, dwelling in the hospital, they being enjoined to make earnest supplications in their daily prayers for the souls of George Huchonson, his wife and their children, and for the souls of their parents and all the faithful dead. The gift was announced at the hospital to "all the men and women" there assembled, and they appointed a procurator to receive formal possession on their behalf.²

With the commencement of the Council records in 1573 a few particulars are procurable regarding the hospital and its administration. In that year four lepers were "secludit of the toun to the hospital," and in the following year four persons were "fund leper, and decernit to be banist or ellis to pas to the hospital." In 1578-9 six persons "suspect

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 469; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1876.

² *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 465-7.

of lepir" had the alternative of the hospital or banishment, and in 1581 a similar number were directed "to remane in thair awin housses, or ellis to pas beyond the brig to the hospitall." On each Wednesday and Saturday, between the hours of ten and two, the inmates were allowed to leave the hospital and visit the town, not, however, to go into the houses of their friends, but to "gang upone the calsay syd, with their mussellis on thair face, and clopperis" to warn people of their approach.¹ Subsequent to the Reformation the kirk-session occasionally took some interest in the hospital's affairs, but the management chiefly devolved on the Town Council and the Water Bailie. From a rental which appears in the Council record on 5th August, 1654, it is ascertained that the fixed revenues then consisted of two bolls of victual, yearly, from each of the Abbey of Paisley, the Bishopric of Glasgow, and Lord Maxwell's lands of Mearns, a feuduty of £6 13s. 6d., and nine small sums making together £5 15s.² By that time the charge of the hospital was entirely in the hands of the Town Council; and when King Charles, in 1636, granted his general confirmation, "the hous called the Lipper Hous or Sanct Ninianis Hospitall, with yards and pertinents thereof," were included in the city's possessions. M'Ure states that the hospital buildings had disappeared many years before he published his history in 1736, and that the site was then in the possession of feuars. The last remnant of the grounds is heard of in 1798, when the Town Council sold a "piece of vacant ground in Gorbals, fronting Adelphi Street, known by the name of Lepers' Yard." The chapel had a more prolonged existence. Subsequent to the Reformation the

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 237.

² *Ib.* ii. p. 293; see also Rental printed in *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 625-6.

prescribed religious rites had to be discontinued ; and the building was for a long time utilised, in connection with the adjoining fortalice, as a Courthouse and prison for the barony of Gorbals. Denholm, in his *History of Glasgow*, published in 1798, mentions that the lower part of the chapel was then occupied as the parish school and the two upper stories as a prison. New buildings for the judicial and criminal requirements of the barony were acquired about the year 1827, and thereupon the chapel was sold to a purchaser, who converted it into dwelling-houses and shops. The old buildings were at last removed under the authority of the Improvements Act of 1866.¹

HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS.

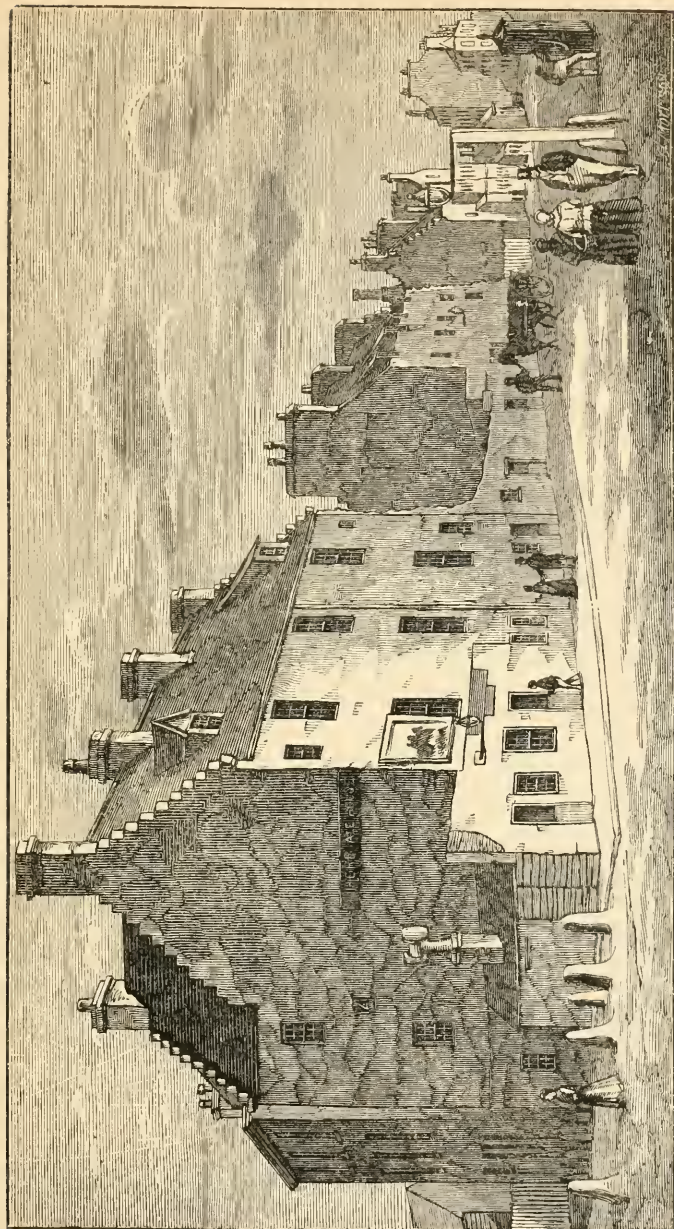
Consequent on the erection of the first Glasgow bridge over the Clyde, and convergence of traffic at that point, the highways in touch with Polmadie must have lost much of their importance, and the dissolution of the old hospital was probably precipitated by the change. Meanwhile the town of Glasgow was increasing in population and importance, but the poor we have always with us, and the founding of a new hospital sufficiently indicates that claims on the benevolent kept pace with the advance in other departments of social movement. The episcopate of Bishop Muirhead, founder of the hospital, commenced in 1455, four years after the University was inaugurated, and lasted till 1473. Previous to 1455 the Bishop had been a canon of the Cathedral, but it is understood that the hospital came into existence during his Episcopal reign. The principal endowments, consisting of considerable areas of land in nearly every croft

¹ *Regality Club*, iv. pp. 11-3, 35-41.

in and around the city, could scarcely have been derived from any other than the territorial lord of Glasgow. The hospital was dedicated to St. Nicholas, and a site was secured near the Bishop's Castle, on a piece of ground which appears to have derived the name of Stablegreen from its proximity to the castle stables. It is supposed that the original grounds lay on both sides of the streamlet called the Girth Burn, and included the sites occupied at a later date by the prebendal manses of Govan¹ and Renfrew, as feuduties for these have long been payable to the hospital. The lands forming the original endowments appear to have been treated on the system in operation on the Bishop's own estates. Rentallers were put in possession for payment of rents in grain or money, and the leases were renewable by their successors on payment of certain sums on a specified scale. These rents were no doubt originally adequate, but owing to the rise of prices and the depreciation of the currency the annual money payments can now be regarded as little more than nominal. Rental rights were in course of time converted into feuholdings, and the rents into feuduties. Some of these feuduties are still collected, but others have been redeemed, while it is believed that not a few have been lost on account of changes in management and other vicissitudes.

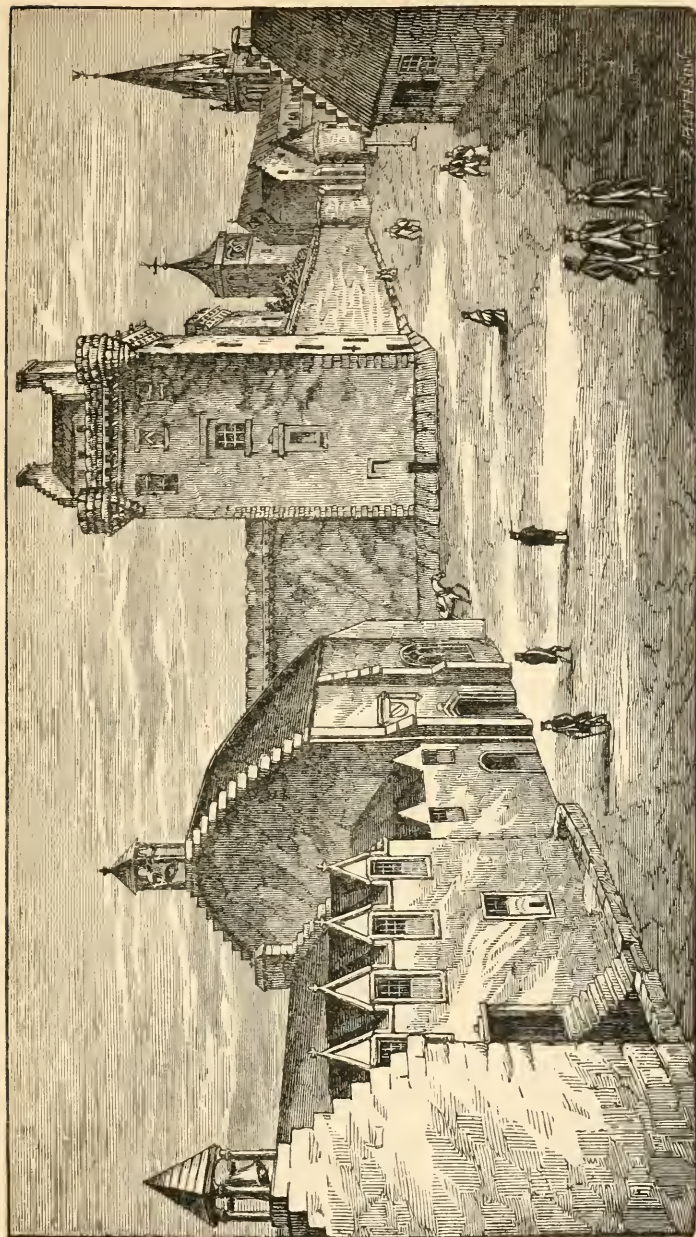
According to the best information now available, the hospital was originally intended for the accommodation of twelve poor men and a priest, who exercised control over the establishment,

¹ North of the Hospital and south of Govan manse stood the manse of the prebendary of Provan. This building, latterly known as "Provand's Lordship" and believed to belong, in its older parts, to the fifteenth century, is still inhabited and has been recently acquired by the "Provand's Lordship Literary Club" which was instituted for the express purpose of securing its preservation.



Prebendal Manse of the Lord of Provan.
RANGE OF HOUSES IN CASTLE STREET, PARTLY TAKEN DOWN IN 1844.

and was designated preceptor, magister, or "maister." If a foundation charter existed, though the formality of granting such a writ was perhaps dispensed with, it has not been preserved, but the scope of some of the regulations can be gathered from the terms of an agreement entered into in February, 1583-4, for the "reparatioun of certane wrangeis and contraversys betwixt the maister and stallaris." Sir Bartholomew Simpson, the priest who then held the appointment of master, was one party to this transaction, and the other party was a representative of the "stallaris and possessouris of the stallis and beddis of the said hospital," eleven in number (there appears to have been one vacancy), all of whom are named. Two of these inmates or "stallaris" have the prefix "Sir," denoting the priestly grade, the Reformation being doubtless responsible for their decayed condition. By the first stipulation for redress of grievances the master became bound to pay the poor men all arrears, and regularly settle their monthly allowances in future. As to clothing, each of the men was to get "ane new quhyte claith goun" every third year, four of them to be thus clad the first year, the like number each of the two following years, and so on with renewals by continuous rotation. Bedding with coverlets and blankets, straw or heather, with "bousters," were to be provided for twelve beds; and each of the poor men was to be supplied with "ane pair of doubell solit schone" on the 1st of January yearly; "with sax pence to every ane for thair kaill silvir." Beyond this contribution for "kaill," which seems to apply to only one day in the year, there is no reference to food, and therefore it may be assumed that out of his monthly allowance each had to provide his own meals as well as any article of clothing other than the yearly pair of shoes and the triennial gown. Among other comforts,



CRAFTS' ALMS HOUSE.

S. NICHOLAS'
HOSPITAL AND CHAPEL.

BP. CAMERON'S TOWER.

LORD DARNLEY'S
COTTAGE.

the inmates were to be supplied with coals for the fire and candle at evening "to the prayeris"; and the hospital and houses pertaining thereto were to be slated, repaired, and kept wind and water tight. On the part of the "tuelf puir men," it was provided that they should reside in the hospital and not sell their "claithis on bed or back," nor remove the bed or bed clothes out of the hospital, and they were to keep their ordinary hours within the house and attend the kirk for prayers and preaching. Infringement of the rules was to be followed by the ejectment of the defaulter and the appointment of another "stallar" in his place.¹

A chapel connected with the hospital has been described as built of fine aisler work of a Gothic form, the windows supported by a buttress betwixt each of them, and over the front door were Bishop Muirhead's arms, three acorns on the bend, surmounted by a salmon, and having a crosier behind the shield. Sketches of the chapel and adjoining buildings will be found in Stuart's *Views of Glasgow* and other works. Cuthbert Simson, notary and chapter clerk, whose protocols, published in the *Diocesan Registers*, supply valuable information regarding old Glasgow, at one time acted as chaplain and may also have been master of the hospital. He had accommodation in the building, as is shown by a protocol narrating that on 6th August, 1510, John Gibson, parson of Renfrew, equipped with wallet, cloak, cap, and staff, took leave of the bystanders, and set out on his journey to Rome, committing himself, his prebend, and property to the protection of the Holy See. These things, the notary attests, were "done in my chamber in the hospital of St. Nicholas."² Subsequent to the Reformation, the master then in office continued to perform the chaplain's duties. Thus

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 115-6.

² *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 481.

on 15th July, 1591, the kirk-session directed that "the almshouse men" be present in the kirk every day, at morning and evening prayers, "to be said to them by thair master Sir Bartholomew Simpson," and those who failed to obey the order were to forfeit a week's allowance.

Endowments from extraneous sources were occasionally bestowed on the hospital. In 1501 Martin Wan, Chancellor of the Cathedral, gave a number of annual rents for the support of a poor person to be nominated by the magistrates and council,¹ and a similar endowment was received from Michael Flemyng, a canon of the Cathedral. The magistrates and council were themselves patrons of a house at the back of the hospital fitted up for the reception of four poor men, and called the "back almous hous." The class entitled to the benefits of this auxiliary retreat is indicated by an entry in the Council records in 1584, when supplications were presented by "certane decayit burgessis for the stall and bedrowme vacand in thair handis be deceis of" the last occupier.² When and under what circumstances the building was erected is not known, but it was probably of considerable age in 1584, as sixteen years afterwards it is described as ruinous and fallen down. The building material was then ordered to be removed, and the site given to the four poor men as a garden.³ Shortly after this the merchants and craftsmen, in accordance with a provision in the Letter of Guildry, fitted up hospitals for their respective poor, and in 1611 the Town Council divided the revenues of the back almshouse between these two hospitals.⁴

Subsequent to the Reformation the "fore almous hous," or bishops' hospital, was under the charge of preceptors or

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 92-6.

² *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 108.

³ *Ib.* p. 210.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 325.

masters appointed by the bishops during the periods of Episcopacy, and at other times the kirk-session and town council exercised some degree of supervision. In September, 1586, the "chapter and presbytery" deprived Bartholomew Simpson of his office for not giving the poor men their wages, gowns, shoes, coals, and other necessities.¹ Shortly afterwards one Archibald Eglinton procured both from the king and the kirk a commission as master of the hospital, but Simpson seems to have latterly prevailed in maintaining his position. During the seventeenth century only a few particulars are known regarding the hospital, such as the donation by Archbishop Law of 500 marks Scots in 1632, and the endowment by Archbishop Leighton in 1677 of £150 sterling for the maintenance of two men.² After the final abolition of Episcopacy in 1689 the Court of Exchequer in Edinburgh, on behalf of the Crown, exercised control, but in 1716 the administration devolved on the magistrates of Glasgow. For a long time the Lord Provost of the day has acted as preceptor, and in that capacity has granted charters to the feuars and appointed the pensioners. The hospital buildings appear to have been deserted in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In 1778 it was reported that "all the old houses which originally belonged to the hospital (except the chapel) have for many years past been totally ruinous and uninhabited." The Town Council at that time took over the site, for which they have since contributed £5 yearly to the funds. The chapel appears to have stood for about other twenty years, but it also became ruinous, and was removed. In 1810 the combined sites of hospital and chapel, embracing an area of 1510 square yards, were conveyed to a purchaser. St. Nicholas Street

¹ *Hospital of St. Nicholas*, by Sir Michael Connal, p. 23.

² *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 371; see Rental of Hospital, *ib.* pp. 626-30.

was formed along the north boundary, but this thoroughfare was closed when the Townhead gasworks were constructed. Macleod Street and the buildings of the new Barony Church now occupy the greater part of the ground on which the old hospital and chapel stood. The annual revenues of the hospital are now given in moieties of £3 each to pensioners, of whom there were lately three men and eighteen women on the roll.

BLACADER'S HOSPITAL, NEAR STABLE-GREEN.

Roland Blacader, the founder of this hospital, was a nephew of the first Archbishop of Glasgow, in whose time he obtained the subdeanery. The precise date of foundation is not known, but there is documentary evidence to show that it must have been in 1524 or within a few years earlier or later. The subdean likewise endowed a chaplainry at the altar of St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas in the Cathedral, and he directed that the chaplain should be master of the new hospital and collector of its revenues. Situated outside the North Port of the city, where Dobbie's Loan joins Castle Street, the hospital was adapted for the reception of wayfarers, and it is described as a "house of the poor and indigent casually coming thereto." The chaplain had his chamber within the house, the keeper of which, appointed by the chaplain, was to be a trustworthy married man, of good life and honest conversation. The keeper and his wife were required to dwell in the house and take charge of bed clothing for the poor. There were to be six beds furnished with blankets, coverlets, and pillows. Vegetables and herbs for the poor were to be grown in the garden, and lentils were to be purchased, "with which lentils the keeper and his wife shall

cook green vegetables, with garden herbs, on the evening of every night, for the feeding and nourishment of the poor assembling there." When herbs were not in season the diet was changed to "white gruel" cooked from the lentils. Coals were to be bought for the fire, an iron grate procured for the fireplace, and special directions were given for the purchase of "an iron pot, containing two quarts, for cooking gruel or vegetables, and a caldron, also containing two quarts, for washing the feet of the poor."¹ Sir William Crawford, the first chaplain, was appointed by the founder, and he held office till about the year 1589. By that time the Town Council had obtained a grant of chaplainries to be applied towards "ministry and hospitality," but reserving to the possessors their benefices during their lifetimes. In 1589 the chaplainry "quhairunto is annexit the new hospitall besyd the Stabillgrene" was apparently at the disposal of the Town Council, and they bestowed it on one Thomas Cloggie during his lifetime, he being bound to uphold the hospital conform to the foundation. An inspection of the premises followed, and this is the report of their condition: "The yaird dyke, the north syd thairof weill dykit and kaipit with stane, and ane haill hedge on the south syd thairof, the well weill kaipit with stane ane elne above the eird, with the yaird yett sufficient and lokfast. Item, the heich chalmer of the said hospitall weill loftit and jestit; twa windois within the samyn staincherit with irne; ane stand bed fixit in the wall of the said chalmer, weill bandeit; ane pantrie dure and ane saig dure . . . without has ane sufficient guid dure and foir yett weill wallit and lokit, with ane rail galrie stair and ane turlies upoun the northmost windo thairof. Item, fand the laich hous thairof with sex stand beddis of aik sufficient, with ane pantrie lokfast,

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 618.

and ane mekill kist standand within the same claspit with irne on everie nook. Item, fand the coilhous dure sufficientlie lokit and bandit, weill wallit and kapit round about. Item, the haille houssis of the said hospitall sufficient in ruif, tymmer, sklait, and watterfast. Item, fand ane doubill foiryett bandit, without ane lok, with the wallis of the clois weill kapit round about." Cloggie undertook to maintain the place in good order, and to observe the terms of "fundatioun" in all points,¹ but his management did not meet with approval, and the church authorities on one occasion interposed by appointing a master of the hospital. Whatever may have been the effect of these proceedings, it appears that Cloggie retained substantial possession, and it was even asserted that he applied the fruits and profits of the chaplainry, with the house and yard, "to his awin propir uses, quhilk appertenit to the puir of befor." In 1605 the crafts of Glasgow set about the erection of a hospital for their decayed brethren, and they purchased Cloggie's rights, with the view, apparently, of occupying the buildings under his charge.² But other counsels prevailed, and the crafts' hospital was eventually erected on the site of the parson of Morebattle's manse, adjoining the hospital of St. Nicholas. In 1610 Blacader's Hospital, the last of its class in Glasgow which can be traced to pre-Reformation times, was conveyed to a feuar,³ and the site has since been possessed as private property.

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 148.

² *Glasg. Prot.* No. 619.

³ *Ib.* No. 621.

XVIII.

PROVISION FOR THE CITY MINISTERS OF GLASGOW

THROUGHOUT Christendom a tenth part of the produce of land was from an early date claimed by the clergy, and was gradually appropriated by law for their maintenance. In Scotland the exaction of teinds, as the tenths were called, is traceable as far back as the beginning of the twelfth century. For a long time preceding the Reformation there were two classes of teinds—viz., those payable to the parson out of grain raised by culture, and those payable to the vicar out of hay, lint, cattle, fowls, and other minor products. The original aim seems to have been the securing of adequate spiritual supervision for each parish, but in course of time this goodly purpose was often frustrated through the prevalent practice of assigning the teinds of various districts to distant monasteries, abbeys, and other religious houses. These big establishments thereupon collected the parson's revenues and deputed his duties to an underpaid priest. In other cases the teinds were in the possession of a parson whose other appointments precluded him from giving attention to parochial affairs. Glasgow teinds remained with the parson and vicar respectively till after the Reformation, though as regards the former it may be doubted whether he had latterly much opportunity for

personal service. In 1538 Henry Sinclair, a younger son of Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin, obtained the parsonage from Archbishop Dunbar, and held it till shortly after the Reformation. At the time when he became parson, Sinclair was a Lord of Session, and was President of the Court in 1558. Still further going into pluralities, he obtained the Abbacy of Kilwinning in 1542, and exchanged that benefice for the deanery of Glasgow in 1550. In 1560 he was appointed to the bishopric of Ross. As the parson had these multifarious concerns on hand, it is probable that the performance of parochial duties mainly devolved on the vicar. Particulars regarding the vicars are scarce, but it is known that Henry Spreull held the office in 1547 and Robert Herbertson in 1564. Both parson and vicar were members of the cathedral chapter, the former holding the prebend of Glasgow *primo* and the latter that of Glasgow *secundo*. In compliance with the requirement of the Privy Council, for the purpose of ascertaining the "thirds" to be collected by the Crown, the parson reported¹ the annual value of his benefice at 32 chalders 8 bolls meal, 9 chalders 3 bolls bear, 3 barrels of herring, and £16 18s. in money. The annual value of the vicarage was reported at £68 13s. 4d., consisting of "corse presentis," *i.e.* funeral gifts; "umest cloathis," being the uppermost clothes or outer garments of wearing apparel received on the death of parishioners; "teynd lint and hemp, teynd of the yeards of Glasgow, the third part of the teynd of the boats arriving at the brig of Glasgow, Pashe fynes, teynd of the browsters, and the oblationes at Pashe. For the other duties of the vicarage, viz. lamb wool, hay, the teynd of the ky,

¹ MS. *Parsonage of Glasgow*, Appendix, pp. 173-4. It will be observed that some of the items in this MS. vary from the statement in *Origines Parochiales* (i. p. 2) as quoted *antea*, p. 220.

the twa pairt of the teynd of the water, they pertain to the parson." In a satirical poem, titled "Duncan Laider or Macgregor's Testament," supposed to have been written during the reign of James V., it is suggested that the typical parson and vicar of those days were more concerned about the collection of their revenues and perquisites than the cure of souls. Part of the "testament" proceeds thus :

"To the Vicar I leif Diligence and care
To tak the upmost claith and the kirk cow,
Mair nor to put the corps in sepulture ;
Have pour wad six gryis and ane sow,
He will have ane to fill his bellie fowe ;
His thocht is mair upon the Pasche fynis,
Nor the saullis in purgatorie that pynis.

"Oppressioun the Persone I leif untill,
Pour men's corne to hald upon the rig,
Quhill he get the teynd alhail at his will,
Suppois the bairns thair bread suld go thig ;
His purpois is na kirkis for to big ;
So fair an barne-time God has him send'n
This seven years the queir will lie unmendin."¹

Till the parson lifted his teind sheaves from the harvest field the rest of the crop must not be removed, even though, as the poet puts it, the poor people's children had to beg their bread. Parsons were apparently liable for the upkeep of churches, and it is noticed that in the tacks of Glasgow teinds there was usually a stipulation for so much money being expended in repairs on the Cathedral. In the First Book of Discipline it was proposed that the "uppermost claith," the "corps-present," the "Pasche offeringis," and "teynd aill" should cease to be exacted, as they "can neather be required

¹ Warton's *History of English Poetry*, iii. 252-3 ; Taylor's *Pictorial History of Scotland*, i. p. 531.

nor ressavit of godlie conscience.”¹ The continuance of the other teinds was approved of as the source on which ministers’ stipends and provision for schools and the poor should mainly depend. Henry Sinclair died in January, 1564-5, and the parsonage was then bestowed on Alexander Lauder, whose tenure of it is chiefly noticeable on account of his having been sued before the Privy Council, and by them decerned to “furneis breid and wyne to the halie communion,” as his predecessor had done “continewalie sen the Reformatioun of religioun within this realme.”² Archibald Douglas, grandson of John, second Earl of Morton, next succeeded to the parsonage, which he obtained by Crown gift on 25th August, 1570.³ By this time the General Assembly of the Kirk were endeavouring to secure the appointment of qualified ministers to church benefices, and the admission of Douglas was at first refused till he passed the necessary examination. Richard Bannatyne’s contemporaneous account of the candidate’s appearance before the General Assembly at Stirling in August, 1571, has often been quoted, but may bear repetition: “When he come to the place of examinacione, wanting a psalme buke, and lukiug till sum gud fellow suld len him one, Mr. David Wemys bad give him the Greik Testament, but he said—‘Think ye, sir, that everie minister that occupeis the pulpet hes Greik?’ And when he had gottin the psalme buike, after lukiug, and casting over the leives therof a space, he desyrit sum minister to mak the prayer for him, ‘for,’ said he, ‘I am not used to pray.’ Efter he red his text, he sayis ‘for the conexione of this text I will reid the thing that is befoir,’ and sua red a gud space, till he come whair he began, and sa continewed his exercis with mony hastlie noses, &c. Ye may

¹ *Works of John Knox*, ii. pp. 222-4.

² *Priv. Coun. Reg.* i. pp. 492-3.

³ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. p. dlx.

persave it was frutfull, seing he culd not pray at the beginning. O Lord, what salbe said whan sic dum dogis salbe sufferit to mock the ministrie of Thy Word and the trueth therof on this maner.”¹

A different aspect is put upon the Assembly’s proceedings in a supplication presented by Douglas to the Privy Council in the following month. It is there set forth that he was a Senator of the College of Justice, and could not personally undertake the parson’s duties, and that he had no other benefice or means of sustaining himself in the performance of his judicial functions; and he offered to provide the minister’s stipend out of the parsonage revenues. It was ultimately arranged that the “parson” should pay to the minister, David Wemyss, a yearly stipend of £200 Scots, and on these terms he got possession of the benefice.²

Though the resolutions of the Scottish Parliament in August, 1560 (whereby the Confession of Faith, prepared by Knox and others, was ratified, the authority of the Pope renounced, and the celebration of the mass prohibited), abolished the incomes of the clergy so far as derived from the exercise of their calling, the change did not directly bring about the diversion of ecclesiastical endowments. Confiscation of these followed only when the law was infringed. So long as the beneficed clergy acquiesced in the new arrangements, including the contribution of a third of their incomes to the Crown collectors, they were not disturbed in their possessions. The bishop was secure in the enjoyment of his territorial revenues, the parson retained his parochial teinds, and the chaplain continued to draw the annual rents dedicated to his altar. In such cases it was only the reversion of the

¹ *Bannatyne’s Journal*, pp. 312-3.

² *Priv. Counc. Reg.* ii. pp. 79, 80, 114.

benefice which could be disposed of. The general position of church property in 1560, its management, and the manner of its distribution make up a complicated story, but for present purposes it is only necessary to deal with the endowments in which Glasgow was concerned. Chief of these were the revenues of the archbishopric, to which reference has already been made.¹ Next in rank to the archbishops were the dignitaries of the Cathedral—the chancellor, two archdeacons, the subchanter, treasurer, dean and subdean, with an array of ordinary canons, most of them parsons of rural parishes. Their individual incomes, varying in amount, were largely derived from parochial teinds; but several of them, as previously mentioned,² owned estates of considerable extent; and as each had to reside in Glasgow for a portion of the year, he was likewise provided with a town manse. In addition to their individual possessions, the Cathedral clergy, in their chapter capacity, held various heritable properties, such as the “channon lands” in Ayrshire, which were feued out by a charter granted by the chapter in 1565.³ Subsequent to the Reformation the canons retained their benefices, during their respective lifetimes, subject to payment of the “thirds,” though it would appear that the lands and town manses of the individual canons, as well as the chapter properties, were appropriated to the Crown by the Annexation Act of 1587. Where the lands and manses had been previously feued by the churchmen in possession, the Crown would get the feuduties instead of the properties. So far as can be ascertained, the only portion of property belonging to the Cathedral clergy which came into the possession of the community of Glasgow, otherwise than by purchase, consisted of lands in the vicinity of Rottenrow, which formerly belonged

¹ *Antea*, pp. 98-117. ² *Antea*, pp. 207-24. ³ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 522-8.

to the subdean. These were granted by King James in 1613, as a return for expenses and charges incurred by the Magistrates and Council in restoring and repairing the Cathedral and Clyde Bridge, "two monuments and ornaments of our kingdom of Scotland." The lands are described as consisting of several acres, but for the reasons already stated the gift did not practically increase either revenue or territory.¹

Archbishop Eyre, in one of his valuable contributions to the *Transactions* of the Glasgow Archæological Society, has enumerated thirty chapels or altars which at one time or other were placed in the Cathedral.² The endowments of these consisted mainly of feuduties or annual rents payable from properties in and around Glasgow. The individual sums were small but numerous, as there was scarcely any property which had not, in the course of its existence, belonged to a pious owner, who, in anticipation of spiritual benefits, conformed to the prevalent custom of burdening it with an annual payment to an altar. In the aggregate, therefore, the revenues drawn by the chaplains of the thirty altars were substantial in amount.

At the Reformation one of the things pressing for immediate settlement was the making provision for the support of the ministers of the new faith. The superseded clergy had come into possession of their benefices and still held them by lawful procedure, and they could not be deprived of their livings except by arrangement or a confiscatory law, which it would have been both unwise and difficult to pass. A temporising policy was accordingly adopted, and representative men belonging to the class of beneficed clergy agreed that one-third of the annual revenues should be given up to the Queen, partly for her own use and partly for the support of the

¹ *Antea*, pp. 215-6.

² *Glasg. Arch. Trans.* ii. pp. 477-97.

ministers, on condition that the remaining two-thirds should be retained by the "auld possessours."¹ Crown collectors were authorised to receive these thirds, and Commissioners were authorised to modify stipends to the ministers. The first minister of Glasgow, David Wemys, is supposed to have been appointed in 1562, but on account of the regrettable loss of local records for that period the precise date is uncertain. Qualified ministers were then scarce, and, where they could not be obtained, readers, so called from it being their duty to read the Scriptures and common prayers, were appointed. "Maister James Hammiltoun, redar in the Kirk of Glasgow," held that office in 1561, and was in the same year allowed £40 yearly, payable out of the revenues of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary.² Hammilton and other readers were continued in Glasgow for some time after a regular minister was appointed, and probably acted as assistants. In the well-known work *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* it is stated that at first the stipend of Wemyss was 240 merks (£160) Scots, paid by the town, and that from Beltyn, 1569, it was £200 Scots, paid from the "thirds" of the archbishopric. As the thirds of the archbishopric had in 1565 been appropriated for the Queen's household, it is just possible that the parsonage (which was latterly liable) and not the archbishopric supplied the stipend, but from want of records this is not definitely known. The earliest authentic particulars regarding payment of the Glasgow stipend are procured from a charter dated March 16, 1566-7, whereby Queen Mary granted to the community of Glasgow all the churches, chapels, property, and revenues which belonged to any chaplainries, altarages, and prebends within the city, and also the places belonging to the friars. In this charter

¹ *Priv. Counc. Reg.* i. p. 202.

² *Ib.* pp. 498-9.

it was directed that the proceeds of the endowment were to be applied in support of the ministers and readers and the bearing of other ecclesiastical charges.¹ As, however, the chaplains, prebendaries, and friars were entitled to retain possession of their benefices during their lifetimes, there was at first little or nothing derivable for the ministers, and in the following year the grant was supplemented by a Crown charter, in which there were bestowed on the community the "thirds" of all the altarages and chaplainries contained in Queen Mary's gift.² In the interval between the receiving of these charters the Privy Council had directed that the inhabitants of Glasgow should by taxation raise £80 of the minister's stipend, and that the Magistrates and Council should pay the rest of the ecclesiastical expenditure out of the proceeds of Queen Mary's gift.³ This arrangement probably existed till 1572, when, as already mentioned, the minister was allowed £200 out of the parsonage teinds. From that date till the present time the stipends of at least one and sometimes more of the city ministers have been paid out of the parochial teinds.

The minister being thus provided with stipend from a source which was regarded as the peculiar patrimony of the Church, the ecclesiastical revenues which had been conferred by Queen Mary were set free for other purposes. The College, then in the course of being remodelled, was much in need of funds, the "schools and colleges" were "wholly going to ruin," and the town's "youth that were formerly trained up in honesty of life and behaviour, were becoming inactive through ease, sloth, and wantonness." After careful consideration, "and with the constant and oft-repeated exhortation,

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 131-7.

² *Ib.* pp. 137-40.

³ *Priv. Counc. Reg.* i. p. 508.

persuasion, advice, and help of a much-honoured man, Master Andrew Hay, rector of the Church of Renfrew, vice-superintendent and rector of our University," the Magistrates and Council, by a charter dated 8th (ratified by Parliament on 26th) January, 1572-3, conveyed to that institution the bulk of the property and revenues contained in Queen Mary's gift. By one of the conditions it was provided that the regents of the College should, by rotation and as directed by the elders in Glasgow Kirk Session, read prayers in the Blackfriars' Church, then belonging to the College. There were some small ecclesiastical revenues under the patronage of the Town Council previous to the date of Queen Mary's gift, and, by the charter to the College, right was reserved to bestow these in bursaries to sons of burgesses. The master of the Grammar School was likewise to retain a chaplainry which had formerly been granted to him. Subject to these reservations, the Town Council were wholly divested of all the church endowments which had been transferred to them.¹ The bestowal of bursaries was not a success. It was found that instead of being a benefit to the poor, as intended, the bursaries had been monopolised by the "richest menis sonnes." The revenues, which amounted to about £250 Scots yearly, were accordingly, under the sanction of Parliament, resumed and applied towards support of the ministry in 1594,² about which time the Tron Church had been renovated and an additional city minister appointed. This annual revenue of £250 Scots (£20 16s. 8d. sterling) is really, so far as the records show, the only portion of the ancient church endowments which the Magistrates and Council retained.

In the year 1586 Archibald Douglas, the "parson," against whom a decree of forfeiture had been pronounced in 1581

¹*Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 149-63.

²*Ib.* pp. 242-3.

on account of alleged complicity in the plot for Darnley's murder, set the teinds to Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre, for payment of a yearly rent, and this tack was ratified by Parliament to secure it from challenge on account of the forfeiture.¹ In consequence of this transaction, stipends payable out of the teinds had to be arranged with the commendator. In 1588 John Cowper was appointed second minister, with a stipend of 300 merks, payable out of teinds, from which source Wemyss was then in receipt of 500 merks. "Of their meir liberalitie," the Magistrates and Council supplemented Cowper's stipend by a yearly allowance of 50 merks Scots in money, four dozen loads of coal, and £20 for house mail.² It therefore seems clear that in 1588 the community were under no legal obligation to make provision for the ministers, and that no more than a small voluntary contribution for their support was then given out of the Common Good. In this position ecclesiastical affairs in Glasgow stood till about the year 1594, when, as above stated, the Tron Church was renovated and a third minister appointed.

In 1595 a fourth minister was appointed, and in the following year the landward district of the parish, thence known as the "Barony," was put under his charge. Temporary accommodation was found in the Blackfriars Church, till the lower church of the Cathedral was fitted up for the new congregation. The stipend of the "Barony" minister has always been paid from teinds. About the year 1597 Douglas demitted the parsonage, and it was then conferred on David Wemyss, the first minister, burdened, of course, with the existing tack. On the restoration of Episcopacy, in 1605, both parsonage and vicarage were

¹ *Glasgow Chart.* i. pt. i. p. dlxi.

² *Glasgow Rec.* i. p. 150.

assigned to Archbishop Spottiswood for his own service and as a provision for the ministers. David Wemyss and the minister of the "Barony" were each paid their stipends out of the parsonage and vicarage, and, in addition, the Archbishop from that source assigned to Robert Scott, who had succeeded John Couper, a stipend of 300 merks in money and 28 bolls of victual; and to John Bell, of the Tron Kirk, an allowance of 28 bolls victual, in augmentation of the stipend he drew from the annual rents already referred to. In 1608-9 the Archbishop granted to James, Master of Blantyre, and his heirs a tack of the teind sheaves and other teinds of the parsonage, together with the teind herring and other teind fish belonging to the vicarage. The tack, which contains provisions as to repairs of kirks and payment of ministers' stipends, was continued till 1648, when the Magistrates and Council, who by that time had got from the Crown a grant of the parsonage and vicarage, acquired Lord Blantyre's rights at the price of £22,000 Scots.

Meanwhile a fourth city church had been planted. The population, which has been estimated at 4500 in 1560, had risen to 7644 in 1610, and was still on the increase when in 1621 the old Blackfriars Church, belonging to the College, was repaired and used as a regular place of worship. The stipend of Robert Wilkein, the first minister, was 1000 merks (£55 11s. 1d. sterling), and was paid by the city. This is specially notable because, though sixty years had passed since the Reformation, it was the first occasion on which the stipend of a city minister was wholly paid out of the Common Good. The Council records are wanting at the time, and there is nothing to show the circumstances under which the obligation was originally undertaken, but there need be little doubt that the city authorities, acting on their motto, "Let Glasgow

Flourish by the Preaching of the Word," voluntarily assumed responsibility with the view of promoting the moral and spiritual, as well as the material, welfare of the community. No further contribution could at that time be expected from the teinds, as Archbishop Lindsay, to whom they belonged, was agitating for relief from two out of the three stipends with which they were already burdened. The resolutions of the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638, and the consequent departure of the bishop, probably put an end to the discussion. On the eve of these events the College had transferred the Blackfriars Church to the Town Council on condition that the latter should maintain it as a city church. A sum of £10,000 Scots (£833 6s. 8d. sterling) was raised by the inhabitants as an endowment for the minister's stipend, but in consequence of the misfortunes which befel the Marquis of Argyle, with whom the money was invested, it was lost.¹ Blackfriars Church was destroyed by fire about the year 1670, and was not rebuilt till the end of the century, since which time the minister's stipend has been a charge on the Common Good.

Shortly after the abolition of Episcopacy in 1639 the Town Council obtained from the Crown a grant of the teinds, and bought up Lord Blantyre's rights under the tack. In 1649, during the subsistence of this arrangement, the ministers of all the city churches, including the Outer High, established in 1648, received stipends from teinds, any deficiency being supplied by the Common Good. In addition to his stipend (£1000 Scots), each minister had an allowance of £80 Scots in lieu of a manse. These arrangements, under which the Magistrates and Council were sole intrmitters with the teinds, did not last long. In consequence of the restoration

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 294.

of Episcopacy in 1662 the grants to the city were rescinded, and the teinds were again annexed to the archbishopric. In 1667 the Town Council got from Archbishop Burnet a tack of the "Barony" teinds¹ under burden of paying the minister's stipend, and there was probably no surplus. Fourteen years later Archbishop Ross gave to the Council a tack of teinds of the "aikers about the town," undertaking out of the yearly tack duty to pay the stipend of the Cathedral minister, then designated the "parson of Glasgow."² A renewal of both tacks for 19 years from 1684 was obtained, but, owing to the abolition of Episcopacy five years afterwards, arrangements had to be made with the Crown authorities for continuance of the tacks.³

During the final rule of the archbishops (1662-89) the Cathedral and Barony ministers alone drew their stipends from the teinds. All the other city ministers received their stipends from the Common Good, and this system was continued subsequent to the Revolution Settlement of 1689. Under successive tacks the Town Council continued to intromit with the teinds till the year 1836, but on account of the conditions imposed by the tacks the city's funds could not gain, and they were occasionally subjected to loss. On the debit side of the account were the stipends of the two ministers, the expense of keeping the Cathedral in repair and of furnishing communion elements, and the tack duty to the Crown, while on the credit side there could only be drawn from the heritors a proportional part of the expense in procuring the tacks and fulfilling the obligations contained in them. When there was extra expenditure, such as an augmentation of stipend during the currency of a tack, the Common Good had to make up the deficiency.

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 98.

² *Ib.* p. 290.

³ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 220-8.

In former times, when the Established Church was practically the church of the whole community, the Town Council endeavoured to keep the supply of churches in pace with the increasing population, and as each new church was planted they undertook the responsibility of maintaining it and providing for the stipend of its minister. It does not appear that any new church was erected under legal obligation or otherwise than by voluntary arrangement between the civic and ecclesiastical authorities ; but simultaneously with the erection of a church, liability for future maintenance was imposed on the community, either by resolution of the Town Council itself or by decree of the Teind Court. The revenue from seat rents was perhaps never equal to expenditure. After Blackfriars Church was rebuilt and more money was needed, without any prospect of obtaining a further contribution from the teinds, greater activity prevailed in levying and collecting seat rents, but they did not realise as much as was needed.

The last of the city churches was erected in 1820. They number ten in all, including the Cathedral, the minister of which has his stipend from the teinds. The stipends of the other ministers, together with the expenditure on the upkeep of nine churches and the Cathedral fittings, are charged against the Common Good, into which fund the seat rents are paid. Three years before the Disruption the income was within £691 of the expenditure. In 1850 the deficiency had increased to £1673, and each subsequent year has had its own shortcoming. Displacement of population accounts to a large extent for this discrepancy between revenue and expenditure. Rearrangement of parishes, and other changes adapted to modern requirements, have from time to time been proposed, and it is not improbable that friendly negotiations may eventually result in an equitable settlement satisfactory to all parties.

XIX.

EARLIEST MEETING-HOUSES OF GLASGOW NONCONFORMISTS

TOLERATION of dissent, which was absolutely inconsistent with the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, did not for a long time commend itself to those who administered ecclesiastical affairs in this country subsequent to the Reformation. The Act of the Scottish Legislature which sanctioned the new faith proscribed Popish observances, and the General Assembly steadfastly aimed at a uniform system of church government and worship. Following the example set in England, where the King took the place of the Pope as head of the Church in that country, and fortified by their notions of Divine right, three generations of Stuart Kings claimed supreme authority over the Scottish Church, and, though these assumptions were often disputed, they had the effect of preventing recognition by the State of more than one class of Church at a time. Among the people themselves, notwithstanding the oft-repeated bickerings between Prelatists and Presbyterians, there was for the first hundred years general acquiescence in the ecclesiastical position whichever party happened to be in the ascendant ; but an element of discord was introduced when, after the restoration of monarchy, attempts were made to plant Episcopacy in Scotland

by compulsion. At this crisis nearly 300 ministers left their benefices. In the present day the natural issue of disruption is the organisation of a separate Church, but in the reign of Charles II. there was no better outlet than resort to field preachings or conventicles. The numerous repressive enactments passed between 1661 and 1687, involving many of the worthiest in the land in fines, imprisonments, torture and death, were to a large extent directed against the holding of conventicles either in town or country. Glasgow Magistrates, nominees of the Archbishops, could generally be depended on to exert themselves in enforcing the penal laws, but they had not always the sympathy or support of the community. An incident which occurred towards the close of that memorable year which witnessed the ravages of the Highland Host illustrates the state of feeling which then prevailed among the common people. On a Sunday afternoon in October, 1678, Provost Bell had just left his house in Bridgegate, on his way to the Church, when he noticed a number of people going to a house in Saltmarket. Concluding that a conventicle was about to be held, the Provost "ordered one, Mr. John Lees, to take the officers with him and seize the preacher (if he could) with some of the most considerable of the hearers," but the attempt to carry out these instructions was unsuccessful. In the first room which was entered few men were found "but great multitudes of women in and about the house." Access could not be obtained to another room, where it was supposed that the preacher and the more important persons were, and after a "skuffle," Lees left to consult the magistrates and obtain assistance. On reaching the street he was surrounded by hundreds of women, who pelted him with stones, disarmed him, broke his sword, threw him down, trode

on his body and nearly finished him before he was rescued. Archbishop Burnet, who reported the assault, was "troubled that such an attempt should have been made here, for it doth but discover our nakedness"; he considered it fortunate that the women were victors, because if men had joined in the fray matters would have been more serious; and he adds—"We are at their mercy every houre, and how farre the noise and report of this may encourage other disaffected persons I cannot tell."¹

The reign of Charles II. came to a close when strife between the Covenanters and their persecutors was at its height. A few months previous to that time the Magistrates of Glasgow, acting on orders received from the Privy Council, had issued a proclamation ordaining all "Nonconformist preachers" and their families to leave the town.² James VII. was a professed Romanist, openly avowing his wish "that all the people of our dominions were members of the Catholic Church"; and, strange to say, it was mainly on account of this circumstance that the Presbyterians obtained liberty to conduct religious services in their own meeting-houses. In this concession the primary object which the King had in view was the extension of toleration to Roman Catholics, but there was no chance of this being agreed to unless his other subjects were similarly treated. The new departure was announced in a series of proclamations, by the first of which, dated 12th February, 1687, "moderate Presbyterians," though forbidden to build meeting-houses or to use out-houses or barns, were allowed to meet in private houses for the purpose of hearing preachers who had complied with certain requirements, which requirements were dispensed with by a letter from the King, dated 31st

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. pp. 257-8.

² *Ib.* p. 350.

March. On 28th June further relaxations were intimated, all "penal and sanguinary laws" made against any persons for nonconformity or for exercising their respective religious rites and ceremonies were suspended, and, while meetings in fields were still strictly forbidden, permission was given to "all our loving subjects to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses, chapels, or places purposely hired for that use," provided such meetings should be openly held and nothing be preached or taught to alienate the hearts of the people from the King or his Government.¹ Though it was well known that in thus suspending the operation of existing laws, not by the authority of Parliament but avowedly by his own "sovereign authority, prerogative royal and absolute power," the King assumed a right he did not possess, though it was likewise apparent that the movement originated in a desire to benefit those of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and though it was obviously impolitic for people to acknowledge even by implication the absolute power of a ruler who disliked their cause, yet the great majority of Presbyterian ministers, worn out by a long course of deprivation and persecution, gladly accepted the indulgence and conformed to its conditions. "I know," says Wodrow, "of no Presbyterians who declined the benefit of this liberty save Mr. Renwick and his followers."² It is not known whether any of those bold spirits who were prepared to reject any terms short of unfettered freedom were connected with Glasgow, but there were evidently many in the city who cast in their lot with the Presbyterian majority. Two meeting-houses were forthwith fitted up, and these continued to be well patronised during the brief period that elapsed before the reunion of all the Churches on a Presbyterian basis.

¹ Wodrow's *Church History*, iv. pp. 417-27.

² *Ib.* p. 427.

One of the meeting-houses was constructed out of two barns which stood on the south side of Gallowgate, at the head of two "daillis," or pieces of ground, which stretched from that thoroughfare to Camlachie burn. On account probably of the amount of rent they yielded, the pieces of ground were known as "merk daillis," a name which subsequently took the more euphonious form of Merkdailly.¹ Of this place of worship James Wodrow, father of the Church historian, was appointed minister. Born in 1637, and trained in Glasgow for the Presbyterian ministry, the troubles which lasted for 26 years had begun before James Wodrow finished his preliminary studies. After obtaining his license in 1673, he preached both in houses and fields, but on account of the severities put in force after the Bothwell Bridge affair of 1679, he was forced to leave Glasgow, and did not return till the "indulgence" of 1687 removed any obstacle in that direction. M'Ure, who lived through these times, narrates that no sooner did the King grant the indulgence "to all his Christian subjects indifferently to use the free and undisturbed exercise of their own way of worship, but the very far greater part of the inhabitants left the church and flocked to the indulged ministers; but the churches being still in the possession of the established clergy, the people of the Presbyterian way, by large and vast contributions, built publick meeting-houses, vastly large, one betwixt the Old Wynd and the New, and another great house without the Gallowgate port, and had two ministers for preaching there every Lord's-day."² It was in the latter place of worship, which his son and biographer alludes to as "the south meeting-house, called Merk-Daily Meeting-House," that James Wodrow was formally ordained on 21st August,

¹ As to this name see *Regality Club*, iv. pp. 100-3.

² M'Ure, p. 60.

1688. The call had been subscribed by about 200 people, designating themselves "ministers, elders, and other inhabitants of the Presbyterian persuasion within the city of Glasgow."¹ At first the public authorities were not disposed to recognise the meeting-houses as possessing full Church privileges. An entry in the Council record dated 28th September, 1687, narrates that the Town Council had learned how "severall of the inhabitants marie and baptize their children at the meeting-houses," whereupon they ordered that all the inhabitants should "book" their marriages and baptisms in the public and authentic register as formerly, to avoid future inconvenience and loss in the event of extracts from the public register being required.² This looks as if marriages and baptisms in the meeting-houses were regarded as valid, but that registration had hitherto been only available when these ceremonies took place in the parish church.

In consequence of the troubles in Ireland in the beginning of 1689, many Presbyterians sought refuge in Glasgow, and the meeting-houses got overcrowded. On 14th May a Parliamentary Committee had under consideration a supplication by the "people of Glasgow of the Presbyterian persuasione," showing that some poor people had lately come from Ireland to Glasgow in such numbers that the meeting-houses were not able to contain them, and seeing that the churches of Glasgow "have these many moneths bypast been emptie, without any preaching," it was asked that the inhabitants should be allowed to use them. In compliance with this request the meeting-house preachers were permitted to occupy the Inner High and Tron Churches.³ It may have been about this time that James Wodrow was promoted to the Outer

¹ *Life of James Wodrow* (1828), pp. 80-5.

² *Glasg. Rec.* iii. pp. 404-5.

³ Appx. to M'Ure, p. 318.

High Church, of which he was minister till 1692, when he was appointed to the Professorship of Divinity in the University. All Presbyterian ministers were restored to their churches in April, 1690, and shortly after that the Merkdailly meeting-house was abandoned. From about this time the Town Council had charge of the meeting-houses, and, being of opinion that there was "no necessitie for keeping up the South meeting-house for preaching," they on 29th September resolved to take it down and sell the timber, stone pillars, and other material for behoof of the poor, who were to get the proceeds "after the two barnes of which the said meeting-house was composed and made up are put in the samen condition they were in before they were turned in the said meeting-house."¹ Subsequently there was a proposal to use part of the material for building an aisle to the Tron Church, subject to the approval of those who had contributed to the building fund.²

The other meeting-house had a longer career, and its name is still retained by one of the three existing churches which originated on its site. From 1690 onwards the building was kept in repair by the Town Council, who supplied glass windows that year, and seat rents were regularly collected. Previous to 1709 the meeting-house was held in lease, but it was then purchased by the Town Council on behalf of the community. Writing in 1736, M'Ure—who, in the passage already quoted, places the meeting-house between the Old and New Wynds, while (as elsewhere noted by him) its actual position was between Maynes or Back Wynd and New Wynd—states that the building, which was "rather convenient than magnificent," was still kept up, and that it then served one of the parishes of the city for a church.³

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. p. 462. ² *Ib.* iv. pp. 14, 15. ³ M'Ure, pp. 61, 132, 202.

About the year 1756, when the Wynd Church was condemned as insufficient, and St. Andrew's Church, which had for some time been in course of construction, was ready for occupation, the Wynd congregation migrated thither. By this time at least two seceding congregations had obtained a footing in Glasgow, the Burghers at Craignaught and the Antiburghers at Havanna, but still the supply was not keeping pace with the population, and the Town Council resolved to have another church and minister. The Wynd Church was accordingly rebuilt, a piece of ground on the north being added to the original site, and the new building was opened in 1763. In 1807 St. George's Church was erected for the congregation, as the accommodation in the Wynd was found to be insufficient, and the Wynd site was transformed into a "Greenmarket" for the sale of herbs and vegetables. In 1853 the market for these commodities was transferred to the bazaar in Candleriggs, and the ground between the wynds was purchased by the Free Church trustees, who there built a church which was occupied as such till the year 1878, when the congregation removed to their new building, the "Wynd Free Church," at the corner of Crown Street and Cathcart Road. The old building was thereafter occupied as a leather factory, which the Corporation of Glasgow purchased and removed under the authority of their Improvements Act of 1897. Maynes Wynd has since been closed, and a range of warehouses, situated immediately to the north of Osborne Street, now covers the site of the meeting-house erected by Glasgow Nonconformists at a time when the prolonged attempt to enforce the universal acceptance of Episcopacy had ended in acknowledged failure.



GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

From Water Colour by Edward Dayes; after Sketch by J. Moore, 1794.

XX.

EARLY KIRK-SESSIONS OF GLASGOW

I.

IN his *History of the Reformation* Knox alludes to the origin of those gatherings from which kirk-sessions were evolved, telling how Christian brethren in the respective towns would assemble at stated periods for prayers and reading the Scriptures, and how for the maintenance of decorum elders, to whom the others promised obedience, were appointed by common election. Within a few months after August, 1560, when the reformed doctrines were formally adopted by the Scottish Legislature, the First Book of Discipline was drawn up, and though not sanctioned by Parliament its provisions ruled Church procedure. Under this code elders and deacons were to be annually chosen, the former to assist the minister in all public affairs and the latter to distribute the rents and alms. After twenty years' experience in congregational organisation, and a prolonged contest between Prelacy and Presbytery, in which the latter was for a time predominant, the Second Book of Discipline, compiled by Andrew Melville and his coadjutors, became the law of the Church. The General Assembly which sanctioned the new code, and likewise grouped the various parishes into Presbyteries, held its meeting at Glasgow in April, 1581.

Neither the precise date nor other particulars regarding the formation of Glasgow Kirk Session are known, on account of the want of contemporary records. John Willock was appointed superintendent of the western district in 1560, and in the following year "Maister James Hammiltoun, redar in the Kirk of Glasgow," was allowed for his services £40 yearly from the revenues of St. Mary's Kirk in Trongate. This reader, under Willock's supervision, appears to have had charge of the Glasgow congregation prior to the arrival of David Wemes, the first minister of the city. In a supplication presented to kirk commissioners in January, 1571-2, Wemes stated that he had served in the office of ministry in Glasgow for the past ten years; but as his name occurs as minister of Ratho in June, 1562, his period of service must in 1571-2 have been a few months short of a decade. It may, however, be safe to assume that the kirk session of Glasgow was formed in 1561 or 1562, if not earlier. In St. Andrews, as appears from the two volumes of records edited by Dr. Hay Fleming for the Scottish History Society, the minister and elders acted as members of session as early as 1559. In 1561 the elders and deacons of the ensuing year were chosen by the Town Council, burgesses, and members of the College. In Peebles, which, like Glasgow, was under Willock's supervision, elders and deacons were chosen by the Town Council and community in 1561-2. But though Glasgow session probably existed from about the time indicated, no record of its proceedings is extant of an earlier date than 1583. As the result of a search made in 1792 various volumes of presbytery records were found in private repositories, and among them a volume of kirk session records, beginning at the date just mentioned

and ending in 1592.¹ In view of the success which attended this inquiry, it is to be regretted that similar zeal was not at the same time manifested with regard to the municipal records, as some of the volumes now missing may then have been within reach. John Gibson, whose history of Glasgow was published in 1777, quotes ordinances passed by the Magistrates and Council in 1556, 1559-60, and 1563, an eventful period in local history which is much obscured by want of contemporary records.

¹The information for this chapter has been mainly procured from the recovered volume of session records mentioned in the text. It begins on 28th November, 1583, and ends in October, 1592, but there are no minutes between 18th July, 1584, and 31st March, 1585, and leaves are wanting between (1) 2nd June, 1586, and 15th February, 1587-8, and (2) 6th and 13th November, 1589. The book consists of 154 leaves, the size slightly varying in the separate sections, but all measuring about 11 or 11½ by 7½ inches. The average leaf contains about 1000 words, and the writing, though small, is well preserved and only an occasional word is illegible.

It may here be noted that Dr. William H. Hill possesses a volume of Kirk Session records which covers some months more than the period embraced in the volume just described. In precise figures Dr. Hill's volume, beginning with the election of 35 elders and 25 deacons on 3rd and 7th November, 1583, contains a record of the kirk session's proceedings down to 30th March, 1593, and there are a few notes subsequent to that date. On a cursory comparison of the two volumes, it was found that though they are substantially identical, Dr. Hill's is the more carefully written, gives effect to clerical corrections, and while some entries are omitted, others are amplified, all pointing to the conclusion that this is the official or principal record, and that the other is a scroll or first copy. From internal evidence, it appears that Wodrow's extracts, so far as relating to the period 1583-92, printed by the Maitland Club in 1848, were taken from Dr. Hill's volume. Referring to the hiatus of 1584-5, which occurs in both volumes, Wodrow remarks that "probably that was a time of confusion under Bishop Adamson and Arran's government, and that there were few or no sessions held. During the year 1585," he adds, "there is much indistinction and confusion, and no wonder, since it was a troublous time."

For some years before the time when the session records commence, Glasgow had its full share of ecclesiastical troubles. Andrew Hay, who succeeded Willock as superintendent of the western district, had long been Rector of the University. It was mainly through his instrumentality that Andrew Melville was appointed Principal of the College in 1574, and the two had always been prominent members of the Presbyterian party. Thomas Smetoun, Principal of the College in 1580-3, and David Wemes, the parish minister, showed similar tendencies, and the students, with a majority of the town's people, were on their side. Latterly the Prelatists were led by Archbishop Montgomery (whose settlement in Glasgow was the cause of much disturbance) and his nominees, the Magistrates of the city, and they had the support of the King and the Earl of Lennox, who was Provost of Glasgow in 1580-1. On several occasions the opposing factions had come into personal collision, but the more serious of these conflicts were over before November, 1583, and the opening entries of the session record are mainly of a routine character. Meetings of session were held on the Thursdays weekly, the opening hour being usually nine in the forenoon. The place of meeting is not stated in the minutes, but Wodrow mentions that in 1586 the session met in Blackfriars Kirk, and that afterwards only public and more solemn meetings for changing the session, fasts, etc., were held in the chapter-house of the Cathedral. The names of absent members, but not the names of those present, are given in the minutes. On 28th November, 1583, the first recorded meeting of session, nine elders and ten deacons were absent, and this may be taken as a fair average of non-attendance throughout the period embraced in the book. In 1585 a previous Act providing for the exaction of penalties

from absent members was ratified, but particulars are not given, and the ratified Act is not now extant. To mitigate the inconvenience of irregular attendance, and "the oursycht of haynous and wechtie crymes," it was, on 4th June, 1584, resolved that thirteen members should be sufficient for transacting business, and the minister was asked to enjoin the elders and deacons to assemble at the hour of meeting and to proclaim defaulters openly in the pulpit. In 1592 there were 37 elders and 25 deacons, but the numbers probably varied from year to year. The elections usually took place in October or November yearly. Nominated by the session of the closing year, the new members were admitted in presence of the congregation, after an opportunity had been afforded for the statement of objections by any person interested. Thus on 3rd October, 1588, all the elders and deacons were warned to appear on the following Thursday "for the electioun of new elderis and dekinis," and on 17th October, in consequence of "na impediment" being made, the "beddell" was instructed to warn those who had been chosen to attend in the High Kirk on Sunday to "reesave thair offices." Another election is referred to on 19th October, 1592, when the minister read from the pulpit the names of those who had been selected for elders and deacons, and intimated that any objection to their admission required to be given in to the session on the following Thursday. A clerk and a treasurer were periodically appointed by the session. At a meeting on 24th October, 1588, "Mr. John Allansoun" was re-elected "scribe to the sessioun" for the ensuing year. Allansoun was a notary, and he was also at one time employed as a reader or exhorter. In February, 1588-9, complaint was made of his having left his office as reader without cause, and of having spoken

rashly in attributing covetousness to one of the ministers. An election of a treasurer—an official who was usually chosen half-yearly—is noticed on 5th February, 1589-90, when from a leet of four James Braidwode was chosen by twelve votes, there being only other two votes given for another name on the leet. At one of the meetings the members were sworn not to reveal the session proceedings, but this was perhaps merely the re-enactment of an existing law.

Under the Book of Discipline adopted in 1581, magistrates were enjoined to assist and maintain the discipline of the Kirk and punish civilly those who would not obey their censure, and it is observable that the Glasgow session obtained the ready co-operation of the burgh magistrates in the enforcement of decrees. In 1584 the magistrates were requested to apprehend certain persons “proceidit against in the pulpet” and such of the officers as showed diligence in executing the “decreets” of the Kirk were to receive 20s. each. Instructions were likewise given that the “guidman of the hous” should be summoned along with offenders dwelling with him. In 1585 the session required that one of the bailies should be present at every session meeting, and the magistrates were desired to instruct their officers to apprehend all who were contumacious. When imprisonment was resorted to, the delinquent had to pay to the officer 40d. and to the jailor 18d. In view of the approaching municipal elections in 1588, the two ministers and three others were instructed to desire that men of upright life should be chosen bailies. At that time the bailies were chosen by Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre, out of leets presented by members of the Town Council. In 1589-90, about which time members were

enjoined to give better attendance, it was desired that the elders should "keip the sessioun, and specialie the bailies."

At each session meeting a collector of poor's money was appointed for the ensuing week, and the past collector reported how much had been "gadderit to the puir." The two earliest reported collections in 1583 amounted to 27s. 7d. and £2 6s. 1d. respectively, and the last in 1592 to £2 7s. 7d. The average collection for 1583-92 was about £2 weekly. Periodical distribution of the money among poor persons is noted, as on 26th December, 1583, when five men, one woman, and a "wyf and bairns" got £3 among them. In February and March, 1583-4 references are made to "tikattis of the distributioun of the puir silver." In June, 1584, Hew Thomson, "quha had his leg brokin," got 8s. 2d., and licence was given, with consent of the bailies, "to seik support be twa honest men, on Mononday." On 2nd July it was arranged that the deacons should distribute the "puir silveir" on the following Saturday "after the prayeris." When the box was opened it was found to contain £18. At a distribution in May, 1585, the amount in the box was £16 9s. 8d. In March, 1586, reference is made to the dearth and great number of poor in the town, and certain members were appointed to confer with the bailies and council for their relief. On 21st April the session directed that intimation should be made by tuck of drum admonishing all the "puir beggaris" to assemble next day in the Blackfriar Kirk, when "markis" or badges were to be given to the town's poor, and strangers were to be expelled. On 2nd June the poor who had received their badges were appointed to appear in the "Laigh Kirk" (Blackfriars), the following Sunday to hear the prayers, and those who absented themselves were to "get na meit in the toun." At same

time the session and magistrates gave orders that no one was to collect "with the dische" either within or without the town except by special authority of the session. In March, 1588, the sum of £4 was to be given to "ane young man of quhom the brithrine of the sessiounes hes knawin ane gud report and quha hes losit his gudis and geir throucht na negligence." In August of the same year the provost was desired to be present at a meeting for dealing with the great number of poor in the town, and in the following month the magistrates and council were to be approached "anent the puir sittand in the hiegate." "Ane puir Spanyarde" who, on 25th June, 1589, got a donation of 6s. 8d., was probably one of the wrecked mariners who had come with the "Invincible Armada" in the previous year. A priest in reduced circumstances is apparently referred to on 24th July, 1589, when the treasurer was instructed to purchase cloth for "brekis to Sir Archibald Dik," and to have them made and paid for. Among other payments in September, 1589, are 3s. "to by ane serk to ane puir man," and 6s. 8d. to "the blind woman in Drygate callit Margrat Lop." In the following December material was to be purchased to "cloithe James Kilpatrik in cote, brekis, serk, schort hois, and schoon," and at the same time the session allowed money to be gathered in aid of "Blantyre folkis quha had thair corne destroyit be halestones." On 10th June, 1591, the ministers were directed to advise with the Town Council for taking measures to prevent the great confluence of landward beggars, and the "belman for the deid" was instructed to banish all such from the town. In July the attention of the session was directed to the inmates of St. Nicholas Hospital, and the "almoushouses men" were enjoined to attend the kirk both forenoon and



THE DRYGATE, WITH CATHEDRAL.

From Oil Painting by Horatio M'Culloch, R.S.A., 1832.

afternoon. Those absent without reasonable cause were to forfeit a week's allowance, and the like result was to follow absence from prayers. Sir Bartholomew Simpson, master of the hospital, was to say prayers morning and evening.

At the first recorded meeting of session five persons were charged with being "absent fra the kirk on Sondag last wes." One of them promised "obediace" in future, and Margaret Hamilton, a seller of salt, was "commandit to keip guid ordour in tymes to cum, and to rule hir toung fra flyting and scaling." At next meeting three absentees were fined 20s. each, while Janet Gibsoun, "ane blasphemmer and absent, was decernit to be viij dayis in the stokis, and thairefter to cum to the pillar." In June, 1584, one of the bailies was requested to inspect the town on Sunday and ascertain "quha bydis fra the kirk." Absentees had been summoned, but they failed to appear, and the magistrates were asked to place them in custody till they found sureties for their future obedience. In June, 1589, Alison Watson confessed that she was "absent fra the kirk at all tymes almaist bot at the communioun," and that she was ignorant of "the Lords prayer, beleiff, and commandementis." On 10th July, Alison, who is described as "ane woman verie evill gevin to hir nyctbouris in flytting, backbyting, and scalling," was admonished to attend the church regularly in future, to acquire knowledge, and to live peaceably with her neighbours, under threat of bread and water fare, followed by the joggs and branks. In January, 1591-2, one John Tempill, in Nether Possil, was accused of saying that he "prayit as weill on the colhill as any did in the kirk"; but he denied the charge, and consideration of the case was adjourned. On 5th October, 1592, an erring daughter of

Eve was called to account for being "in ane apil tree" on the previous Sunday in time of preaching.

The minister of Cumbuslang (1580-1618) seems to be the "Mr. John Howesone" who, on 9th September, 1591, was accused for being absent from the weekly exercise on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, he being an indweller of Glasgow. In excuse, Howesone pleaded his frequent absences on the affairs of the kirk "or ellis wearie or sick, or providing of preachings for his flock." Venturing on more dangerous ground he likewise averred that when occupied in his study at home "he thocht he profited mair thair in ane hour than he culd haif done in ane uther hour at the kirk." Farther, as he was "ane pastour of ane uther flock," and also an elder and worthy of double honour, he considered he was straitly handled in being cited as "ane sclanderous persone." The session, in an elaborate answer, contested the relevancy of the defence, alleged that Howesone had sometimes been "ganging upoun the calsie in tyme of preiching," that he was a player at "carttis and dyce," and that in heat of play he had occasionally broken into "banning and sueiring." The questions at issue were referred to the synodal or general assembly.

There seems to have been a prevailing laxity with regard to Sunday labour, though the session put forth strenuous efforts for strict observance of the day. In November, 1583, the "maltmen, millers, and baxters, workers on the Sabothe day," were to be summoned before the session. It was at same time ordained that merchants should shut their booth doors on Wednesday and Friday, weekly, in the hour of preaching, and on these days the masters of the craftsmen were enjoined to attend the kirk. In December the deacons were directed to "see that thair craftis keip the Sabothe day." In May,

1585, an admonition was given "concerning fischeares, drawaris on the Sabothe days on the watter of Clyde." In May, 1589, it was ordered that "na playing be on the nixt twa Sondayes be ressoun of the fast"; the maltmen beyond Drygate burn were to "mak na fyir on the Sabothe daye"; inbringers of coal and peats were to be punished, the coals given to the hospital and the peats to the almshouse. On 5th June William Wedrope confessed that "his pleuche wes yokit efter the sune going down upoun Sondaye," and he was sentenced to acknowledge his fault in kirk on Sunday and pay 20s. for violating the Sabbath. Others were charged with a like offence and ordered to make repentance. Increased watchfulness was manifested about this time against these and other Sabbath-breakers, among whom were enumerated salmon fishers, inbringers of elding (fuel), peats and heather, millers and baxters, and watchmen were appointed to detect those who brought in coals at the ports. On 1st October, 1590, Gilbert Scott in Easter Craigs confessed he had "led in cornes on the Sondaye," and for this harvest work he was fined 20s. As the result of a raid against the fleshers in December of that year, one confessed that after the preaching he "slew kye on the Sondaye"; another said his servants without his knowledge "slew" in the afternoon, a third confessed to his servants killing sheep in the afternoon, and another of the accused denied killing in the forenoon, but confessed that this occurred in the afternoon. Fines of 20s. each for "wirking on the Sabothe day" were imposed.

The observance of any other day than Sunday as holy was regarded as savouring of superstition and sinful, but much difficulty was encountered in suppressing the accustomed celebrations. On 26th December, 1583, the session ordained all the deacons and some of the "honestest men" of every craft, to be

summoned "for the vane observatioun of the superstitious dayes callit Yule"; and some merchants were likewise summoned for closing their booths on that day. At the time appointed more than a score of persons answered to the charge of keeping Yule day, and others who had been cited did not appear. Some were absolved, others convicted, and the majority were "purged"—a phrase which seems to indicate acquittal by oath. One stickler for continuity had three adherents when he pled that "because his forbearis keipit Yule day he himself keipit the same." One put forward the more substantial excuse that "gif he had gottin work on Yule day he wald haif wrocht." Two persons denied the charge, one alleging that he was working and the other that his booth was open. John Lufe "grantit that his barnes wrocht nocht the said day." On 8th January the session ordained that all within the burgh who "keepit superstitiouslie Yule dayis, contrar Godis law, the ordinance of the toun and the Kirk," should, on conviction, either confess their fault and ignorance, or pass to the "pillar" on Sunday and make repentance. It is noted that the laird of Minto (presumably as bailie of the regality) had caused proclamation to be made at the Cross "afoir Yuile that na trubulance suld be maid within xx dayis." This was probably a yearly custom. One of the three head courts of the burgh was held after Yule, generally in the third week of January. A curious incident is referred to in 1586, when some persons were punished for having on 20th December, called St. Thomas's even, went through the town with pipers, and laid a dead horse at the minister's gate. Superstition in another form than that of Yule observance is referred to on 30th January, 1588-9, when the session instructed Sir Bartilmo Simsoun to "burn all the brodes and pictures thereon as monuments of idolatrie." Sir Bartilmo was master of St.



BRANKS.



STOCKS.

Nicholas Hospital, and therefore it is probable that the offending pictures belonged either to that hospital or its adjoining chapel.

David Wemes, the first Protestant minister of Glasgow, had no colleague till February, 1587-8, when he was joined by John Couper, who came from Edinburgh. An entry in the kirk session record dated 28th February of that year bears that "Mr. Johne Couper, be the avise of the sessioun of Glasgw, is gladlie and willinglie acceptit and admittit as minister secund in Glasgw," and the concurrence of the Presbytery was to be sought. At next meeting of session arrangements were made for apportionment of work between the two ministers. On Sunday services were to be conducted in the "Hie Kirk," and on Wednesdays and Fridays the "College Kirk" was to be used until certain repairs, to be afterwards referred to, were carried out on the High Kirk. On Sundays the ministers were to teach forenoon and afternoon alternately, the one who taught in the forenoon one week to officiate in the afternoon of the following week; and it was likewise arranged that "the first pastour sall exercise upon Weddinsdaye and the second on the Fridaye." In case of the absence or illness of one pastor the other was to take his place. On account of Friday being the "day of exercise to the presbytery," a deputation was on 23rd May appointed to confer with that body for fixing another day for the town's preaching, but at next meeting it was reported that the existing arrangement was to be continued. Regulations for administration of baptism were passed in April and May, 1588. On Wednesdays and Sundays the bell was to be rung thrice, and parents having children to be baptized were to present them after the second ringing. Intimation was also to be made from the pulpit "that all and sundrye fatheris quha ar

to haif barnis baptisit haif the commandementis of the Eternal God, the articles of fayth and Lordis prayer." Should the fathers prove deficient in knowledge on these subjects a substitute coming under the qualification of an "honest godlie man" was to "ressave the barne of the ignorantis to be baptiseit."

Between 1583 and 1592 Communion services were held yearly, and in some years there were two observances with a week's interval between them. On 19th December, 1583, the session desired the Presbytery to provide assistance to the minister "in tyme of the ministratioun of the Supper of the Lord thir Sondayes nixt fallowing." It was arranged that next day (Friday) the "exercise" should be in the High Kirk. Seven persons, presumably elders or deacons, were nominated "for the morning service" on Sunday, three of them "to ressave the tikattis," two "to serve with the breid," and two "to serve with the cowpe." Two of the seven were "to be present at four houris in the morning." Thomas Huchesoun was "to provyd the breid and wyne," three persons were to "taist the wyne and to wait thairupoun," the burgh officers were "to provyde for napeir and cowpis and basynis to serve the tables," and a wright was to be employed for "setting the burdis." On 27th April, 1587, the session directed three persons, including the minister and a bailie, to pass through the town and warn all those suspected of "papistry and uncharity" to come to the Communion on the following Sunday. Further, "all and sundry" were directed to communicate either on that Sunday or the next, and those who did not comply were to be "excommunicat as papists and makers of defections from the word of God and his godly institutions." Shortly after the appointment of the second minister, he and others were asked to confer

with the bailies for the "making of ane new stampe and the carttis (cards) for the tikettis." At next meeting it was ordered that those persons who failed to attend the examinations were not to receive tickets or be allowed "to present thameselfis to the table of the Lord." The expense of the tickets was borne out of the "penitentis silver," and they were "merkit with the figure 1588." Among the arrangements made on 2nd May, 1588, preparatory to the Communion, Wednesday was set aside for "ane conventioun for reconciliatioun of enemities standing in this toun," the people on the west side of the town were to communicate on one Sunday and the others on the following Sunday, request was made to "the College to use the exercise in prayeris and preiching the twa Sundayes nixtttoun," collections for the poor were to be made both at the "Hie Kirk" and the "lache kirk callit the Blakfreir Kirk," and persons were appointed to receive the tickets, to keep the doors, and "to serve at the tabillis." Among other arrangements for communion services in May, 1590, endeavours were to be made for "reconciliationis with these quha standis at enemite." The obligation which rested on the parson of Glasgow to furnish communion elements had been confirmed by a decision of the Privy Council in 1566, but some difficulty was raised by the Commendator of Blantyre, who was tacksman of the parsonage, and in 1589 proceedings were threatened against him unless he supplied such "breade and wyne" as were necessary. The Commendator was also at this time liable for the ministers' stipends, amounting to 500 and 300 merks respectively, payable out of the teinds.

The "examinations" conducted by the ministers were not always endured with patience. On 9th May, 1588, during preparations for the Communion, one Margaret Ferguson exclaimed—"And (though) William Nichole and Mr. Johne

Couper war hangit, scho wald nocht heir the commandementis this nicht." On 23rd May the session ordered Margaret to be put in the steeple till Monday, when she was to be placed on the "cokstullis" for two hours, surety was to be found for her future good behaviour with her husband, family, and neighbours, and on Sunday she was to enter the pillar of repentance and ask forgiveness of God, her husband, and the whole congregation. Such was the sentence, but at the desire of her husband its execution was delayed on the warning that if again convicted of a similar offence she should be "put on the cokstullis, with the brankis in her mouth, and thaireftir to be doukit," or have the alternative of paying £10. Another objector to the examinations, who had spoken "filthie wordis in presens of the minister," was ordered to make her repentance on Sunday in the pillar, and if she offended again was to be "brankit, doukit, and cairttit." In 1592 one James Nilsoun was accused of using contemptuous expressions towards the minister, who had refused to give him a ticket for the Communion, but having appeared at a subsequent meeting he was supplied with a ticket, after an admonition to behave himself in future honestly and quietly towards the pastor and all others.

In December and January, 1589-90, the Town Council were desirous of having "twa preichingis" on Sunday, one in the forenoon, and another in the afternoon, and the subject was to be discussed by the ministers, the principal of the College, and others. Another reference to pulpit discourses occurs on 16th December, 1591, when the session "thinkis gud that Mr. David Wemes teiche the Evangell according to St. John." Within three years after this time St. Mary's Kirk in Trongate was repaired and opened as a Protestant place of worship and it was perhaps in connection with that



GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.
From Water Colour by Thomas Hearne, about 1775.

movement that the session on 23rd December, 1591, arranged "to convene the morn, at twa houris after noon, in the Blakfreir Kirk for provision of Mr. John Bell in the College." Bell, who was a regent or professor in the College, was admitted minister of the Tron or St. Mary's Kirk in 1594.

At the time of the Reformation it may be assumed that the Cathedral was in a fair state of repair, but after its partial desertion some neglected parts began to show signs of decay. So far as can be ascertained from existing records the Town Council and community as well as the ecclesiastical authorities always manifested a laudable desire to preserve the building. Thus in 1574 the Town Council, "for the zele thai beir to the kirk," voluntarily imposed a tax of £200 for repairing "the greit dekaye and ruyne that the hie kirk of Glasgow is cum to, throuch taking awaye of the leid, sclait, and uther graith thairof, in this trublus tyme bygane." In the end of the year 1586 the Kirk Session were in communication with the Town Council regarding repairs on the High Kirk, and on the occasion of John Couper being admitted second minister, several influential persons were appointed to estimate the amount of money required to "repair the windowes in the Hie Kirk sclait and timmer." Some alterations on the choir were at this time contemplated, and on 7th March, 1587-8, parts of the services were appointed to be conducted in the College Kirk, "unto the tyme the Hie Kirk or at leist the queir thairof, be sufficientlie repairit for the commodious teiching and heiring of the word." At the same time "the commissioneris and haill brethreine of the kirk and sessioun" resolved that the "lache stepill" should "be tane down to repair the masoun work of the kirk, and the bell and knok be sett on the hiche stepill with that condition that the kirk haif ane cuinzeie for the releiff thairof." The

"lache stepill" was the north-west tower which, through a change of plan, was saved at the time, and reserved for demolition by the renovators of the nineteenth century. The "cuinzeie" or quoinie stipulated for was apparently meant to be a substituted support for that part of the main building which would be left exposed after removal of the tower. Particulars regarding the abandonment of the scheme have not been recorded, but there are indications that the retention of the tower had been resolved upon by 16th May, on which date 2s. were given "for the mending of the lache stepill locke." On 20th March, 1588-9, the treasurer was instructed to "big the window underneth the lache stepill," and on 17th July, 1589, some money was expended in repairing "the knok in the laiche stepill."

This fruitless scheme for removal of the north-west tower is worthy of special consideration on account of the probability, as long ago suggested by Dr. M'Crie in his *Life of Andrew Melville*, that it supplies the germ of the story told by Archbishop Spottiswood, but vouched by no contemporary authority, regarding the threatened destruction of Glasgow Cathedral. It will be recollected that the main features of the narrative are the resolution by the magistrates and ministers to demolish the building, the vastness of which drowned the preacher's voice, and with the materials to build some "little churches"; that quarriers, masons, and others were employed to do the work, which was not commenced on account of popular disapproval; and that an application was made to the King and his council on the subject. Spottiswood's erroneous statements have often been exposed, but no one supposes that the story was a pure invention; and after giving due allowance for the exaggerative power of traditionary gossip, the proceedings which took place in 1588 seem to afford the

requisite foundation. Here an extensive structural demolition was contemplated, requiring the employment of quarriers and masons. The old materials were to be applied towards alterations, which may well have included the erection of a wall and the transformation of choir and nave into two "little churches," as was actually accomplished about sixty years later. Then there was the abandonment of the scheme from whatever cause, followed by the King's letters requiring that the necessary alterations should be executed in another form. In short, no other group of known facts harmonises so well with the picturesque account of the doomed Cathedral saved by the patriotic crafts, and if the solution is not found here, it is likely that the story will continue to be one of the puzzles of local history.

In June, 1588, "Mr. Andrew Hay, parson of Renfrew and commissioner within the bounds of Clydesdale, Lennox, and Renfrew," produced the King's letters charging him as commissioner to "use stenting and taxing" for repair of kirks within his bounds, and he called on the parishioners of Glasgow to take the necessary steps within their district. The session, considering that "thai ar bot ane few nomber convenit for handling of materis belanging to the discipline of the kirk," and were not in a position to choose stentmasters for imposing taxation, thought it better that the most discreet part of the parishioners should take the matter on hand, seeing it is of "greit wecht and importance." Negotiations seem to have proceeded slowly, and the winter came and passed before anything substantial was done. The building must have become considerably dilapidated, as the congregation were exposed to the inclemency of the weather. On 7th October the session, "in respect of the winter season and the inconveniences of the Hie Kirk at this present," resolved that till

it should be made commodious for the pastor and people, the sermons should in future be delivered in the "lache kirk, and that enduring this winter seasoun and stormeness of wedder." At same time two bailies along with other persons were asked to inspect the "ruinous places" and report their opinion to next meeting. At this time a share of responsibility for upkeep of the church rested on the prior or commendator of Blantyre, Walter Stewart, who had obtained from the King a grant of the lordship of Glasgow, and had also acquired from Archibald Douglas, the titular parson, a tack of the teinds. As lord of Glasgow, Stewart chose the magistrates, and he had bestowed the provostship on his elder brother, Sir Mathew Stewart. When arranging for the inspection just referred to the session desired the provost, prior, and bailies, with certain of their own members, to meet and determine what was to be done. The Duke of Lennox, in respect of his territorial interest in the parish, was to be asked for a ratable share of the expense, or, as it is expressed, "fyve merkis of the fewe of everie merkland for to repair the queir." The change to the "lache kirk" (supposed to indicate the College or Blackfriars Kirk) did not work well, as the place was too small and the people were taking the opportunity of "absenting themselfis fra the heiring of the Word of God." On 5th December, accordingly, instructions were given that even during winter time, if the weather was suitable, the sermons should be delivered in the High Kirk. To bring the prolonged financial negotiations to a close, the magistrates and council, on 29th May, 1589, offered not only to contribute their share of the expense, amounting to 600 marks, but also to carry out the work on being guaranteed repayment by the "parson" and parishioners of the remaining 900 marks. For his part the commendator of Blantyre, as

tacksman of the parsonage, offered 400 marks, and on 10th July, "stenters" for the landward part of the parish imposed a tax of 24s. on every mark land "for reparatioun of the queir of Glasgow," it being stated that the tax was to be imposed "as it wes wont to be of auld to the kingis weiris" (wars). Sir Mathew Stewart, in his capacity of bailie of the barony, undertook responsibility for collecting the tax, and the work was forthwith set in motion. On 31st July "kirk-maisteris for bargain making in bying of tymmir, stanes, lyme, sande, and uther necessities for the repairing of the queir" were appointed, and the bailies were desired to warn the workmen of the town to be at the kirk on the following Tuesday. On 27th November an order was given for as much "knapill" (*i.e.* oak staves) as should serve for constructing the pulpit. Little more appears in the record regarding the actual carrying out of the work. Considerable difficulty was experienced in collecting the tax or stent. Lord Provand had raised some objection, and the ministers and others were authorised to ascertain what he would contribute "as ane of the chaptour." The Bishop of Argyle had promised 100 marks, and there are frequent applications to him for the money. Part of the expense was apportioned on the respective crafts, the share payable by the bonnetmakers being 16 marks, but the amount payable by the other incorporations is not stated. In June, 1591, when money for repairs was required, each burgess was directed to bring 12d. when summoned by sound of drum.

In the south-west tower of the Cathedral accommodation was provided for conducting the procedure of the bishops' court, known as the consistory, and here commissary courts were held till the beginning of last century. On account probably of its accumulations of records the place was

sometimes called the library-house. Built early in the fifteenth century, the tower was old and somewhat out of repair about the time of the Reformation. In 1596 the Town Council gave a contribution towards repair of the "consistorial place," which was then described as ruinous; and in 1628 they authorised the expenditure of 3100 marks in repairing the "liberarie hous." At an earlier date, viz., in 1583, the kirk-session gave instructions "to big the auld consistorie windowes with stanes." As shown by old views, the tower had, in the south wall, on each of the first and second floors, a large double-pointed window, while two small square windows were placed in each of the upper and attic floors. It appears that commissary courts had been at one time held in the choir, but on 2nd June, 1591, the session discharged the commissary of Hamilton and all other judges from holding "consistorie lawis" within the choir, under the penalty of kirk censures. Other intruders of a different class had likewise to be ejected from this part of the church. Readers of the *Ingoldsby Legends* are aware that jackdaws, before conversion, are apt to be troublesome in a cathedral, and the Glasgow authorities, like those of Rheims, had to adopt protective measures. In March, 1590-1, the session instructed the ministers and masters of work to take order with the choir for keeping out the "kaes," and on 10th June it was ordered that all open places whereby "kaes" entered the choir were to be closed. Apparently a clearance was not effected by these means, and extremities were resorted to on 5th October, 1592, when Thomas Pettegrew was instructed to keep the "kaes out of the queir," powder was to be procured, and Robert Stevensoun, the bellringer, was authorised to "sla the kaes."

In connection with public censures a distinction was drawn

between those misdemeanants who were elevated on the "pillar" and minor defaulters, who were privileged to remain on a level with the rest of the congregation. On 30th January, 1583-4, Elison Lyndsay acknowledged that she had seized hold of Mongo Wilsoun, "in the outganging of the kirk, and spak to him thir wordis: 'Thow sall be theiff and houngar carrill, and or (*i.e.* before) Thursdaye at evin I sall mak tham learis quha said I was makar of the ballat.'" On his part, Mongo owned that he called Elison a "theiff" and something still more opprobrious. As the aggressor and more culpable of the two, Elison was ordered "to pas on Sondag next to the pillare," while Mongo Wilsoun, who had also to appear, was allowed "to stand laiche." At next meeting of session "laiche" was "interpret ony place in the kirk amang the people." On 4th June two damsels who had incurred some "sclander" of a mild type were ordered to appear on Sunday "on the place quhair the barnes sayis the catechise, and thair grant thair falt and mak repentance." Intimation was likewise to be made to "all servandis" to conduct themselves becomingly. In June, 1585, one who was to receive an admonition in the kirk on Sunday was directed "to sit upon the laiche stope quher the pulpet stude abefoir, foiranentis the minister." Other references to the changed position of the pulpit are noticed on 18th June, 1584, when instructions were given to remove the "auld stanes quhair the pulpet stud afore," and again on 20th October, 1586, when the order for removal was renewed, and it was directed that the stones should be "laid out in ranks for the women to sit on." On 2nd October, 1589, a "pillar" was ordered to be made at the kirk's expense.

For a long time subsequent to the Reformation there were few fixed seats in the church, those who desired to be so

accommodated usually supplying themselves. "Buirdes and furmes to the communion" were purchased in March, 1578-9, out of the dues received on admission of a burges.¹ Wodrow quotes an order by the kirk-session for the cutting of an ash tree in the High Kirk yard "to make formes to the kirk." As already noted, women had been accommodated with stone seats in 1584, but that was perhaps only a temporary expedient. On 9th January, 1588-9, intimation was made "that the women bring with thame ane stuill to sit upon or ellis content thame selfis to sitt on the fluire as becumis." On 10th July following, women were forbidden to occupy the "menis furmes, aither in the Hie Kirk or Blakfreir Kirk," a regulation which was in accordance with the practice in pre-Reformation times when the north side of the nave was occupied by the women and the south side by the men. Under an order passed by the session in 1587 all persons were required in time of prayer to "bow their knee to the ground." Some of the deacons of crafts had desired to have a "loft" in the choir, whereby they might "mair commodiouslie heir the word of God," and in November, 1591, the session desired them to come to a definite resolution on the subject. On an answer being given that the deacons did not desire to build a lott, the session protested they should be at liberty to give such permission to any others who might apply.

There are several references to bell-ringers and keepers of the "knok." When M'Ure published his history in 1736 there were two large bells and a "big clock" in the north-west tower. At least one of the bells had been recast by that time, but it is probable that the bells and clock which were in use in the sixteenth century occupied much the same

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 74.



BIBLE (PRINTED BY ROBERT BARKER IN 1617)
IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH
OF GLASGOW.

*In original binding, with clasps and chain as 'sould by James
Saunders at the Hie Kirk of Glasgow, Anno 1625'*



HOUR-GLASS FROM THE
CATHEDRAL OF
GLASGOW



PULPIT SAND-GLASS.

*Now owned by the Corporation
of Glasgow.*

position as did those of M'Ure's time. In 1585 arrangements were made with the "beddell" for ringing the bells, and the "knock" was to be inspected by craftsmen and repaired. Some months later the minister, a bailie, and the parson of Renfrew were asked to confer with "Mr. Johnne Ros and Bessie Douglas (his mother) anentis the bellis ringing and knok." In February, 1588-9, at which time Ros was town clerk of Glasgow, the kirk-session "thinkis best that Mr. Johnne Ros travell with his mother to get and obtene the gift grantit for ringing the bellis," and they sent a commissioner to Edinburgh to assist in the negotiations. If the gift should be obtained it was arranged that "the proffeit to be gotten thairby be applyit to the ringing of the bellis, be the discretioun of the sessioun." From the session's minutes in November, 1590, it is gathered that "Mr. John Ros, toun clerk," had obtained a "gift" of £40 yearly out of the thirds of church benefices, being the "stipend he hes as secrestar (*i.e.* sacristan) for the ringing of the bellis." The session desired the "sacristan" either "to follow furth his gift to the rycht use or ellis to transfer his gift in the kirkis handis for the rycht use quhairfor the gift was obteneit." The following list of endowments is engrossed in the record at this time without explanation, but it seems to have some connection with the gift :—(1) 6 merks furth of Blythswood for ringing the bells; (2) 3 stones of wax furth of Bothwell yearly; (3) 10 merks furth of the parson of Moffat's house; (4) the laird of Keir 40s. yearly for wax to the kirk; (5) furth of the town of Ruglen 40s. to the "sacreister." The magistrates and the session asked the Town Council to arrange that the person who had charge of the "mort" bell, being the bell which passed through the town on the occasion of burials, should also ring the bells in the High Kirk and

attend the “knok” there. On 10th December, Robert Stevenson was instructed to attend to the bells and knok, and six months afterwards he was asked if he would take charge of the mort bell and the ringing of the High Kirk bell, for which he was to get a money payment and likewise the grass in the kirkyard. As Patrick M’Ilwane was “continewit belman for the deid,” that part of the work was not



Diameter, $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. across the mouth. Height, including Handle, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.

THE DEAD OR SKELLET BELL, 1641.

assigned to Stevenson, but he got charge of the kirkyard, and was authorised to exact for each horse or cow trespassing on the ground 4od. and for each calf 2s. In October, 1591, it was reported that three persons had not only put their “bestiall” in the kirkyard, but, after the animals had been seized for trespassing and placed in the Castle by the official “poyndar,” they had removed them therefrom without authority. On 28th October the two ministers and others were desired to consider as to the “beddellschip,” and meanwhile Christopher Knox was continued in that office

which he had held from at least the year 1581-2. At that time he is designated in a protocol "Sir" Christopher, indicating that he was a priest. On 4th November, 1591, Knox was discharged for misbehaviour, but he was shortly afterwards reponed. In regard to fees it was at this time resolved that at each marriage the "beddell" should be paid 40d. and at each baptism 2s. Part of the beddell's duties was to attend "with his staff, for keeping the quietnes of the kirk and comely order," during sermons.

A curious form of divination known as "turning the riddle" was sometimes resorted to for discovering the perpetrator of theft. Suspended on a pair of scissors or tongs, held in the hands of suspected persons by rotation, while words such as "By St. Peter and St. Paul, did A. B. (naming the holder for the time) steal," etc., were repeated, the "riddle" (*i.e.* sieve) turned round on the guilty person being named. A case of this sort was brought before the session on 2nd January, 1583-4, when "Janet Speir grantit that scho turned the riddell, about ane yeir syne, and that Besse M'Kenne, wantit sum geir, quha with consent of Besse King desyrit hir to caus turn the riddell for the geir scho wantit, and said thir wordis: 'Be St. Peter and St. Pawin, thai that hes my geir stollen,' etc.; and sayis that about xij yeiris syne scho saw the riddall turned at the Flesche Corse for ane peice clayth that Peter Burn, tailor, wantit." Janet was ordered to be put in the "heich hous of the tolbuyth" and to find surety for her appearance before one of the bailies and the minister. Several witnesses were brought forward, but nothing very definite was proved, and eventually the Presbytery were asked to take the matter on hand. Release from the tolbooth was obtained on 9th January, when John Wilson, tailor in Trongate, became

surety for Janet Speir "that scho sall keip guid ordour with hir nychtburis and sall absteyne fra flyting with thame in tymes cuming."

It appears from the session records of St. Andrews that for certain aggravated offences delinquents were imprisoned in the steeple of the parish kirk, and the records now under notice show that a similar course was followed in Glasgow. The place of confinement is designated simply "the steeple," but it is supposed that this indicates the laigh steeple or north-west tower. The compartment used for the purpose was apparently an uncomfortable place of abode, especially in cold weather, and it was not always that so much consideration was shown to its destined occupants as was done on 3rd March, 1585-6, when one was ordained "to be put in the stipill how sone the wedder growis warmer." On 21st March, 1587-8, two women were sentenced to be "cartit and doukit" on the following Monday, and till then to remain in the steeple. About the end of 1588 "ane commoun cart," in which to parade offenders, was ordered by the session, and both at this and other times a culprit is not unfrequently ordered to be "cairtit, doukit, and banesit the toun for ever," or to be "cairtit through the toun and doukit in Clyde, or ellis to pay xl. s." Those who could afford the expenditure often compounded for imprisonment in the steeple or other degradations by money payments. Thus on 16th January, 1583-4, a "relapser" paid 40s. "to withhald him fra the stipill," and on same day there was received "fra Helen Riddell half a merk for the stepill." On 19th March one who was sentenced to be "aucht dayes in the stepill, ane daye in the croce, and ane day in the pillar" was relieved from the steeple part of the penance on her finding surety for payment of 20s. and for her appearance at the cross and pillar and future good behaviour. On 30th April another

paid 6s. 8d. for exemption from "stepilling" and for being allowed to appear at the cross and the pillar "in her awin clathis" and not in "sekclayth." In 1589 the session gave instructions for the purchase of "asmekill sekclayth as wilbe ane gown to be put on the bodie of anie persoun deserving that weid."

The money received from "penitents" was of considerable amount, and instructions were given that it should not be spent except with the consent of the whole session. In April, 1584, a portion of the money was appointed to be applied in repairing the "knok in the kirk," and in February, 1586-7, it was directed that the "penitents silveir," so far as necessary, should be expended in repairing the College Kirk. Though the College, otherwise called the Blackfriars, and sometimes the Laigh Kirk, belonged in property to the College authorities, it was frequently used as a city church before its formal transfer to the community as such in 1635. In April, 1588, one of the magistrates, the second minister, and others were instructed to inspect the accounts of the "penitents" money and to arrange for the removal of pavement from the Cathedral crypt to the College Kirk. In the following February the session appointed one of the bailies, the senior minister, and others to confer with the principal and masters of the College regarding the repair and uphold of Blackfriars Kirk, and on 20th March the sum of 49s. 6d. was paid to a glasswright for putting glass in one of the windows. On 30th December, 1591, the master of work was instructed to build in the same kirk a wall between the choir and the steeple, and six months later a seat for the reader was to be constructed. On 6th July the session resolved there should be a school "biggit" in the Blackfriar Kirk in a manner to be arranged with the Magistrates and Council, but on account of the want of

Town Council records at that time fuller particulars regarding the school are not procurable. Reverting to the "penitents" money, it is found that in November, 1589, the session resolved that all penalties uplifted from offenders should in future be applied towards the repairing of the High Kirk and kirk work. Two months later the collector of the penalties was authorised to pay to David Reid, surgeon, 10 merks for relief of Robert Graye, who had been hurt in the work of the kirk.

The perennial and ubiquitous "flyter" caused trouble in Glasgow as elsewhere. In September, 1589, "the haill herring wyfes," three in number, were warned against "flytting or banning" with each other or their neighbours under the penalty of 20s. each, making repentance in the kirk, and being "carttit and doukit." On 16th October the magistrates, in conjunction with the session, passed an Act referring to the prevalence in the town of "sweiring, banning, and sclanderouslie flytting," imposed fines against those possessed of money, and ordered those who had none to be put in the "joggs." Parents were to be liable for their children, "because the barnis learnis of evill parenttis to sweir at everie word, and also to ban." The Act was to be intimated from the pulpit, at the Cross and through the town by tuck of drum. In July, 1590, Kate Liddell was ordered to make her repentance in the pillar on Sunday for maligning Jeane Duncane by saying to her—"Thou tuk my fruit of my tree, thou causit Thomas Stewart to take thame and reecat thame as ane tratour, and naething to leif upon but hir fruit." As other examples of uncomplimentary language it may be noted that Elspeth Weir said—"Scho suld ding out all the harnis of Jonet Stobo," and that Elspeth Fleming was accused of saying—"Scho suld gar Marion Woddrope slevir in the brankis."

On 20th May, 1591, the session desired the magistrates to take order with "blasphemaris, flytteris, and banneris" in the meal market. Even meetings of session were sometimes invaded by those transgressors against the laws of decorum. In July, 1585, John Reid was found to be a disturber of the session by using many injurious words, calling the minister "mansworn," saying he had "ane brassin face," and that the "King was but ane barne and dremand" (originally written "slepannd") when the Act of Parliament for punishment of certain transgressors was passed, "with mony uther wikit and ungodlie wordis." Reid was ordered to appear in the pillar "in sekclayth" next Sunday and confess his fault and ask God, the congregation, and the session forgiveness for his offence. Sometimes the session were in a lenient mood, as when, in the case of Issobell Ruthven, "aganis quhom the sessioun findis na recent sclander," it was thought that offences "done be hir in auld tyme" should be buried and in no wise called to remembrance.

Excommunication is referred to on 10th March, 1585-6, when intimation was ordered to be made from the pulpit "that William Wilsoun is excommunicat, and to admoneis all men to abhorre his cumpanye." Isolation could not be easily enforced, especially when those under the ban of the Church were numerous. The co-operation of the Magistrates and Council was desired on 23rd January, 1588-9, when the two ministers were deputed to announce to them the "names of the excommunicantis quha frequentis oppinlie the publict streittis." At next meeting the Magistrates were asked to cause their officers to warn the excommunicated persons to keep within their houses till they were absolved. Archibald Hegate, who had been town-clerk in 1581, and for a few years afterwards, was more than once excommunicated on account

of his prelatie tendencies. In September, 1589, the session were satisfied by his "outward humiliatioun," and appointed a deputation to address the Presbytery on his behalf, but any compromise which may then have been effected was not final. In February, 1590-1, the Principal of the College, one of the ministers, and others were enjoined, "as thai favour God and ane guid cause, and the quietnes of this commoun welthe, that thai commoun with Archibald Hegate, Matthew Heriott, and Mr. Johnne Ros (then town-clerk), and James Lyoun, and the rest of the nycthboures of the toun for to see the mater followit furth quhair it left for quieting of the dissensions amangis thame." On 16th September there is a long statement regarding the "contraversie" between Ros and Hegate, whereby great trouble had ensued, and more was likely to follow unless reconciliation could be effected. Commissioners were appointed with the view of adjusting differences, and if this could not be managed in Glasgow application was to be made to the King to take extreme measures for that end.

Another prominent citizen, Mr. David Cuninghame, at one time subdean of Glasgow, comes in for a considerable share of attention. At one time Cuninghame was in good repute in the ranks of the Presbyterian party, with whom he actively co-operated in framing the heads of kirk policy, but on his acceptance of the Bishopric of Aberdeen, in 1577, he lost favour with some of his former associates. It happened also that about eight years afterwards the Bishop had to defend himself in the Church Courts against a charge of immorality. The accusation is noticed in the session records in December and February, 1585-6, where there is engrossed a long letter from the Bishop, in which he expresses his readiness to "mantayne my honestie and satisfie that malicious sclander inventit against me, ane man of reputatioun"; but he wished

a week's delay at that particular time because he was detained in Edinburgh in connection with controversies regarding his benefice. The letter, which is dated 2nd February, concludes with the following interesting allusion to public affairs: "The devill is raging, and the Antichrist of Rome is trubling the haille Europe and maist besellie in this Iland. God grant us the sprit of providens and quietnes amangs our selfis. The King is weill affectit to repres papistrie, bot hes nocht sik assistance as gud men lukit for. The rest to meeting quhilk, God willing, salle schortlie heireftir." The issue of the bishop's case is not noticed in the session record, but Calderwood, the church historian, says the alleged slander was sufficiently tried and removed.

According to the First Book of Discipline, marriages were to be celebrated on Sundays in presence of the congregation, the forenoon being considered the most convenient time; and to prevent abuse on the occasion of marriage celebrations an Act of Parliament was passed in 1581, against superfluous banqueting. In October, 1583, Glasgow Town Council resolved that the amount to be spent on "brydallis" should be restricted in amount, though the figure is not stated; and in the following month the session "statut and ordenit that thair be na superfluous banket ather in making of marriage or baptiseing of barnes, and gif thair be persones called the namber to be few and the price of payment for thair dennar to be xviii d." Whoever was to be married in future was to find surety that each guest should not pay more than 18d. "utherwise the banket to be free." Further, as the session had noticed abuses in consequence of marriages taking place in the forenoon, partly through excessive indulgence and partly through persons not attending the kirk, "and geving thame selfis to prophane gaymes," it was resolved that in

future marriages should be celebrated in the afternoon before the sermon.

The dyke round the High Kirk yard was not in a condition to prevent the encroachment of stray animals. In 1578 "Bessie Douglas," relict of Thomas Ros, merchant, and mother of John Ros, the town-clerk already referred to, was in possession of the yard, but when the Town Council asked her to repair the dyke she declined. An arrangement was then come to with John Pantoun, one of the officers, who in return for the grass of the yard undertook to uphold the fences and keep out animals for five years. On 15th July, 1586, the session discharged playing at football, pennistone, etc., in the yard, and on 16th October, 1589, it was ordered that there should be no playing at golf or carrict shinnie (shinty) in the High Kirk or kirkyard or in Blackfriars Kirk yard, either Sunday or week day.¹ The "nine holes," a game in which nine holes were made in a board or the ground, at which the players rolled small balls, is alluded to on 17th July, 1589, when instructions were given to obtain the names of "thame quha playis at the nyne holes in Litill Govean." Little Govan was situated on the south side of Clyde, opposite the present Glasgow Green, and as it was beyond Glasgow parish it is not obvious why the session concerned themselves with its affairs.

On 25th June, 1589, at a time when various persons were called to account for Sabbath breaking and absence from church, the session directed that the "makaris of beamfyres," two days before, should be summoned to next meeting, parents being responsible for their children and masters for their servants. The perambulation of the marches, when the inhabitants assembled on the "Simmerhill," took place yearly

¹ *Wodrow's Collections* (Weems), p. 14.

about this time, and it may have been in connection with that annual turnout that the bonfires were lighted. Bonfires were often accompaniments of public rejoicing, as on 3rd June, 1605, when the Town Council paid £5 "to the menstrallis, officeris and bellringeris, for pastyme making that nycht the bonfyris was furth." In 1590 the Town Council postponed the "raid of the Somerhill" till 23rd June "for the observation of the Sabbath day." Mayday celebrations are referred to in 1592. On 6th April of that year the session perceiving that the Sabbath was profaned by "beggeris and youths" bringing in May playis, resolved that in future neither "menis son, prenteis nor pur" should profane the Sabbath in that way, and ordained that the fathers and masters should pay 20s. for the first and 30s. for the second fault of their sons and prentices respectively, and beggars were to be banished out of the town.

There are some references to the appointment of music-teachers. On 15th January, 1589-90, "Sir George Maxwell" was to be written to, asking if he would come and take on hand "to teiche musik in Glasgow and learn the youth to play." Sir George apparently declined the invitation, as at next meeting the session directed that Alexander Buchan be "written for to cum to teiche musik heir in Glasgow and to play." On 19th February the bailies, ministers, and the principal and a regent of the College were asked to ascertain "the meanes how that ane honest man may be sustenit in this toun to be ane sangster and teicher of the youthe of this toun in musik and playing." On 8th, and again on 15th June, 1592, intimation was ordered to be made by sound of drum that a "schulemaister and teichar of ane sang scule" had been appointed, and directing "that barnis be send to him." At the same time the session asked the Town Council to give to

James Burrell 20 merks "of the first end of Sir John Maxwell stipend, for his service done in the kirk in taking up of the psalmes." On 15th June the session discharged John Layng "in teching of ony barnis in this toun," but whether this refers to music or to another branch of education is not clear.

The sufferings of French refugees enlisted the sympathy of the session, and on 23rd May, 1588, they appointed the principal of the College, the second minister, and others to wait on the Town Council and advise them of "the necessitie of thair puir brethrene of France banneisit in Ingland for the religious cause." At this time the Council records are missing, and it is not known if the session's appeal had any practical result. Sympathy was again expressed towards foreign sufferers when, on 27th August, 1590, the ministers were desired to confer with the Town Council "tuiching the releiff to the puir of Geneve," and at next meeting it was reported that the Town Council had promised to assist the "kirk of Geneve" as soon as they got opportunity. On 9th September, 1591, the treasurer was authorised to give 40s. to "the Spainyardes."

THE OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF GLASGOW

BOTH the ancient Scottish Church and the rearranged ecclesiastical organisation which succeeded it in the twelfth century made provision for scholastic instruction being imparted to the limited number of youths, chiefly destined for the ranks of the priesthood, who required it. Where cathedrals were instituted the Chancellor presided over those who taught in letters, and the chantor or precentor looked after the training of the young musicians. We have no definite account of the constitution of Glasgow Cathedral till the middle of the thirteenth century, when Bishop Bondington, with the consent of his chapter, adopted the liberties and customs of Salisbury. During a vacancy which followed Bishop Bondington's death the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral obtained from the Chapter of Salisbury an account of the liberties and customs then prevailing in the latter church, and originally introduced by Bishop Osmund about the year 1076. Among these usages it was enjoined that the Chancellor should bestow care in regulating the schools and repairing and correcting the books, and that the Chantor should provide for the instruction and discipline of the boys for service in the choir.¹ But while

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 211.

the oversight of schools belonged to the Church, it is known that from early times municipal authorities freely co-operated with the clergy in promoting education within their bounds. Thus in 1418 the alderman and community of Aberdeen nominated a master of the burgh schools, and presented him to the Chancellor of the diocese for approval.¹ Forty years later Glasgow magistrates are likewise shown to be associated with the Grammar School in that city. On 20th January, 1460, a churchman named Simon Dalglish, who between 1448 and 1476 is found acting successively as prebendary of Ashkirk, official in the Ecclesiastical Court, and precentor in the Cathedral, gifted a tenement on the west side of the High Street to "Master Alexander Galbraith, rector and master of the Grammar School and to his successors in office." Unfortunately this document has not been preserved, and the nature of the gift can only be gathered from the description given by the compiler of an old inventory, who says that the master and his scholars had to perform some Popish rites, adding that "the said Master Simon appoints the Magistrates and Council of this burgh patrons, governors, and defenders of the said donation."² It is likely enough that the magistrates had previously some connection with the Grammar School, but from this time they appear to have had the responsibility of maintaining the buildings in which teaching was conducted, and they gradually acquired entire control in the management of the school. Previous to the Reformation, however, the Chancellor asserted his authority, as is shown in 1494, when it was judically determined that no one was entitled to keep a school without his special license.³ Fourteen years later, on the occasion of the Chan-

¹ *Early Scottish History*, p. 256.

² *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 436; ii. p. 557.

³ *Ib.* i. pt. ii. pp. 89-91.

cellor appointing a master of the grammar schools, the provost and other burgesses asserted that the magistrates and community had the right of admitting the masters of the mural schools and other buildings assigned for the instruction of scholars. Both parties referred to Dalglish's gift of 1460 in support of their respective contentions, but if any decision was arrived at no record of it has been preserved.¹ Previous to the Reformation the master of the Grammar School was always a priest, probably possessing at the same time a chaplainry or other benefice. In 1494 William Stewarde, canon of Glasgow and prebendary of Killearn, founded the chaplainry of St. Ninian at the Leper Hospital, stipulating that the chaplain, "master of the Grammar School," should, after the founder's death, commend him every night to all the scholars before they parted, causing them to pray devoutly for his soul and the souls of all the faithful dead.² At the dispersion of Church revenues which took place at the Reformation, the magistrates of Glasgow got a grant of those within the city to be applied for the maintenance of the ministers and other purposes. Support of hospitals and schools had been indicated by the Privy Council as coming within the scope of such grants, and in accordance with that view the chaplainry of All Saints was assigned to the master of the High School some time before 1572,³ when the bulk of the Church revenues was transferred to the University. In 1582 "Maister Patrik Scharpe, maister of the Grammer Schole of Glasgow," resigned his office, "togidder with the chapellanrie of Alhallow alter and all uther annuellis and dewteis pertaining thairto," into the hands of the Town Council, who thereupon, "be advise of the

¹ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 342.

² *Reg. Episc.* No. 469.

³ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 161.

maisteris of the Universitie and utheris, haifand power be act of parliament," elected "Maister Johne Blakburne" as his successor, and conferred on him the chaplainry and its revenues.¹ Subsequently Sharpe became Principal of the University. Blackburn was appointed minister of Cardross in 1603, but retained the mastership of the school till his translation to Glasgow Barony in 1615, when the Presbytery expressed the opinion "that Mr. John cannot well attend and serve the cuir of the ministry and the grammar school," and the Provost asked the Presbytery to assist in looking out for a "fit person to fill the place of Mr. John, who had for a long time acquitted himself with great ability."² Blackburn, who had been somewhat of a pluralist, got, in April, 1610, twenty days' leave of absence from the Grammar School to enable him to take personal possession of a benefice in Ireland, procured from the king, "be the moeyen of his freindis and familiaris in court," on condition that he provided the school "sufficiëntlie with lernit and qualifeit men to supplie his place during his absence."³

The site gifted in 1460 appears to have been of considerable extent, pieces having been sold from time to time, as narrated in the published records, and the remainder continued in use for school purposes. In 1577 a back tenement and yard, bounded on the west by a hawthorn hedge, was resumed from an occupying tenant to provide additional accommodation, "and to be possesst be the maister and barnis, to learne thairin for evir."⁴ In 1600 the building was getting into decay, and the Town Council "in respect thai think na thing mair profitabill, first to the glory of God, nixt the weill of the towne, to have ane Grammar Schole, and that the same

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 99.

² *Fasti Ecclesiæ*, ii. p. 37.

³ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 311.

⁴ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 557.

is altogidder rwinus and man be of new biggit," resolved to set about the repairing and rebuilding without delay. For this purpose they resolved to use, so far as necessary, the stones of the back almshouse, which had fallen into decay and was deserted, and other means were adopted to raise the necessary funds and proceed with the work. Among other contributors were the College authorities, who gave 400 merks, which had been left to them by "Hary the porter of the College." The emoluments of the master were likewise augmented by the Town Council bestowing on him another chaplainry, one which had become vacant in 1600, by the decease of "maister John Davidstone," with the "haill feu maillis and dewteis pertenyng thairto." At that time the master was entitled to charge, of quarterly fee, for each scholar belonging to the town, 5s. to himself and 1s. 8d. to his "doctour" or assistant. Previous to the year 1610 the master had been allowed the admission dues of two burgesses chosen by him, but in that year the Town Council terminated that mode of remuneration, and forty merks yearly were assigned to him in lieu of the former perquisites.¹ Rents and feuduties produced £29 12s. in 1646 and £40 2s. in 1659.²

Blackburn's successor was probably "Master William Wallace," from the High School of Stirling, he having been appointed to Glasgow in 1617. The renewal of his appointment in 1630 refers to a contract made with him at his entry, but owing to a blank in the records the "heids, claussis, tennour, and contentis of the foirsaid contract and appoyntment," which it would be interesting now to know, have not been preserved. Wallace was, on his death in 1641, succeeded by Master David Will, also from Stirling, to which

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 210, 216-7, 310.

² *Ib.* ii. p. 129; iii. pp. 550-1.

town he returned in 1649. Will, about whom and his predecessor, both able and learned men, interesting particulars are given in the late Mr. Hutchison's *History of the High School of Stirling*, had a stipend of 400 merks yearly, and the like sum was at first paid to his successor, Francis Kincaid. The two "doctors" had no settled stipend till 1649, when it was agreed that the first doctor should have £100 and the second 100 merks, payable out of the teinds, which at that time belonged to the town. They had previously occasional allowances for preaching. In 1629 two "maisteris of the Grammar School" got forty merks each "for helping the ministeris to preitche in their absens"; and there are several other payments for conducting church services till 1633, when the Town Council directed them "not to be hard in the lyk heirefter." In 1647, after a visitation of the plague, the Town Council gave the two doctors, apparently suffering loss of fees from desertion of pupils, £55 between them "for thair straits the tyme of the pestilence being in the towne." In 1663 the master was paid £306 13s. 4d., one doctor £133 6s. 8d., and the other £100, all Scots money.¹

A sort of time-table, referring to the period of Kincaid's mastership and giving six in the morning as the starting hour on some days, is printed in Dr. Cleland's *History of the High School*, and it gives the impression of overstrained application. This may have tempted the youths to break loose occasionally, and may partially extenuate them for conduct causing complaint to the Town Council in 1610 against "scolleris and prenticis haunting the yairdis quhair the alie bowlis, Frenche kylis and glaikis ar usit, in withdrawing thameselfis fra the scole and thair maisteris service, to thair grit hurt and deboscherie." Skaith to the neigh-

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 376; ii. pp. 161, 19, 127; iii. p. 484.

bours' yards, breaking of trees and destruction of herbs and sown seeds, resulted from indulgence in these frolics, which were ordered to be stopped, and the master of the Grammar School was instructed to "ordane his scolleris to prepare thair bowis for the archerie to thair pastyme."¹ The school's ground for practising archery seems to have been that referred to in 1653 when the Town Council found it "necessar to lay ane calsie in the lone neir the Grammer Scool buttis."²

Kincaid continued master till 1681, when, "in respect of his infirmitie and old age," he tendered his resignation, and the baillies and the regents of the College were asked to look out for a successor. One of the doctors, George Glen, was considered fit to be master "for his learning," but his "uther qualificatiounes" were not so pronounced, and the appointment was not settled at that time, though he eventually secured it.³ During Glen's mastership in 1682 "ane inventar of the bibleothic," being a catalogue of books in the library, was ordered to be taken, and a press was to be made for the books which were to be delivered to the master. In 1685 the Principal and Professors of the College, along with the ministers, had a conference with the Magistrates concerning the order, discipline, and method of teaching, always keeping in view "ane good correspondence betuyxt the said Gramer Schooll and the humanitie class in the College."⁴ In May and June, 1688, some trouble was caused by the doings of Hugh Muir, one of the doctors, who had abused a baillie and was promptly dismissed and imprisoned. Then came rumours that "he hes committed severall abuses by strikeing

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 311-2.

³ *Ib.* iii. 301-3.

² *Ib.* ii. p. 263.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 317, 380.

some of the schollaris too seveerle." After investigation, the Archbishop reported "that Mr. Hugh Muir deserts his charge sometymes for one day, sometymes for two, without leave from magistrats or master; as also it is found that he doeth exerce too rigid and cruell methods of discipline, and doeth rudely and unworthily treat the master, and that he did insolentlie upbrade Baillie Gilhagie in ane publict place and companie, to whom as being ane present Magistrat he did ow honour and reverence."¹

In 1689 George Skirvine, formerly master of the Grammar School of Hamilton, was appointed to Glasgow, and about that time George Glen, apparently the late master, was keeping another school, but he was enjoined not to engage in teaching "to the detriment of the publict Gramer Schooll."² From Skirvine's retiral and the appointment of William Hamilton, his successor, in 1715, till the transfer of educational management from the Town Council to the School Board, in 1872, a fairly full narrative of Grammar School affairs is given in Dr. Cleland's *Historical Account*, as continued by Mr. Thomas Muir, and the story need not be recapitulated here. A few notes regarding contemporary schools may, however, be given.

Shortly after the Reformation the building called the Sang Scule, connected with the Collegiate Church of St. Mary in Trongate, seems to have been converted into a school for elementary education, called promiscuously a "Scottis" or "Inglis" school. In 1575 the Town Council gave the admission dues of a burgess to "Thomas Craig, techear of the New Kirk Scule, for his panes"; and in the following year he was allowed 23s. "for straye to the mending thairof and for onputting of the samyn." Like

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* iii. pp. 411-2.

² *Ib.* pp. 433, 471.

the Grammar School, for which about the same time "straye to theik" it was purchased, this building had a thatched roof. In 1578 a sum of £10 was paid by the Town Treasurer to Craig "for his support in teicheing in the New Kirk Scole"; and a few years afterwards he, as "maister of the Tronegait Scole," obtained from the Town Council one of the Collegiate Church chaplainries yielding £8 yearly. The teaching of music was about this time carried on elsewhere, the Town Treasurer paying 40s. yearly "for the male of ane chalmer to be ane sang scole." In 1626 a reader in the High Kirk named James Sanders was authorised to teach music, and to charge for each pupil, per quarter, 10s. to himself, with 3s. 4d. "to his man." Sanders was to have a monopoly, all others being prohibited from teaching music in the town. After an experience of twelve years this arrangement proved unsatisfactory, "the musik schooll is altogidder deokayit within this burgh, to the grait discredit of this citie and discontentment of sindrie honest men within the same who hes bairnes whom they wold have instructed in that art." To obviate these complaints it was agreed, Sanders consenting, that Duncan Birnett, a former teacher, should resume practice and give instruction on same terms as those prescribed to Sanders.¹ In 1639 the number of "Inglish Scoolles" within the burgh was restricted to four, and one writing school was allowed. As the population increased an additional number of these schools was authorised. In 1654 the several "Scottis scooles" were visited—eight got permission to continue as formerly and two new ones were sanctioned. All the schoolmasters were admitted on these special conditions: "That they carie themselves religiouslie and honestlie as

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 43, 457, 465, 472, 462, 354, 388.

becomethe, without any kind of open scandell, and that they keipe morning and evening prayers in thair respective scooles and other disciplie thairin as becomethe, and that they tak no mor scolledge nor quarter payment fra towne bairnes bot ten schilling quarterlie, and double fra straingers, except it be the will of the parentis and freinds to whom they belong to bestow the samyne upon them, and that they teache and instruct all poore children whomsoever wha or thair parentis or freinds shall require the samyne of them, frilie, without any kynd of payment or scolledge quhatsomevir.”¹ Female teachers are sometimes heard of, as in 1658, when the bailies were instructed “to discharg the woman that hes tacken upe ane scole, at the heid of the Saltmercate, at hir awine hand.”² In November, 1663, sixteen persons, including nine females, were “permitted to keep and hold Scotis schooles within the toune, they and their spoussis, if they ony have”; and about the same time a Frenchman was authorised to give instruction in the French tongue, dancing and fencing. A mistress of manners is referred to in 1674, and a professor of navigation in 1681; while initiation in the three R’s is proffered by Robert Park, from Carmyle, who in 1668 was licensed to take up a school within any part of the burgh except Trongait “for instruction of the youth in wrytting, reading, and arithmetick.”³

The Grammar School, rebuilt and repaired in 1601, did not last long, as it was taken down and reconstructed in 1656. When the work was in progress a majority of the Council agreed that “sume littill thing be rasit on the wastmost gavill,” for hanging a bell there if the town

¹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 397; ii. pp. 284-5.

² *Ib.* ii. p. 391.

³ *Ib.* iii. 23, 24, 180, 308, 111.

should so desire ; and two months afterwards the Dean of Guild and Master of Work were entrusted with “ the cair of completing of the Grammer Schole steiple.”¹ It has been supposed that this reconstructed school was the building which stood till removed by the operations of the Improvements Trustees about the year 1871 ; but the



VIEW OF THE OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL, 1871.

views by Mr. A. D. Robertson of that building, hung in the Old Glasgow Exhibition of 1894, and reproduced in the Catalogue (p. 214), do not show any trace of a steeple. Apparently the schoolhouse, which passed into private hands when it was superseded by more commodious premises in 1788, had been considerably altered to adapt it for dwelling-houses. Wodrow, writing after 1700, mentions that “ the stone at present on the back dore hath on it 1601.” This stone, inscribed for the school erected in that year, had found a place in the subsequent erection, was taken from

¹ *Glasg Rec.* ii. pp. 340, 348, 351.

the building removed by the Improvements Trustees, and may at the present day be seen in one of the gables of the High School at Elmbank Street. In 1788 a new Grammar School was erected on the north side of George Street, near John Street corner, and about forty years later a site was chosen farther north. Both sites are now possessed by the governors of the Technical College. The site of the old building in the Wynd is now occupied partly by Ingram Street and partly by the Fire Engine Station and adjoining buildings.

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