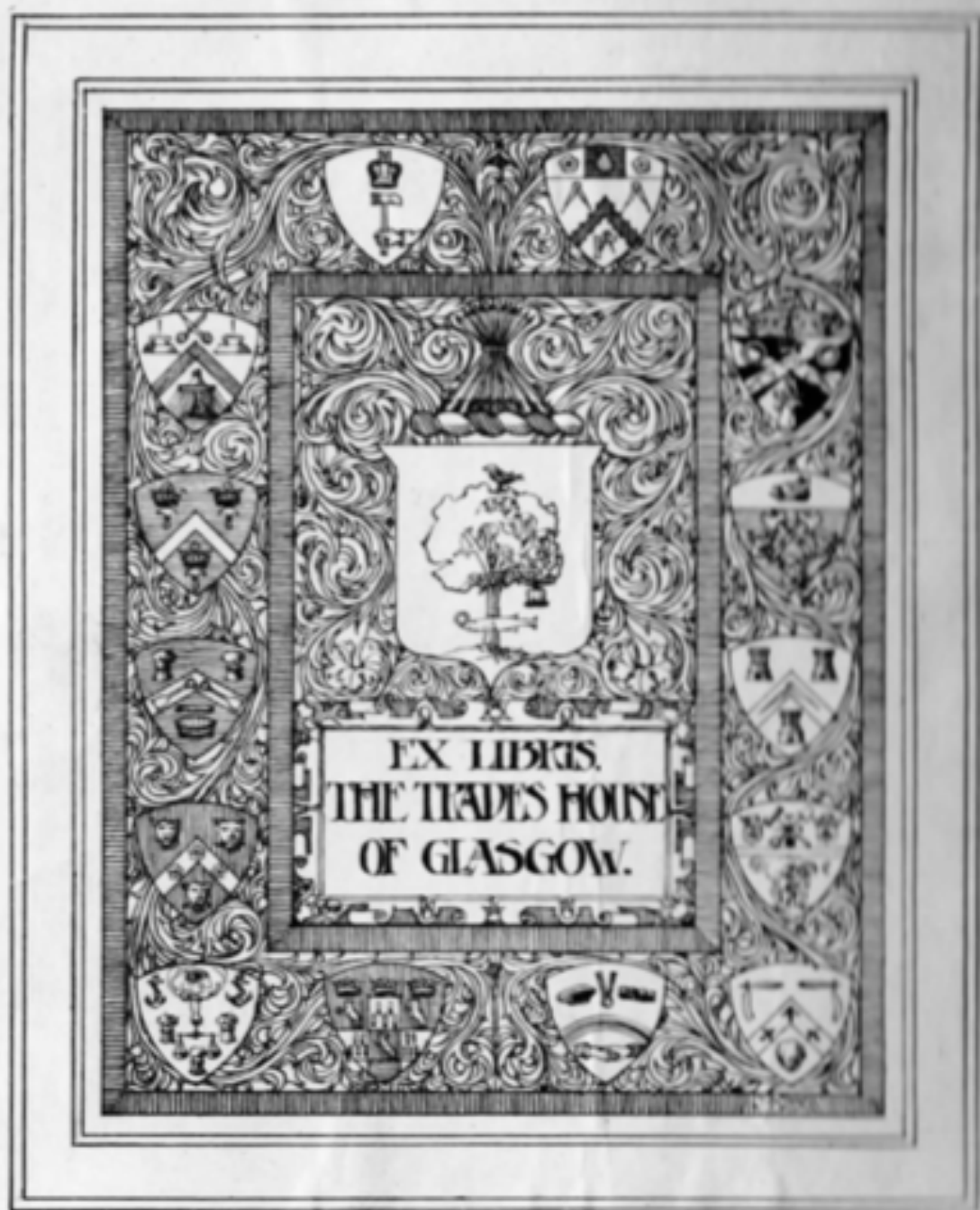


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OF THE
GUILDS OF GLASGOW

BY
HARRY LUMSDEN, M.A., LL.B.
CLERK OF THE TRADES HOUSE OF GLASGOW

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FACSIMILE "SEAL OF CAUSE" IN FAVOUR OF THE SKINNERS
AND FURRIERS OF GLASGOW, 28 MAY, 1516.

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(*Part I. was read on Monday, 19th March, 1923; Part II. on Monday, 18th February, 1924.*)

I. INTRODUCTION.

Early Scottish Industrial System—The Glasgow Crafts—Skinners and Furriers (A.D. 1516)—Tailors (1527)—Weavers (1528)—Hammermen (1536)—Masons, Coopers, Slaters, Sawyers, and Quarriers (1551)—Bakers (1556)—Cordiners (1558)—Coopers (1569)—Fleshers (1580)—Bonnetmakers and Dyers (1597 and 1760)—Surgeons and Barbers (1599 to 1722)—Wrights, Painters, Bowyers and Sawyers (1600)—Maltmen (1605)—Gardeners (16 and 1690)—Mariners and Fishers (16)—The Merchants—Merchants and Crafts in Conflict—The Conflict in Glasgow (1582 to 1604)—The Letter of Guildry (1605)—The Burgh and Guild System of Glasgow—Later Disputes—The Crafts Hospital and Charity—The Convenery or Trades House and its Functions—Burgh and Trade Reform (1800-1833-1846).

EARLY SCOTTISH INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

WRITERS on Scottish industrial history have always seemed to me to deal too little with the practice of the Trade Guilds and their influence in the development of industry. They apparently assume without much inquiry that the abolition of the trading privileges of these Guilds in 1846 was a step wholly in the right direction, and forget that when these Guilds lost their powers as well as their privileges, the good of the system disappeared with the bad, and that no power for good was substituted to ensure the best of workmanship and to protect the purchaser or consumer. We hear little or nothing of how apprentices lived with their masters as if they were their masters' children; how it was the master's bounden duty to train his apprentices; how at the end of a seven years' apprenticeship the youth was tested by the experts of his trade and had to make a flawless "essay-piece" before he could go out into the burgh as a full-fledged craftsman, and how even then every piece of work he turned out was examined by the craft visitors and if

found imperfect, condemned and destroyed as unworthy of sale to a fellow-citizen. Nor do they tell us much of the system ; how the apprentice was indentured and the indenture registered in the Craft Books, how the craftsman was obliged to become a citizen by purchase (*i.e.* a Burgess) before he started work on his own account and that thus when he obtained full burgess rights he, at the same time, gave his Burgess Oath *de fidei* and had thereby imposed upon him corresponding obligations to the burgh to which he belonged, and even to the State and the Sovereign : such obligations as watching and warding ; paying his share of the burgh burdens ; taking part in the management of his Craft ; if chosen, performing his duties in the Town Council all under a severe penalty on failure ; and generally returning obligations in money and in service for all the trading rights and burgess privileges he obtained.

Every system has its defects and its abuses. The Guild System was no exception. Yet the champions of Free Trade and the followers of the Manchester School of Economics have placed the Trade Unions on a much surer foundation and have given them rights and powers without corresponding obligations to the State far beyond anything the medieval master craftsmen ever had. Since then practices have been permitted and often legalised with much more serious results to the community than those which were the excuse for the abolition of the trading privileges of the Guilds.

The destruction of old institutions or of old systems very often does harm as well as good. The pruning of a tree rather than tearing it out by the root is often the better course ; it takes such a long time for another tree to grow in the vacant place. How long was it after the abolition of the privileges of old Trade Guilds in 1846 before the Factory Acts protected child workers, apprentices, and workmen, before State-aided technical training took up the work the Crafts had done at their own hand for centuries ? Adulteration Acts—long in coming—chiefly touch the question of food, and do not deal with inefficient workmanship. Even to this day, unless where the Board of Trade has a right to intervene or where burgh regulations having the force of law help us, there is no standard of quality for many kinds of workmanship nor for finished goods. But there *was* under the Guild System, and that is one reason why the antique is so often a thing of substance in comparison with the modern article. But whatever our views may be on such matters, we must all agree on the necessity for a clear knowledge of the gradual rise and progress of Crafts and mercantile pursuits and the system under which they grew up.

THE GLASGOW CRAFTS.

Considerations such as these have led me to approach the subject of the bibliography of the Guilds of Glasgow. The thoroughness with which the old craftsmen had to do their work, the interest which they were obliged to take in the general affairs of their craft and of their town, went far towards building up Glasgow's industrial and commercial greatness. Their work is an important part of the City's history.

Indeed Glasgow's industrial progress may be said to have really begun only when the Guild System had been fully evolved there. Under that system we see that from the apprentice to the master craftsman, or from the apprentice to the merchant, from the well trained craftsman and merchant to the councillor, magistrate and provost there could be traced one complete greater organism embracing at the same time many others all indissolubly bound together.

But the majority of the Crafts—later known as Incorporated Trades—were in existence as legally constituted and legally recognised bodies long before this stage was reached.

Ignoring the aimless question as to what Craft came earliest and taking the Crafts in chronological order of their legal recognition by the Burgh, we find that the first to obtain a Constitution was the Craft of the Skinnners and Furriers.

I. SKINNERS AND FURRIERS.

A.D. 1516. A.D. 1605. A.D. 1613.

Of course, a trade must have had some numerical strength before it became the subject of burgh recognition. The Skinnners numbered eleven applicant masters (others may not have joined in the Petition) when the Charter was granted in their favour on 28th May, 1516, by the Provost, Bailies, Council and Community with consent of the Archbishop, James Beaton (1508-1524), described as Chancellor of Scotland and Commendator of the Abbey of Kilwinning.¹ An Eik to this Charter was granted by the Provost, Bailies, Council and "Commissioners betwixt the Merchants and Crafts" of the Burgh on 5th February, 1605 (the day before the issue of the Letter of Guildry, the "Commissioners" being still sitting at the time). A Letter of Deaconhead by the Provost, Bailies and Council followed on 21st August, 1613.² These two later grants mention the Skinnners trade only.

¹ The original in possession of the Craft is in excellent preservation.

² This was granted "without prejudice to the liberties conferred on burgesses' sons by the Letter of Guildry," *q.v. infra*.

GUILDS OF GLASGOW

II. TAILORS.

A.D. 1527. A.D. 1546. A.D. 1569.

Until a few years ago the Tailors of Glasgow used to be placed fourth in the order of "erection," viz.—after the Skinners, Weavers, and Hammermen, but the discovery of a Charter dated 10th October, 1527, granted by the Provost, Bailies, Council and Community of Glasgow with consent of Gavin Dunbar (1524-1547), Archbishop of Glasgow, has now placed them second.¹

Another Charter followed on 3rd February, 1546, granted by the Provost, Bailies, Council and Community, while Gavin Dunbar was still Archbishop, and with his consent.

After the Reformation a third Charter was granted by the Provost, Bailies, Council and Community *alone* on 11th May, 1569.²

The Tailors claim a Charter in their favour by Mary, Queen of Scots, dated at Stirling, 16th April, 1556. But this Charter is in favour of all craftsmen of the Burghs and Cities of Scotland.

They can, however, produce a parchment copy of this Charter signed by David Wyle, Notary, and certified by him.

III. WEAVERS.

A.D. 1528. A.D. 1605. A.D. 1681.

The claim of the Weavers' Craft to the second and now the third place, depends chiefly on evidence afforded by a grant by Arthur Ross, Episcopal Archbishop of Glasgow (1679-84), dated 19th July, 1681, and ratified by Parliament on 17th September, 1681. Their first Charter, granted by the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow with consent of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar on 4th June, 1528, is not only referred to but fully quoted in the ratification by Parliament.

A grant by the Provost, Bailies, Council and Community of Glasgow to the "Wobster" Craft is the earliest document the Craft can produce, dated 16th February, 1605. Application for this Charter was probably made because the Craft's original Charter had provided for penalties and fines to be paid to certain "superstitious uses" which could not then be applied thereto by reason of the Reformation.

¹ In good preservation. See Renwick's *History of Glasgow*, i. p. 350.

² The Tailors were not originally a composite Craft, but at a later stage of their existence they assumed as members of their body, or at least entitled to Craft protection, persons professing to make women's clothing, also Makers of Stays and finally Upholsterers when stuffed chairs and other such luxuries came into vogue.

The Charter of 19th July, 1681, by the Archbishop, followed by the ratification of Parliament of 17th September, 1681, must be taken as authentic and we are therefore bound to admit the existence of the original Charter of 1528, for the very full quotation in the Statute bears all the marks of Charters of the kind consented to by Archbishop Gavin Dunbar.

IV. HAMMERMEN.

A.D. 1536. A.D. 1570.

The Hammermen of Glasgow obtained their first grant on 11th October, 1536.¹ We are still in the time of Gavin Dunbar (1524-1547), and here we come into contact with the first composite Craft of Glasgow which included at that time Blacksmiths, Goldsmiths, Lorimers, Saddlers, Bucklemakers, Hammermen and others.

Mr. Crawford, the historian of the Trades House, says this grant was confirmed on 6th October, 1570, after the Reformation, but the document and the records of the Town Council of Glasgow for that period are lost. In all probability such a confirmation was given, because the time of "superstition and popery" had passed, and contributions to the altar of the Craft's Patron Saint were no longer exigible. But it should be noted that the two later grants mentioned by Crawford (1676 and 1693), are not new Constitutions but simply Confirmations by the Town Council (1) of changes in the Entry Money, and (2) of an Agreement with the Hammermen of Gorbals.²

V. MASONS.

A.D. 1551.

Another composite Craft was erected on 14th October, 1551, by a grant from the Provost and Bailies of Glasgow in favour of the Masons, Coopers, Slaters, Sawyers and Quarriers within the Burgh and City. This was after the time of Gavin Dunbar, who died in 1547, and before the consecration of Archbishop James Beaton (the second of that name), who was appointed in September 1551. The Archbishop's Seal is therefore wanting, and was never appended.

The Coopers disassociated themselves from the union in 1559, and the Sawyers or Wrights in 1600, leaving the Masons, Slaters and Quarriers combined together, as they are to this day.

¹ The original is lost and only a very rough copy is in possession of the Craft.

² These Agreements with the Craftsmen in suburban villages thirled them to the Burgh Craft in return for limited trading rights within the Royalty.

Crawfurd tells us that the Masons were incorporated by King Malcolm III. under Royal Charter given at the Court at Fordie on 5th October, 1057, following upon a Petition from the Operative Masons of the City of Glasgow. Mr. Crawfurd does not say much about this Charter, except that the original, "An old musty paper," was "discovered about the commencement of the Nineteenth Century in the Charter Chest of the Glasgow Freemen Operative St. John's Lodge and translated" and that under it this Lodge claims precedence of all the Lodges of Scotland except the Grand Lodge. A document 459 years older than the first extant Glasgow Craft Charter of 1516 surely deserved a little more attention than he gave it. The alleged original has been exhibited often among collections of old Glasgow relics, and wary antiquarians have always passed it by.

VI. BAKERS.

A.D. 1556.

The Incorporation of Bakers is the only Glasgow Craft which cannot trace any Charter. The existing Burgh Records contain none. The Bakers were doubtless associated in Glasgow long before the Reformation and probably legally recognised, but whatever Charter they may have possessed and all their early documents are said to have been destroyed by the great fire of 1652.

There is extant, however, a short Act of the Town Council in favour of the Bakers, of date 6th October, 1556 (in which a Deacon is even then clearly assumed), and the Regent Moray, after his victory over Queen Mary at Langside in 1568, granted to the Craft ground at Partick on which the Bakers' first Mill was erected. This is said to have been given in return for the aid which the Bakers of Glasgow had rendered to him in providing bread for his army.¹

VII. CORDINERS.

A.D. 1558-9. A.D. 1569. A.D. 1918.

The Cordiners and Barkers of Glasgow were first recognised by grant of the Provost, Bailies, Council and Community, dated 27th February, 1558-1559, with consent of Archbishop James Beaton. They obtained another grant on 27th June, 1569, after the Reformation.

Until recent years the Craft, through their first historian, Deacon Wm. Campbell, used to lay claim to legal recognition of the Cordiners and Barkers as early as 27th June, 1460, by a ratification of the Provost, Bailies, Council and Community

¹ As to this see Dr. Laurence Hill's pamphlet of 1858. Bibliography, No. 35 *infra*.

on that date of certain Regulations of their Craft. The date 27th June, however, is ominous—the same date as their second Charter—and on reference to the petitioners' names we find them to be exactly the same, with a few omissions and mis-spellings, as the names of the petitioners to the Town Council for their second Charter of 1569.

A Royal Charter was granted by King George V. in 1918.

VIII. COOPERS.

A.D. 1569. A.D. 1691. A.D. 1695.

Eighth in order come the Coopers. We have now reached the Reformation period, prior to which seven Crafts had received Charters.

The Coopers, as already said, separated from the Masons and they obtained a Charter from the Provost, Bailies, "Senators" and Council of Glasgow on 27th April, 1569.

Further regulations were enacted by the Town Council in their favour on 15th May, 1691, and the Statute of William and Mary, 1695, Chapter 138, ratified and confirmed (1) their ancient rights, liberties and privileges, (2) an Act of the Lords of the Treasury and Exchequer in their favour of 15th July, 1687, and (3) the above-mentioned enactment of the Town Council of 15th May, 1691. It appears that the Town Council protested against this ratification. This must have been because the Town Council objected to a Craft created by themselves applying to Parliament as the Weavers had done in 1681 for ratification of their Burgh Charter. Whatever was the reason, the protest was effective for the Coopers' was the last application to Parliament for ratification of a Glasgow Burgh Charter.

IX. FLESHERS.

A.D. 1580. A.D. 16 (?).

The Fleshers, according to Crawford, obtained their Seal of Cause from the Provost, Bailies, Council and Community on 26th September, 1580. This Charter was sealed with the Burgh Seal on 6th October following. It is not recorded in the Burgh Records. Crawford omits to mention a Letter of Deaconry purporting to be two days older, granted by James, "King of Great Britain, France and Ireland." On examination of this document, it is evident that it is a Royal Charter confirming the Seal of Cause granted by the Burgh, and is therefore not of earlier date. The date 24th September has been assumed by some translator of the Royal Charter who finds that date in the body of it as the date when

the Burgh Seal of Cause was granted by the Provost, Bailies and Council. The Royal Charter mistakenly quotes 24th September as the date of the Burgh document instead of 26th September, and it fails to narrate that the Seal of the Burgh was not affixed to the Burgh grant until 6th October, 1580, when the fact of sealing was recorded in the Burgh Records. The description of King James as "King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith," points to the date of the Royal Charter as being subsequent to 1603, the year of King James' accession to the Crown of England after the death of Queen Elizabeth. Only a portion of the Royal Charter remains, and no part of it contains its own date. Further evidence of the Royal Charter being merely a confirmation of the Burgh grant is obtained by comparing the working clauses of each. They are practically identical and although what remains of the Royal Charter contains less than half of the original clauses in the Burgh Charter, part of the illegible portions of the Burgh Charter can be filled up from the same portions found still complete in the Royal Charter. Moreover, the writing in the Royal Charter is the writing of the early seventeenth century, and not the writing current in 1580.

There are no published records of the Craft, the only prints in existence being (1) the Burgh Charter followed by the Regulations or Bye-Laws of the Craft as they have been formulated from time to time, and a List of their Deacons from 1604, and (2) a Report on the Fleshers' Free School containing copies of the two Charters, and extracts from the Records relating to the School.

X. BONNETMAKERS AND BONNETMAKERS AND DYERS.

A.D. 1597. A.D. 1760. A.D. 1801.

The Bonnetmakers of the City became incorporated by grant from the Provost, Bailies and Council on 29th October, 1597.

A Charter of 29th September, 1760, combined the Bonnetmakers and the Dyers into one Incorporation. The Dyers had previously been without protection and had some years before become informally associated with the Bonnetmakers with the consent of the Trades House. This gave them a certain amount of recognition and protection, but no power was thus given to force all Dyers to enter the Craft nor to prevent unassociated Dyers from carrying on trade in the Burgh. The Charter of 1760 from the Town Council gave the combined Craft these powers, and it was followed by another Charter of 5th January, 1801, which corrected some minor defects in the former document. This Charter of 1801 is the last granted by the Town Council of Glasgow in favour of an Incorporated Trade.

XI. SURGEONS AND BARBERS.

A.D. 1599. A.D. 1600. A.D. 1656. A.D. 1672. A.D. 1722.

Crawfurd says the Surgeons and Barbers were "united" under a Charter granted by King James on 30th November, 1559. This is a mistake. The Royal Charter referred to was granted on the Penult (or 29th) day of November, 1599, in favour of the Surgeons only. It is true that the Charter brought sellers of drugs in the City under the "sight" of the Craft Visitors (*i.e.* Searchers) and also of one apothecary (mentioned by name), and that Barbers were being admitted to the Craft as "Pendicles," *i.e.* subordinate members, in the year 1602; but Barbers are not named in the Royal Charter. The Town Council on 9th February, 1600, promised to fortify and maintain these "professors of the art of Surgery," and "the Apothecaries" under their liberties granted to them, providing the same should not be prejudicial to the commonweal and the liberty of the town. Members were enrolled under one or other of the three branches but were confined to the practice of that branch for which they had entered. So there were Surgeons, Barber Surgeons, Apothecaries and Barbers in the Craft from at least 1602 until the Surgeons became finally and completely disassociated from the others in 1722. The Surgeons and Barbers had their Deacon who sat in the Trades House with his assistants from its institution in 1605 until 1690, when the controversy with the Barbers began. The Surgeons' Royal Charter was ratified by Parliament in 1672 (chap. 127). The ratification be it noted, however, is in favour of the Surgeons, Apothecaries and Barbers of Glasgow.

Before that the Provost, Bailies, "Senators" and Councillors had granted a Charter to the "Chirurgeons and Barbers" on 16th August, 1656. This was of course a burghal Charter and could not give the Craft powers beyond the royalty of the Burgh. The Royal Charter was a much more important grant and gave the Surgeons powers and exclusive privileges extending far beyond the outskirts of Glasgow into several Burghs and Counties, viz.—Glasgow, Renfrew, Dumbarton, and the Sherifffdoms of Clydesdale, Renfrew, Lanark, Kyle, Carrick, Ayr and Cunningham.¹

After their separation from the Surgeons in 1722, the Barbers received a Burgh Charter from the Provost, Bailies and Town Council on 22nd September, 1722, and became an Incorporated Trade by themselves. From that date the Barbers alone have been represented in the Trades House.

¹ See *Hammermen History*, pp. 61 and 137. Bibliography, No. 27.

XII. WRIGHTS.

A.D. 1600.

The Wrights obtained a Charter from the Provost, Bailies, "Senators" and Councillors on 3rd May, 1600. It will be remembered that the Masons, Coopers, Slaters, Sawyers and Quarriers had obtained a grant in 1551, the Coopers seceding in 1569. In 1600, the Wrights Craft included the Glazing-Wright, the Boatwright, the Painter, the Bowyer and the Sawyer of Glasgow and they were enabled to separate from the Masons by the Charter of that year in their favour. These splits in Crafts were often caused by disputes concerning demarcation of work, a troublesome problem still with us, but now confined to questions between Trade Unions.

In 1696 the Plasterers submitted themselves to the Craft. In 1804 the first Glazier came in, and in 1839 the first Carver and Gilder.¹

The Wrights have remained content with their one and only Charter.

XIII. MALTMEN.

A.D. 1605. A.D. 1672. A.D. 1677. A.D. 1684.

The Maltmen and Mealmen must have been combined in some form prior to 1605, but until that year they had received no written recognition from the Burgh. Maltmen are mentioned in the Burgh Records for 1574, and in Gibson's *History of Glasgow* there is quoted from the Burgh Records of 1556 (no longer in existence) a passage narrating the appointment of four "stenters" or taxgatherers from the "Mealmen and Maltmen." Their first written Constitution is to be found in the Letter of Guildry. Maltmen, like other Crafts, had been prohibited more than once, by the Scots Parliament, from electing a Deacon. But that is not the reason why the Letter of Guildry describes the head of the Glasgow Maltmen as Visitor and not as Deacon. The headmen of Scottish Crafts were named at different periods as Deacon, Kirkmaister, Warden, or Visitor. The Gardeners of Glasgow had at first a Visitor and not a Deacon. It was the duty of all Deacons to "visit" their Craftsmen's booths and search for "insufficient" work. "Visitor" is therefore an equivalent for "Deacon." Old as the Craft must have been in

¹ In 1786, 296 members were admitted. This took place shortly before the election of a new Clerk, the object being to create votes. The successful gentleman was Mr. George Crawford, Writer, the youngest of the twenty children of a former Deacon Convener, Francis Crawford, who had led the Glasgow Volunteers at the Battle of Falkirk in 1746. This George Crawford was succeeded in the Clerkship of the Craft by his son of the same name, who later became Clerk of the Trades House, an office which he held until his death in 1876.

1605, and long associated in some form, the new experience of being ruled by a Visitor and Master Court under a written Constitution was repugnant to some Mealmen and Maltmen who were brought to book early in 1605 by the Deacon Convener and his Council and forced by oath to acknowledge and promise to obey the Visitor and his successors.¹

The Maltmen's Constitution was ratified by the Scots Act of 1672, which ratified the Letter of Guildry as a whole.

The Craft obtained further privileges from the Town Council by an Act of that body on 24th March, 1677, and also obtained from Arthur Ross (1678-1684), Episcopal Archbishop of Glasgow, a Charter of Confirmation and general ratification (1) of the Letter of Guildry, so far as it concerned them, and (2) of the Town Council Act of 1677. This Charter of the Archbishop is dated 3rd January, 1684.

XIV. GARDENERS.

A.D. 16 (?). A.D. 1690. A.D. 1671. A.D. 1727. A.D. 1758.

Like the Bakers, the Gardeners cannot produce their original Charter nor any copy of it. The Charter supposed to have been granted is thought by their historian, Mr. Peter Baird Macnab, to have been of date not prior to 1605, nor later than 1623. The Burgh Records are missing for the periods 1601-1605 and 1613-1623. No trace of any Charter can be found in the Burgh Records 1605-1613. The Gardeners are, however, mentioned in the Agreement between the Crafts of Glasgow for the foundation of the Crafts Hospital, of date August, 1605, although no sum is filled in as their annual contribution to the hospital, so that they must have been associated in some form by August, 1605.

The headman of the Gardeners, then known as Visitor and not Deacon, is not found representing his Craft in the Trades House until 13th November, 1616, but this was due to the fact that until that year they had not come under obligation to pay any definite share of the cost of maintenance of the Crafts Hospital. They must, in my opinion, have had some recognition prior to the date of the Letter of Guildry, and they were probably one of the parties to submit the claims of the Merchants and Craftsmen to arbitration.

The Gardeners obtained a second Charter from the Provost, Bailies and Town Council on 22nd November, 1690, which states that the Craft had been incorporated "near these 100 years bygone," and had enjoyed their privileges like other Crafts during the time of their first erection till the year 1646, when their Deacon, infected

¹ *Trades House Records*, 1605-78, pp. 1-2.

with the Plague, was sent to the Foull Moor where he was cleansed, and amongst other of his goods that were carried out there and lost, the Letter of Deaconry and Privileges was also lost. This would place their Constitution after 1590 and before 1605.

Acts of the Town Council conferred privileges on the Craft in the years 1671, 1727 and 1758.

XV. MARINERS AND FISHERS.

A.D. 16 (?).

But there was another and fifteenth Craft or calling, the Mariners and Fishers, of which no trace of a Constitution can now be found, and yet Duncan Sempill, Skipper, and John Muir, Skipper, were two of the twelve Craft Commissioners in the arbitration with the Merchants, and Sempill was the first Deacon Convener of Glasgow. The Mariners and Fishers are specifically mentioned in the Letter of Guildry as a Craft. They were not only parties to the submission to arbitration, but were also parties to the later Agreement between the Crafts which preceded the foundation of the Trades Hospital.

These fifteen Crafts constituted the group formed into a Federation by the Letter of Guildry of 1605.

THE MERCHANTS.

The Merchants of Glasgow may have been in combination prior to 1605, but if so their Association had not yet been formally recognised by the Burgh. In the eighty-eight years after the Town Council and the Roman Catholic Archbishop first constituted a Craft organisation, we hear little or nothing of the Merchants of the Burgh making any move for recognition.

If Glasgow had been a Royal Burgh we could understand this because Charters from the Crown creating Royal Burghs invariably contained a clause creating a Guild also. These Guilds in Royal Burghs consisted of Burgess Merchants and Landowners to the exclusion of Burgess Craftsmen. Each Craft had thus to form a Guild of its own, and get recognition by supplicating the Town Council.

Glasgow was not a Royal Burgh. It was merely a Burgh of Regality. Its Superior was not the King but the Archbishop, whose approval was necessary of all grants in favour of Crafts, and his seal was always attached to the document as well as the seal of the Burgh. In such Burghs Guilds were rare. In 1582 the Town Council, and again in 1595-6-7-8 the Convention of Royal Burghs, had thrown out the suggestion that Glasgow should have a Guild. When the matter was broached

in public the Craft Burgesses always put forward strenuous objections. Feeling ran high, and for twenty-two years after the subject was first mooted nothing was done.

MERCHANTS AND CRAFTS IN CONFLICT.

But even in Royal Burghs such as Edinburgh and Aberdeen where the Merchant Guilds were of old standing, the Craft Guilds subsequently created by the Provost, Magistrates and Council had come into similar conflict with the Merchants. In these Burghs the differences had been referred to arbitration. We need not concern ourselves here with the causes or the subjects of these disputes. The point to observe is that in these Royal Burghs the Merchant Guild and the Crafts remained separate and distinct and no craftsman could be in the Guild. The head of the Merchant Guild was known as the Dean of Guild. The Crafts, each with Constitutions of their own and a Deacon at their head, had at first no head of the whole rank like the Merchants. But in nearly every Royal Burgh they formed themselves into a sort of federation without legal sanction of any kind and called their rank or federation the Convenery of Trades. The Convenery was managed by a body of representatives from each Craft, including the Deacon and a few other leading members, and their Chairman or President was called the Deacon Convener. This body was known in different Burghs by different names such as The Deacons' Court, The Deacon Convener's Council, the Deacon Convener's House, the Crafts House or the Trades House. We have therefore in Royal Burghs of this period three leading Corporations, each with a Council. The Corporation of the Burgh managed by the Provost, Magistrates and Council, the Guildry, with the Dean of Guild and his Council representing the Merchant Guild Brethren, the Deacon Convener and the Deacons of Crafts and their assistants forming a third Council for managing the common affairs of the Convenery or combined Trades. The constituencies of this Council were what might be called the minor or Craft Corporations.

THE CONFLICT IN GLASGOW.

In 1604 the disputes in Glasgow reach a climax. The position, however, was different from the position in Royal Burghs. There were a Provost, Magistrates and Council filling up vacancies by their own choice or on the nomination of the Superior of the Burgh of Barony. No Dean of Guild, no recognised Association of

Merchants, no Federation of Crafts or Convenery, and no Deacon Convener existed. But there were thirteen Crafts all legally recognised in some form by the Magistrates and Council, and prior to the Reformation, by their Superior the Archbishop as well. One greater Corporation and thirteen minor, *i.e.* the City Corporation and the Corporations of Hammermen, Tailors, Cordiners, Weavers, Bakers, Skinners, Wrights, Coopers, Fleshers, Masons, Gardeners, Surgeons, and Bonnet-makers. Two Crafts, the Maltmen and the Mariners and Fishers were awaiting written Constitutions.

Probably the prime cause of the disputes was fair representation to both classes of Burgesses in the Town Council. That at least was one of the chief causes. The Merchants would seem to have had no complaint on that score but they were obviously in a dangerous position in the Burgh, all Burgesses no doubt, but still without a Constitution and with no publicly recorded legal recognition as a class, except that they dominated the Town Council.

Both groups or ranks of Merchants and Craftsmen Burgesses wisely resolved to arbitrate "anent their privileges, places, ranks and prerogatives." By reason of "controversies and civil discords," says the Submission to Arbiters, dated 10th November, 1604, not only their trade "but also all policy and care of the liberties of the Burgh had been overseen and neglected, to the great shame and derogation of the honour of this Burgh, being one of the most renowned cities within this realm, and having found the only cause thereof to be the want of a solid and settled order among themselves, therefore, for the . . . settling of peace, concord and amity among themselves as faithful Christians and loving Citizens" the whole Merchants and Craftsmen and their assistants of both ranks and the "whole body of the town after many meetings and conventions long disputation and reasoning concerning their commonweal," nominated twelve arbiters each, or twenty-four in all, who in their turn nominated four oversmen.

THE LETTER OF GUILDRY.

The Decree Arbitral, now known as the Letter of Guildry, was issued on 6th February, 1605, approved by the Magistrates and Council on the 9th, and recorded in the Burgh Records. The original is lost, but there are many contemporaneous official and notarial Extracts of the document from the Burgh Records of the period, which are now also lost.¹

¹ For a collated copy see *Records of the Trades House, 1605-1678*, p. 529.

I do not propose to examine this document minutely but simply to show shortly what it effected.

(1) It created a Guildry, but a Guildry of a different composition entirely from those existing in Royal Burghs, for the Glasgow Guildry embraced both Merchants and Craftsmen.

(2) It created a Merchant Guild at the same time, separate and distinct from the Burgh Guildry, and provided that the head of the Merchant Guild should *ex officio*, as it were, be also head of the Burgh Guildry, a member of the Town Council and a Magistrate. From this Merchant Guild (but not from the Guildry) Craftsmen were excluded.

(3) It created a Convenery or Federation of Trades, the head of which was to be known as the Deacon Convener and who was also to be *ex officio* a Town Councillor and Magistrate. Glasgow is thus unique in having four major Corporations instead of the usual three in Royal Burghs.

Incidentally, the Letter of Guildry provided a Constitution for the Maltmen Craft, which had not apparently had formal Burgh recognition before, thus enabling that Craft to join the trades federated into the Convenery ; and it distinctly provided also that the Mariners and Fishers might form part of the Convenery, a necessary provision, because up to that time the Mariners and Fishers had evidently never had any public recognition.

THE BURGH AND GUILD SYSTEM IN GLASGOW.

We have still with us in Glasgow all these corporate bodies, except the Mariners and Fishers, who seem indeed to have died out with the very mention of their name, leaving no trace of their existence excepting these few references, a few names and the recorded fact in the Letter of Guildry of the nomination of Duncan Sempill, Skipper, as the first Deacon Convener.

That is to say we have (1) the Corporation of Glasgow acting through its Town Council, Bailies and Lord Provost ; (2) the Guildry, consisting of both ranks of Merchants and Craftsmen, the function of each rank being, as it still is, to elect four Lyners or Members of the Dean of Guild Court, of which the Dean of Guild is Chairman ; (3) the Merchant rank, now the Merchants' House, with the Dean of Guild at its head ; (4) the Convenery or Craft rank, in their different Crafts, each electing a Deacon who with his assistants formed what is (now known as the Trades House) the chosen managing body of the Convenery. Their head was and

is the Deacon Convener; (5) the fourteen Incorporated Trades. The whole Trades rank in their different Incorporations still convene annually on the same day during Michaelmas to elect their Deacons and other officers and their representatives to the Trades House.¹

The Guildry of Glasgow has still the same Constitution as was given it in 1605, ratified as that was by the Scots Act of 1672, and on some occasions since by Imperial Parliament. The Merchants' House elect four lymers to the Dean of Guild's Court, the Trades House other four, and the elected head of the Merchants' House presides over the Court as Dean of Guild.²

Before 1605, all the Town Councillors and all merchants and master craftsmen carrying on business in the Burgh were obliged to be Burgesses. They could not obtain the honour of a seat in the Burgh Council nor the privilege of trading without coming under corresponding obligations to the Burgh within which they so traded. The Burgess Ticket was the bond between them. But until 1605, there was no such combined qualification as Burgess and Guild Brother. All were Simple Burgesses and no more.

Even if a burgh tradesman had no organised craft to associate with, the Burgess qualification was necessary.

Burgess-ship was acquired by purchase, but it was also in the presentation of the Town Council and was often presented to an incomer who was likely to be of some service to the commerce or trade of the community. After the issue of the Letter of Guildry the higher qualifications of Burgess and Guild Brother became necessary not only for every Town Councillor but also for every Merchant carrying on a merchant's business and for every Craftsman belonging to any trade with exclusive privileges, that is, if he desired to rise to office in the Dean of Guild's Council, the Deacon Convener's Council or in the Master Court of his own Craft. The Merchant had to become Guild Brother *qua* Merchant, the Craftsman Guild Brother *qua* one of the fourteen Crafts. Thus was the City Burgess, Merchant or Craftsman drawn in to the new system and committed, the one to affiliate with

¹ The Town Council of Glasgow has passed through many vicissitudes since 1605, and its functions are now exercised in virtue of the Town Councils Act and many other public and local private Statutes.

² In ordinary Burghs the Dean of Guild is now elected by the Town Councillors from their own number. In these smaller Burghs the Merchant Guilds had probably died out or had given up their powers. But a different rule applies in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee and Perth, as well as Glasgow, where the Guildries still exist. In Edinburgh and Glasgow the Dean of Guild and Deacon Convener sit *ex officio* in the Town Council, in Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth the Dean of Guild alone.

the Merchant Guild and the other to enter the Craft chosen by him and mentioned on his entry. His only alternative was to remain a Simple Burgess of neither rank and confine himself to an occupation which did not encroach on the exclusive rights of the Merchants on the one hand, and the many privileged trades embraced in the fourteen Crafts on the other. The Simple Burgess had to be very careful in exercising his vocation for he could only trade in a limited way in small goods, not in large quantities and not at all in those articles manufactured by the privileged craftsmen. Little time was lost in prosecuting or hunting an intruder into his proper Craft. Indeed the Simple Burgess following an unprivileged Craft often found it advisable to affiliate (as the trades of the Burgh increased in number and variety) with some kindred incorporated Craft, for thereby he not only gained freedom to trade but also the protection of his Craft and its assistance in objecting to strangers and out of town men trespassing on his domain. Thus a number of the Crafts became composite or more composite. Engineers and Bookbinders joined with the Hammermen, Staymakers and Upholsterers with the Tailors, Plasterers with the Masons, and so on.¹

As the requirements of the inhabitants increased, dealers arose, who desired to sell daily rather than on market-days and fairs only, on which occasions trading was free to all. But it behoved them also to be careful. Such a respectable vocation as a Dealer above that of a mere huckster or pedlar was the monopoly of the Merchant Guild Brethren. So for instance a Burgess Ironmonger required to be Guild Brother *qua* Merchant. Even thus qualified, care was still necessary, for he had either to deal, when buying, with the Hammermen of the Burgh (who alone could manufacture for sale articles in metal), or purchase freely on the market-day or during the fairs. And when he desired to sell, he had to keep within his own booth or shop, and was not privileged to display his goods in the iron market along with the Hammermen (where he had no right to be), nor to hawk them through the streets, for that was beneath the dignity of a Merchant Guild Brother. It will thus be seen why the Guild Brother on admission was obliged to declare whether he was to be a Merchant or Craft rank, and name his Craft. These ranks were mutually exclusive. So also was each Craft.

¹ History is repeating itself to-day. Trade Unions are mutually exclusive as regards their members—no man can belong to two Unions. But weak Unions often affiliate or combine with stronger Unions and strong Unions unite into Federations. In the same way, Local Associations of Masters in particular trades have found it necessary to combine into United Kingdom Federations. Even these greater Federations occasionally unite for common purposes.

The fees or fines for these Burgess and Guild rights went to the Burgh Common Good as regards Burgess-ship, to the Merchant Guild if the Guild Brother was to be of Merchant rank, and to the Trades Guild if he was to be of Trades rank. The acquisition of the double right was rather cumbersome. Each right was obtained and paid for separately. In October, 1609, the Town Council delegated the admission of Burgesses to the Dean of Guild who after that date began to confer the double right and to issue one Ticket. But the Trades House was jealous of this privilege of the Dean of Guild and continued to exact the Craft Guildry fine from their Brethren in varying amounts until 1732, when the fines were fixed by the House at the rates now charged. This practice did not cease till 1774. In that year Mr. John Wilson, Town Clerk, was also Clerk of the Trades House and he instituted a new and more convenient system. The practice began of acquiring both rights by one application to the Town Clerk, and since early in 1775 one Ticket certifying that the holder is a Burgess and Guild Brother of the Burgh, either of Merchant or Craft rank, has been issued from the Town Clerk's Office, the fees being apportioned between the Common Good, the Merchants' House and Trades House, just as they were formerly collected directly. The charges made differ according to whether the applicant is a stranger or a son or son-in-law or apprentice of a Burgess and Guild Brother.¹

Until 1860, Burgess Tickets, all bearing the Guild Brother's qualification as well, could only be purchased in this way, but under Lord Advocate Moncrieff's Act of that year (23-24 Vict., Cap. 47), provision was made for a certificate as a Simple Burgess of neither rank being obtained for a small fee by persons *resident* in Burghs. This was sufficient to enable Town Councillors to take the oath and their seat according to the law then in operation, but it was not and is not sufficient to enable the holder to join a Craft Guild. Such a Burgess is only a Simple Burgess, partly qualified, and must therefore subsequently pay his Guildry fine² when he joins a Craft.

The fine or entry fee payable by a Guild Brother of Craft rank when he enters as a Burgess, makes the holder a member of the Convenery and enables him to join a Craft. Every member of any of the fourteen Crafts must be a Guild Brother of Craft rank by purchase as well as a Burgess. A Simple Burgess

¹ The first to break away from this ancient qualification for members was the Merchants' House. For many years applicants for membership have not been required to exhibit any Burgess Ticket.

² The Burgess Ticket has been dispensed with for Town Councillors by operation of the Town Councils (Scotland) Act of 1900, §§ 12 and 13.

entered under the Act of 1860 can pay his Guildry fine to the Trades House and thus acquire the double qualification.

To grasp the complete Burgh organisation of olden times, one must begin with the registered apprentice of a Burgess or with the fully qualified tried and tested stranger Craftsman, or unapprenticed son or son-in-law, and end with the Councillor, Magistrate or Provost. The apprentice was not only bound to his master by written indenture but the indenture was booked in the Craft books. This bound the apprentice also to his Craft. If he wished to become a Guild Brother, his indenture was also booked in the Deacon Convener's books. At the end of his apprenticeship he had to make an essay (just as carefully as a stranger craftsman from another burgh) to the satisfaction of the essay masters before being admitted as a member of the Craft, and he was not formally admitted until he had become a Burgess and Guild Brother of the Burgh and could produce evidence of that at the meeting when he was enrolled. All, from apprentice to Lord Provost, were part of the machine, bound to it at every stage, obliged to pay and to serve the Craft, the Guild and the Community. The Craftsman gave his oath to his Craft, the Merchant to his section of the Guild, and Burgess-ship was a preliminary qualification for obtaining his final rights. Each gave his Burgess oath *de fidei* and undertook not only to serve his Craft or Guild, his Burgh and the State, but in addition to pay all pecuniary burdens falling on his class for the privileges he was obtaining, and finally, he swore allegiance to the King and to the true religion as established at the time. His obligations were a counterpart of, and payment for, the rights he was to enjoy. Consider how unfair it would have been to allow a stranger to come into the Burgh and trade without these obligations being laid upon him.

While the apprentice had the protection of his Craft as against his master, the master had the protection of his Craft as against his apprentice. The craftsman had the same protection against any other craftsman and could appeal, at any time, to the Master Court of his Craft and from that again to the Deacon Convener's Council, and thirdly, to the Magistrates, in a question with another craftsman or even with his own Craft. The Craft had the same privileges against a craftsman or another Craft. Both Craft and craftsmen could depend on this, that if a question had to be fought out beyond the Craft Master Court or beyond the Deacon Convener's Council and to come for hearing to the Provost and Magistrates, they would still be before a court composed of Burgesses, Merchants and Craftsmen and would not only have a fair and reasonable hearing but a hearing by experts.

Most important of all, the final decision had to be obeyed. A Guild Brother who disregarded a judgment against him was either penalised or temporarily deprived of his rights, or placed under arrest and kept in confinement. Nor could a Craft ignore a final decision with impunity. Many a time was a Craft similarly penalised and the Deacon and Members of his Master Court warned as to what might happen to them if the decision were not observed.

That is a brief outline of the Guild System as it was practised in Glasgow after being evolved between 1516 when the Skinners were incorporated, and 1605 when the Guildry was established.

LATER DISPUTES.

But the Letter of Guildry did not put an end to all disputes just at first. As early as 16th February, 1605, the Town Council had to make a further enactment to put an end to all manner of controversies, questions and debates between the two ranks. The Dean of Guild and the Deacon Convener agreed that in all musters, weapon-showing¹ and other lawful assemblies, there should be no "strife for prerogative or priority" but that they should all rank and place themselves together without distinction as should be thought expedient by the Provost and Bailies for the time.

As "the Provost and Bailies for the time" meant always a majority of Merchants, the distribution of seats in the Town Council between the two ranks was not so easily settled, and King James VI. had to be appealed to. He issued a letter from Whitehall on 28th November, 1606, to the three Bailies of Glasgow, two of them Merchants and one a Craftsman, referring to the differences in the City, the chief ground of which was a question "amongst the equality of Merchants and Crafts in the government of the town," and requiring these three magistrates to elect and choose the most wise, discreet and peaceful men, making the half Merchants and the half Craftsmen. This settled the matter, and from that date till the passing of the Burgh Reform Act of 1833, half of the Town Council consisted of Merchant Burgesses and half of Craft Burgesses. Still the Merchants scored by having two Merchant Bailies and the Provost as against one Trades Bailie. They could therefore always command a majority on a full attendance. By the year 1827 there still were only two Trades Bailies as against three Merchant Bailies, and the Provost, who was always a Merchant Burgess.²

¹ A kind of review and periodical training of the armed Burgesses.

² See the Scots Act, 1609, Cap. 15.

THE CRAFTS HOSPITAL AND CHARITY.

An agreement between the Crafts for the institution and maintenance of the Crafts Hospital followed on the Letter of Guildry. It was entered into on 3rd August, 1605. The agreement is among fifteen Trades including the defunct Fishers and Mariners and the Gardeners, who did not, however, begin to pay any contribution until 1616, and whose representatives were therefore excluded from the Deacon Convener's Council until that year. This agreement was ultimately implemented by all the Crafts except the Bonnetmakers. Buildings and ground were acquired by gift, consisting of the Chaplainry of St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas, and also of the south part of a "waste forefront," called Moorbottle's Manse. On the latter was erected the Trades Hospital, whose first Master was the famous Dr. Peter Low, a Surgeon. He was also the first Collector of the Trades House. This old Almshouse sheltered many an unfortunate craftsman of the Burgh and was also used as a meeting-place for the Deacon Convener's Council and the Crafts and their Master Courts until it was found more expedient in 1791 to give up the Hospital system and resort entirely to a method of granting only pecuniary aid which had been in practice many years. The Almshouse had become too small to accommodate every poor craftsman, and in any event could not accommodate widows or children. So it was sold and razed to the ground.

THE CONVENERY OR TRADES HOUSE AND ITS FUNCTIONS.

The Deacon Convener's Council or Trades House met first as a representative body very soon after the issue of the Letter of Guildry. The functions of the Deacon Convener's Council were :

- (1) To choose a leet of three for the Deacon Convenership. The Town Council made the appointment from the leet. By the Burgh Reform Act the Town Council lost this power and the Deacon Convener is now popularly elected by the House.
- (2) To choose four Craft Lyners to the Dean of Guild Court, to act with the four Merchant Lyners and the Dean of Guild, its Chairman. This right is still exercised.
- (3) To manage the Trades Hospital (now out of existence).
- (4) To administer in charity the funds of the Hospital and the funds arising from the entry money of Craft Guild Brethren in aid of decayed brethren

and their widows and for "good and godly work for the Commonweal." This is now one of the main functions of the House.

- (5) To make Acts and Statutes for good order among the Crafts. The House still approves and enacts all Bye-Laws of the Fourteen Crafts.
- (6) To judge in matters concerning the Crafts. Here the House was a Court of first instance, or a Court of Appeal from a Craft decision in trade disputes. It was often appealed to as a Court of Review from a Craft judgment, although on occasions the decision of the House was not accepted as final and the matter went further to the Provost, Magistrates and Council, and sometimes even to the Court of Session. The abolition of exclusive trading in 1846 has rendered this privilege inoperative.

The Letter of Guildry was ratified by the Scots Act of 1672, Cap. 129, and by the Statute of William and Mary, 1690, Cap. 18.

Having no more serious grievances against the Merchants, the Crafts frequently resorted to bickering among themselves.

They engaged in six years' litigation between 1771 and 1777 on the question of the representation of each Craft in the Trades House. A proposed change was disallowed by the Court of Session and use and wont re-established. This vexed question was set at rest by the Glasgow Trades House Order Confirmation Act, 1920, which effected a re-distribution of seats.

BURGH AND TRADE REFORM.

The Burgh Reform Act of 1833 removed the control which the Town Council had exercised for 228 years of selecting the Dean of Guild, the Deacon Convener and the Visitor of the Maltmen from leets submitted to them (under the provisions of the Letter of Guildry) by the Merchants' House, the Trades House and the Maltmen. After the passing of the Act, these three officials were chosen by their own constituents by popular election, a privilege which the thirteen other Crafts had enjoyed from the time of their institution. But the right to constitute the Town Council of Merchant and Craft Burgesses in equal numbers was taken away and popular election by householders came into operation.

The Glasgow Police Act of 1800 had already taken the burden of watching and warding and relative taxation from off the shoulders of the privileged Burgesses. The ordinary householders of the City were then for the first time rated for the maintenance of law and order by a body of Police Commissioners elected by the

rate-payers. The case for privilege and monopoly had broken down, for it will be observed that privilege and burden were no longer co-related.

But it was twelve years after Burgh Reform before Parliament took away these trading privileges. The Incorporated Trades of Glasgow, like those of other Burghs in Scotland, lost their right of exclusive trading by the Act of 1846, when it became lawful for any person to carry on any commercial pursuit or trade or handicraft in any burgh and elsewhere in Scotland without being a Burgess or a Guild Brother or a Member of any Guild, Craft or Incorporation.

But by that Act all existing Guilds were permitted to retain their identity, corporate character and name, and to continue to apply their funds and annual income according to use and wont and to exercise any other privileges left to them.

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The bibliography of these interlocked Corporations, the City Corporation, the Guildry, the Merchants' House, the Trades House and the Fourteen Crafts, whose individual systems and whose larger organism, in which they were all embraced, I have endeavoured to describe, is voluminous. The system still exists, but the Merchants and the Craftsmen have been shorn of two privileges, exclusive trading and the constitution of the Town Council equally between them.

The Guildry Corporation remains intact and the two ranks still elect the Dean of Guild's Council or Court.

The historical material of the Corporation of Glasgow has been admirably gathered together in the Burgh Records and Charters compiled and edited by Sir James Marwick and Dr. Renwick. References to the Guilds can easily be traced through the admirable indices. One must also consult the Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and for a few years after. Numerous volumes on various phases of the city's life and enterprises have also been written and published by these two gentlemen, and

Dr. Renwick's first volume of the *History of Glasgow* to the time of the Reformation is a valuable example of how such work should be done. But for the Post-Reformation period it would be fatal to ignore what the Guild System has done for Glasgow, and the Records of the Guilds and their work must be laid bare before the making of Glasgow into a great commercial and industrial city can be historically explained.

THE BURGESS ROLL.

The bibliography of the Guild System in Glasgow should naturally begin with the Burgess Roll. There are records from 1573 and the Roll continues to date, increasing with the entry of several hundred names every year. But for the efforts of Mr. James R. Anderson we should be without any print of this interesting register.

He has edited for the Scottish Record Society the volumes showing the entries down to the year 1750. With their aid we are in a position to prove that before the grant of the Letter of Guildry a citizen of Glasgow was simply a Burgess and Freeman, or in the language of the Letter "a Simple Burgess." The Letter of Guildry provided means for all Burgesses of the time acquiring the new qualification of Guild Brother, the mark of a citizen with full rights in every royal burgh of Scotland.¹ The parts of the Roll now available prove also what has already been emphasised, that the two rights of Burgess-ship and Guild Brotherhood were, as they are now, separate and distinct. From 1573 to 1605 all entrants are necessarily Burgesses and Freemen only. We see the machinery of the Letter of Guildry coming into operation first on 30th March, 1606, with the entry as a Guild Brother of William Wemis, Merchant (already a Burgess). Entries continue, however, of Burgesses and Freemen only (many of whom never became Guild Brethren), and many citizens already Burgesses are entered as Guild Brethren during the first few years after 1606. It is not until 25th January, 1610, that we find a double entry, the entrant being John Robesoun B. & G.B. as son and heir of William Robesoun, Merchant.² Many entrants even after 1605 seem to have first enrolled

¹ It also provided, however, that wives of Burgesses then deceased, although they could not become Guild Brethren, could obtain the rights and privileges which might have been exercised by their husbands if alive. The sons and sons-in-law of Burgesses then deceased were not overlooked, nor were apprentices of Burgesses and Guild Brethren, nor strangers coming to the town and becoming Burgesses. Facilities were given for all these classes obtaining the rights of the Guildry.

² There is no entry of the father as a Guild Brother, so possibly John became Burgess as a son, but Guild Brother as the son of a Burgess who had died before 1605.

as Burgesses and Freemen only, and afterwards as Guild Brethren some years later. The double acquisition at the same time does not seem to become frequent until the Town Council had decided, as they did in 1609, that no Burgess should be admitted, sworn and received except in presence of the Dean of Guild and his Council, that is to say, his Council of four Merchants and four Craftsmen.

The first Craftsman on the Roll acquiring the double right was Alexander Mayne, Wright, on 25th April, 1611.¹

The distinction of the separate rights is further proved by the fact that when Honorary Burgesses were receiving the freedom of the City they are often described in the Roll as "Burgess gratis." In other words, the Corporation when conferring the freedom of the City could not confer the freedom of the Guildry; for example, James, Earl of Glencairn is made B. gratis on 8th February, 1582-3. There was then no Guildry. On 31st July, 1614, Sir John Stewart, Knight, is made "Burgess gratis" only. Here the Dean of Guild and his Council withheld their hands and did not admit him Guild Brother. But on 3rd September, 1625, "Ane noble and potent Lord, Archibald Lord Lorn is made B. and G.B. gratis."

This double honour is conferred frequently after that year on distinguished visitors to Glasgow as a mark of special favour, but the numerous servitors of such high placed visitors honoured at the same time are generally enrolled as Simple Burgesses only. The double honour was no doubt quite properly conferred when the Dean of Guild and his Council of eight enrolled the distinguished stranger, but the Corporation by itself and without the intervention of the Dean of Guild and his Council as controllers of the Guildry, could only confer the freedom of the City and not the freedom of the Guildry. To this day the Burgess and Guild Brother by purchase pays his Freedom Fine to the City, and although at the same time he pays his Guildry Fine also, that Fine is returned by the City to the Merchants' House or the Trades House, according to which rank the entrant enrolls.

It is therefore a question whether for honorary Burgesses the title ought, even now, to be Burgess and Freeman rather than Burgess and Guild Brother, as is entered, to my mind erroneously, in the Minutes of the Town Council.²

¹ He became Burgess most economically as son of James Mayne, but James had evidently never been a Guild Brother, for his son Alexander would not have chosen, as he did, to become Guild Brother at a slightly higher cost, as a son-in-law, he having married the daughter of one Gabriel Listoun, a Cordiner Guild Brother. It is apparent that without this marriage of convenience Alexander would have had to become Guild Brother like a stranger and pay the full and heavy fine.

² Another principle we prove from Mr. Anderson's interesting Roll and his Notes is that an ordinary Burgess leaving the town lost his freedom and was struck off the Register. He

THE GUILDRY, MERCHANTS' HOUSE AND TRADES HOUSE.

The work of the Guildry is recorded in the Minutes and other manuscript books of the Dean of Guild Court. While there is a short history of the Dean of Guild Court of Edinburgh, the history of the Glasgow Court is only to be found in works dealing with other Institutions. The Guildry and the Merchants' House had been dealt with, although very shortly, by Mr. James Ewing of Strathleven, the Dean of Guild, in 1817. No one can tell now whether this was the work of the Clerk, Mr. John Douglas (Clerk from 1814), or of Mr. Ewing himself. The little book, following the title of M'Ure's *History of Glasgow*, is called *A View of the History*, etc., and it is prefaced by a Minute of 29th September, 1817, of a Meeting of Dean of Guild Ewing and his Brethren of the Merchants' Council at which the Dean of Guild presented the *View*, as approved by a Committee. Having been considered, it was unanimously approved and directed to be printed and circulated.

"The House, on the motion of the Lord Provost, unanimously presented thanks to Mr. Ewing, for the ability and research with which he had prepared this accurate, luminous, and valuable record."

There has always been great rivalry but, happily with only a few acrimonious exceptions, a pleasant rivalry between the two Houses, and as might have been expected, a short work on the Trades House by Mr. Benjamin Mathie, the Clerk, followed in 1819. The Guildry volume is called *View of the History, Constitution and Funds of the Guildry and Merchants' House of Glasgow*, the other *View of the History, Constitution and Funds of the Trades House of Glasgow*. Both start equal as regards title, but the Trades House had a handicap of two years. Mr. Mathie scored by publishing a second edition in 1827. These little books are more guides for members of the Houses than histories. Thirty years later, both editions of Mr. Mathie's work having become exhausted, the Clerk of that time, Mr. George Crawford, published his *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Trades House of Glasgow, its Constitution, Funds and Bye-Laws*.

Mr. Crawford states in the prefatory letter to his *Sketch*, published in 1858, that he was unable to put into the hands of members any book concerning the origin, progress and Bye-Laws of the House. All the same, his own hands had been

could no longer do his duty as a citizen in watching and warding, nor attend Wapinschaws, nor perform any of the other duties nor bear the burdens which were expected of him in return for the privileges he enjoyed as a Burgess, Freeman and Guild Brother. Therefore, his privileges were taken from him.

frequently delving into Mathie's book. The fly-leaves of his copy of Mathie (second edition), are scribbled over with what Dr. Hill would have called "private notanda somewhat difficult of decipherment," yet Crawford makes no mention of Mathie's name. He was determined his book should not go out of print early. He printed 1,000 copies for private use of the House. For sixty-seven years every one of the new representatives in the House has been presented with a fresh copy, the leaves uncut, and many uncut copies still remain for their successors.

Crawford's book is interesting to any reader and fully reliable as to facts, but it is coloured by the prejudices of a very strong-minded theorist. His views on the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians must be read with caution, and his opinions of the Glasgow Merchants and the Merchants' House are tinged with unmistakable bias, which may perhaps be explained, if not excused, as coming from a gentleman whose family had for generations belonged to the Craft rank and were all born fighters.

Mr. James Ewing's hand-book of 1817, was, we are told, almost out of print by the year 1866, when the Directors of the Merchants' House remitted to Messrs. Archibald Orr Ewing, James Lumsden, Alexander Ronaldson, James Alexander Campbell, and Michael Connal (*i.e.* a Privy Councillor, a Baronet—both M.P.'s—a Lord Provost, and two Knights, all in embryo) as a committee to re-print Mr. Ewing's *Sketch* with such additions as would bring down the history to that time. The Committee on investigation resolved to publish a more comprehensive work, all as the preface to the volume bears out. But it was no more the fashion then than it is now for leading citizens with such prospects to burn the midnight oil in antiquarian research or literary labours. The preface acknowledges on the part of the Committee, their obligation to those who contributed the interesting materials, viz. :—Mr. John Buchanan, Member of the Faculty of Procurators (afterwards Doctor of Laws), for his notes on the old possessions of the House, Easter and Wester Craigs ; to Mr. Andrew Scott, late of H.M. Customs for Extracts from the Minutes from 1791 to 1866 ; to Mr. William Henry Hill for the introductory chapters on the history of the House and for deciphering the older records ; and finally (and this is where the other Directors retired gracefully from the scene), to Mr. Orr Ewing for the cost of publication and presentation of the volume. Mr. James Ewing's small octavo volume was thus expanded into a very large and weighty quarto, and as a history it has served the Guildry, the Merchants' House and the public of Glasgow for fifty-seven years. The bulk of the work fell on Dr. Hill and it is excellent. But it is a pity that his work was finished before much of

the material compiled and published by each of the two City historians was available for reference. The work has therefore certain limitations.

The only other publication since 1866, beyond the annual Accounts (which, like the Accounts of the Trades House, appear in the large volume of City Accounts compiled annually by the City Chamberlain and may be found in the Mitchell Library), and the annual Diaries and Hand-books of both Houses, is a list of the names and designations of the matriculated members of the Merchants' House from 1768 to 1891, arranged alphabetically in chronological order with their fathers' names and designations added. Appended to this is a list of the Deans of Guild and Collectors from 1605 to 1891.

Anyone desiring a further succinct account of the Guildry from a different angle could not do better than make a careful perusal of the Record in the case of *The Dean of Guild v. The Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow*, 26th June, 1876. This is chiefly the handiwork of Sir James Marwick and his deputies.

Unless for a few additions of prints of the House Bye-Laws, pamphlets on a variety of subjects and controversies, prints of the Accounts of the House to which reference has been made, and prints of the Minutes from 1876 onwards, the only other books on the Trades House are :

Inventory of Charters, Deeds, Minute Books and other Records of the House, Charters, etc., 1558-1833, *Minute Books* 1605-1833, printed in 1909, and *The Records of the Trades House of Glasgow*, 1605-1678, printed in 1910 ; issued to subscribers only, each copy being numbered : edition 500.

Then there are Chapters XIII. to XVI. of the *History of the Hammermen of Glasgow*. These chapters deal with the Guildry, the Guild Brethren, the Conventry and Trades House, the functions and work of the House in relation to the Crafts, the relations of the House and Crafts with the Burgh and the Town Council, and the transition to free trades and reformed institutions.

But there is much important matter which has not reached book form. The Records of the House from 1713 to 1846 are ready for publication. So also are the early records of the Bonnetmakers and Dyers. Other Annals are begun or are in contemplation. A new work on the Cordiners and a first book on the Fleshers may be seen soon. The Fleshers alone of the Fourteen Crafts have published nothing except their Charters and Bye-Laws.

THE CRAFTS.

Although the literature of the Guildry and the Houses began in 1817 and 1819, it was long ere the Crafts thought of publishing any material. For more than fifty years their antiquarians remained silent, except for a few pamphlets or short notes appended to printed Bye-Laws and Rolls of Members.

The first to break ground was the Incorporation of Tailors through their Clerk, Mr. Joseph Macintyre Taylor, afterwards Dean of Faculty and Doctor of Laws. In his *Excerpts from the Records of the Incorporation with copies of original Charters*, printed in 1872, the story of progress and changes in that Craft can readily be gathered. The extracts are in chronological order and continuous from 1611 to 1867, with rubrics only and no index. But as often happens, Dr. Taylor had not access to all the documents. The Tailors' first Charter is not even mentioned by him. Indeed, it was not discovered until long after his death, but has now been deciphered and appears in full in a recent handbook prepared by his son and published by the Craft for private circulation in 1921.

Dr. Taylor's *Excerpts* were followed by a work prepared by Dr. W. H. Hill, *Annals of the Skinners' Craft, 1516-1616*, printed in 1875 but completed and presented to the members five years earlier. This is one of the most valuable and most thorough of any of the Craft histories, although it describes the Craft's work during its first century only. Dr. Hill adheres closely to facts and reasons from them, and thus the first part of his book on the Skinner Craft generally and on early legislation of the Scots Parliament regulating it and the Skinners' Incorporations of Scotland may be relied upon in every detail, as well as the second part in which he brings to light the youthful days of the Glasgow Skinners and Furriers.

Next come the *Chronicles of the Maltmen Craft, 1605-1879*, by Robert Douie, LL.B., late Clerk of the Incorporation. Mr. Douie had begun his researches as early as 1864, when he published a Roll of Visitors of his Craft with a few notes appended, which received the warm commendation of several Glasgow antiquarians.¹ The first edition of 1879 was followed by a second in 1895, revised and continued to date by Mr. Franc Gibb Dougall, Clerk of the Incorporation. Mr. Crawford theorises in his *Sketch of the Trades House* on the causes of the controversy between the Merchants and the Crafts resulting in arbitration and the Letter of Guildry of 1605. His theories are controverted by Mr. Douie on the lines adopted

¹ John Buchanan, LL.D., James Pagan, who wrote of the Cathedral and See of Glasgow, Dr. Gordon, editor of *Glasghu Facies*, and Dr. Hill.

by the Clerk and Collector of the Merchants' House, Dr. Laurence Hill, in a paper to be found in the Glasgow Archaeological Society's transactions for 1858. Mr. Crawford may have had his faults, but his critics may also have had theirs, and all one need say on that and any other subject of controversy is—When you find theorists arguing with one another, go back yourself to the original documents and draw your own conclusions. The book has headings only, no chapters, but there is a good table of contents and also an index ; and besides these, two lists of members, one beginning at 1605, and the other as at 1879, with the Craft genealogy of each member. Both editions of the *Chronicles* are most carefully written and worthy of a high place amongst the literature of the Glasgow Guilds.

One cannot say the same for the next volume—*Sketch of the Incorporation of Masons and Lodge of Glasgow St. John*. This book was compiled by James Cruikshank, an ex-Deacon of the Incorporation, Past Master of the Lodge and Past Provincial Depute Grand Master of the Province. Its date is 1879. The book was what the compiler called another edition of the *duo decimo*, published by him in 1858, with reference to the antiquity of his Incorporation. I have been unable to trace any copy of the 1858 print. The valuable part of this book is Dr. Hill's very full notes in Chapter VIII., "Early Records of the Incorporation" taken from the Sederunt Book of the Craft, 1600-1681, and arranged in headings. The remainder, with the exception of a chapter regarding builders in Glasgow about the year 1824, and a few other collections of curious and useful information, consists, not merely of extracts, but chapters taken almost word for word from other works such as Cleland's *Annals of Glasgow*, Reid's *Glasgow Past and Present*, Pagan's *Cathedral*, Lyon's *History of Free Masonry*, Crawford's *Sketch* and Strang's *Glasgow and its Clubs*.

At the end come the Bye-Laws of the Craft and of the Lodge, building regulations, rules for measurement, a history of Hutchesons' Hospital, a list of the Kings of Scotland from B.C. 330, and the Lord Provosts of Glasgow from 1268. There is also an account of buildings, bridges and canals in and around Glasgow, and notes on many other subjects, either in tit-bit paragraphs or in lists.

As a compilation of curious information concerning Glasgow, it is a masterpiece and to any reader it will afford much entertainment, but it is a standing example of how histories should not be written. The book begins with the alleged Charter by King Malcolm Canmore in favour of the Glasgow Masons. The worthy Deacon must surely have heard between the years 1858 and 1879 that this document was not genuine.

Mr. James Robertson, LL.D., afterwards Dean of Faculty and later Knight, when Clerk of the Coopers' Craft, published in 1880 from the University Press, *Bye-Laws and Regulations of that Incorporation with an Appendix*. The Appendix is now the only part of this handbook useful for reference. The little book was followed in 1899 by *The Cooper Craft*, prepared by Mr. William Craig, S.S.C., a work most useful to the investigator and one that will save him a great deal of original research. It is a compilation of Acts of the Scottish Parliament, of the Lords of Treasury and Exchequer and others from 1124 to 1707, relating to the laws, regulations and privileges of burghs and burgesses, the Guild, the Cooper Craft in Scotland, and the Cooper Craft in Glasgow.

Next in order comes the *History of the Incorporation of Cordiners in Glasgow*, by William Campbell, sometime City Assessor and an ex-Deacon of the Craft. This book, of date 1883, is akin to Deacon Cruikshank's. It abounds in much city and craft lore, most of which may be accepted as correct, although not always to the point. There is an erroneous quotation in the Appendix of a Petition of the Craft to the Town Council (already referred to) for sanction of Regulations on 27th June, 1460, ninety-eight years before the Craft obtained its original Seal of Cause. The date should be 1569, nine years after their first Grant.

Chapter VII., consisting of the acts and proceedings of the Cordiners from 1759 (when the existing records begin), may be consulted with safety, also a few others which the careful reader will be able to select for himself. But there is a great deal too much of Crawford in Mr. Campbell's volume and an Appendix of fifty pages, thirty of which may be found in older publications of other writers.

It is safe to say that we do these things better nowadays. And it is right to make mention under this heading of a learned article in the *Scottish Historical Review* for April, 1919, by Mr. Robert Lamond, the present Clerk to the Craft, on "The Scottish Craft Guild as a Religious Fraternity." Mr. Lamond deals broadly with his subject, one of very deep interest in these days when there is not the same close touch between the church and labour. Drawing chiefly from Scottish Political and Craft history, Mr. Lamond also makes many references to and illustrates from our own City and Craft Records as well as from the particular Records of the Glasgow Cordiners.

Here should be mentioned, although outwith the series of works strictly within my notice, a most valuable contribution to Guild history.

In 1886 Sir James Marwick delivered to the Philosophical Society a paper on "Early Guilds of Merchants and Craftsmen," with special reference to

the relation in which the Guilds of Scottish towns stand to those of other countries.

This was published separately in pamphlet form, and while it takes us back to ancient Greece and Rome, to the Continent of Europe and England, it also refers to Scotland as a whole and to Glasgow. No one should omit reading it before making a study of the Guild System. It forms in reality a general introduction to a sketch of Scottish Merchant and Craft Guilds. But these admirable little works of Sir James and Mr. Lamond bring us into the region of wider fields of Guild life such as are trodden by Brentano, Dr. Malet Lambert and Dr. Gross.

The Bonnetmakers and Dyers have no written history so called, but a very useful handbook was first drawn up by their Clerk, Mr. R. Murray Dunlop, in 1886. Three subsequent editions, revised and enlarged, were published in 1896, 1905 and 1920. The last, edited by the present Clerk, Mr. William Stevenson Cochran, is worthy of perusal for its historical memoranda and lists.

Next the Wrights Crafts took the field. Mr. James A. Reid, afterwards Dean of Faculty and Doctor of Laws, published in the year 1887, an old register of the Acts of the Incorporation from 1650 to 1710. It was presented to the members by Deacon John Watt. Dr. Reid followed this by a handbook called *The Incorporation of Wrights in Glasgow*, which he published in 1889. This was a larger and third edition of a small handbook first published in 1880, a second edition having appeared in 1883. A fourth edition was prepared by Dr. Reid in 1900. The 1889 and 1900 editions contain a Craft genealogy of members alive at 1889.

Dr. Reid's work is rather more than a guide book. It contains many historical memoranda from the Craft and City records. One wonders whether the other Crafts had such a secure Essay House as the Wrights. They confined each aspiring entrant in a house with the door secured by a lock of four throws, a different key to each throw. The four Essay Masters or Judges held one key apiece and the windows and vent heads were grated. Thus the essayist could not procure assistance in making his master-piece and fraudulent essays were prevented.

A very exact print of the Seal of Cause of 3rd May, 1600, is also in existence, done from the original and published in Edinburgh in 1840. It is printed in two columns, the left being the Seal of Cause as granted, with all the ancient spellings, interchanged vowels, signs, contractions and special letters of the alphabet (the thorn and others). On the right column is the translation into modern English and at the end is a woodcut of the Common Seal of Glasgow as attached to the

original document. This parallel copy appears also in the Appendix of Dr. Reid's book.

The troubles surrounding the movement for the enactment of a first set of Rules for the Incorporation's guidance gave the Bakers their history in 1891, when *The Incorporation of Bakers, Glasgow*, was published. The book owes its origin to the Clerk of the Craft, Mr. James Ness, LL.B., who felt that it was not always desirable to be dependent on traditions for the careful handing down of what has been. Until then the Incorporation had been to a great extent guided in the conduct of its affairs by use and wont and had indeed been loath to trammel itself by rules and bye-laws. This book again is not in chapters but in headings. The narrative portion, carefully sketching the Craft history and progress from 1556, is followed by extracts from the Craft Minutes and Accounts, and also from the records of the Burgh relating to the Baking Trade. Then come the usual lists, without which no Craft history would be considered complete. There is also (following the examples of Mr. Douie with the Maltmen and Dr. Reid with the Wrights) a list of members as at 1890, with their Craft genealogy. The second edition appeared in 1896, called *The Incorporation of Bakers of Glasgow from its origin to the year 1890*. The Appendix 1890-1896 is the only new feature.

Next come the *Records of the Incorporation of Barbers, formerly Chirurgeons and Barbers*, by Mr. James B. Tennent, a past Deacon of the Incorporation, published in 1899. Mr. Tennent's book is a faithful and unbiassed narrative and should be read in conjunction with Dr. Alexander Duncan's *Memorials of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow*, published in 1896.

Both books tell the interesting story of the Surgeons, Apothecaries and Barbers of Glasgow beginning their career with a Royal Charter from King James VI. and show how, after a hundred and twenty years of brotherhood, the local members of what had then become a learned profession severed all connection with their former brethren, the mere makers and mixers of medicines and the cutters of veins and hair. It is a fascinating tale common to our own country and the whole civilised world of the time. The unlearned apothecaries have long since been taken in hand by the law, and who knows that the future expert in hair, nails and the surface excrescences of the human skin may not yet require some statutory diploma before he begins to practice his art as a master.

When Clerk of the Gardeners, the late Mr. P. Baird M'Nab published a history of his Incorporation from 18th November, 1626, to 1st September, 1903. The title page is undated but the Preface gives 18th September, 1903. Mr. M'Nab's

book consists of a short introduction, the Seals of Cause and certain relative acts of the Town Council followed by extracts from the records and from the accounts, notes on various phases of the Craft's activities, and many odd items of information. With no chapters nor index, except a general list of contents, it is difficult to find what one wants. Lists and financial statements of various kinds are numerous and there is a list of members as at 1903 with their Craft genealogy. The want of system in compiling the book, most of which consists of extracts from Minutes and extracts from published books, often without any connecting link or explanatory matter, detracts from its usefulness. But there is little concerning the Gardeners' Craft of Glasgow that cannot be found on its pages.

There was next compiled and published in 1905 *Old Glasgow Weavers*, being records of the Incorporation of Weavers, with eight illustrations and several Appendices. The author is Colonel R. D. M'Ewan, D.L., who was Deacon in 1904. A second edition was published in 1908, with an additional Appendix by the late Dr. George Neilson. There is a chapter on origin and early history, with connecting notes between the several Charters, a chapter on Constitution, with numerous extracts from the records, and chapters on Apprenticeship and Freedom, Trade Privileges, Care of the Poor, Supervision of Work, Meetings, Discipline and Finance, Legislation and Litigation, Relations with the Weavers of Gorbals, Bridgend, Calton and Blackfaulds, Social Matters, Property, Burials and Mortcloths, and finally the Weaver in public affairs, including the later history of the Craft after 1773. Then come the usual lists, but without genealogies, and unfortunately there is no index except of the chapters and the appendices. Dr. Neilson provided in the second edition an inventory of all important records and documents belonging to the Craft, arranged in the same order as the chapters of the book.

GUILD TRADITIONS.

Here books on the Glasgow Craft Guilds come to an end, with the exception of the later publications of the Trades House and the Hammermen of 1910 and 1912, already referred to. But before parting with them, one must notice a new departure—that of gathering together the traditions of the Guilds, the unwritten part of their story which cannot be found in old Records or Charters. This kind of work has been well begun by Mr. Arthur Muir, Clerk of the Hammermen, in a little quarto published last year on the Traditions and Customs, the Insignia and Relics of his Craft. Many of the customs still practised by the Crafts may be

accounted for by the random reading of a passage from some ancient minute. Few of such customs are of modern origin. Just as the phraseology of the Records of the present day have sometimes a quaint turn of expression which leads us away into mediaeval times, so a custom handed down from generation to generation shows us at once the meaning of some old Act or Statute of the Trade. It is to be hoped that Mr. Muir's steps in this direction will be followed by his colleagues of the other Crafts before it is too late.

REFERENCES BY GENERAL HISTORIANS OF GLASGOW.

But the study of the Glasgow Guilds will not be complete, nor its bibliography exhausted, unless we take notice of other works which deal only incidentally with the subject. It is possible to glean many useful historical facts from Glasgow histories and historical publications, such as M'Ure's *View of Glasgow*, Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, *Glasgow Past and Present* by Senex, Cleland's *Rise and Progress*, MacGeorge's *Old Glasgow, the Place and the People*, Marwick's and Renwick's whole series of books, and many others. There we obtain a contemporary view of the Guilds as they existed at a particular time. But any general work of this nature written by other than our two City historians later than the sixties of last century should be avoided. By that time the Guilds were losing power and influence as essential factors in the commercial and industrial development of Glasgow and were slowly forming into benefit societies, or at the most, public charities, acting also, in some instances, as electoral colleges from which managers of the public institutions of Glasgow might be selected.

And the writers and essayists of this later period look upon the old Guilds and their records with the partial eye of the reforming politician or the Free Trade economist, pointing with glee to the defects and idiosyncrasies of the Guilds, rejoicing more in the downfall of the exclusive privileges than acknowledging the good work the Guilds did in their time ; not admitting, as they might, that sound portions of their industrial fabric could have been spared, and failing to notice that these old Guild Brethren took life seriously and never fancied that their Craft records would be so often used to provide amusement to the reader of humorous snippets.

But the special historical work which has been done, although by master craftsmen and notaries unversed in historical methods, deficient as it may be, is ample enough to show, although not to show fully, the Guild System in operation

and to demonstrate what further information is still required to enable us to get a deeper grasp and take a broader view of their activities and their influence. What is most wanted now is to leave the writing of histories to a later time and to clear the way for historians by a repetition of the work begun so well by Dr. Hill and Dr. J. M. Taylor, viz. : careful extracts of all the important records under heads or in chronological order, with indexing equally careful. The result would be that a full and comprehensive view could be taken from such books by any competent or even any amateur historian desiring to show what the Guilds achieved.

CONCLUSION.

To say that the Guilds lost their privileges chiefly by reason of corruption and abuses may be true. But it is only part of the truth. Without doubt, in spite of their wordly ways, the Guilds achieved much. We should remember that the whole civic, commercial and industrial welfare of Glasgow from 1605 to 1833, was in the hands of a small group of probably less than a hundred selected men—Merchants and Craftsmen. In the years between, great progress was made in many directions by the chosen of these two ranks including the Town Councillors appointed equally from amongst them. Ignoring the thirteen years which elapsed before the exclusive privileges were abolished in 1846, we may say that, during the whole reign of the Guild Brethren, municipal, commercial and industrial Glasgow was completely under their control. But so also were the whole municipal, commercial and industrial burdens on their shoulders. The unprivileged inhabitants had no public duties nor obligations placed upon them. And so it follows that during these 228 years the ground was prepared and the seeds set by the Guild Brethren for the development of Glasgow. The privileged members of the three great Corporations deepened the Clyde and formed the Clyde Navigation Board. They established the greater hospitals, they inaugurated and supported educational establishments : they maintained their own poor, and contributed handsomely to the support of the general poor of the City along with the Kirk Sessions : they took part in and bore their share of the pecuniary risk of the formation of canals and railways : they policed the City without charge under a form of conscription for more than two centuries. While all these years, and especially the later years, they may have fostered the abuses which were inherent all along in the Guild System, still, master, man, and apprentice were socially nearer to one another than now. They were at least humane in their dealings between themselves and with

the public. In these enlightened days we can afford therefore to look upon their faults and their failings, and any untoward consequences which followed, as something merely trivial in comparison with the discomfort and even misery, for all, which follows in the train of these colossal upheavals we now so often experience from our present free industrial system.

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11. Bye-Laws | and | Regulations | of the | Incorporation of Coopers of Glasgow, | with | Appendix. | Glasgow : | Printed at the University Press | by Robert MacLehose, 153 West Nile Street. | 1880. |

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18. A List | of the | Matriculated Members | of the | Merchants House of Glasgow, | from 3rd October, 1768 to 10th June, 1891, | arranged alphabetically, | in | chronological order : | to which is appended | a List of | the Deans of Guild, | and | Collectors of the House, | from | the date of the Letter of Guildry in the year 1605 | to | the present time. | Glasgow : | M'Corquodale & Co., Limited, Printers, 96 Maxwell Street. | 1891. |
 Royal Octavo, pp. (1)-73.
19. The | Incorporation of Bakers | of Glasgow. | Glasgow : | Printed by James C. Erskine, 140 Hope Street. | 1891.
 Medium Octavo, pp. (i-viii) (1)-141.
 Second edition 1896. The | Incorporation of Bakers | of Glasgow | from its origin to the year 1890. | With Appendix 1890-1896. | Glasgow : | Printed by James C. Erskine, 140 Hope Street. | No date.
 Medium Octavo, pp. (i-x) (1)-141. Appendix (1)-39.
 (Both by James Ness, LL.B., Clerk of the Incorporation.)
20. Memorials | of the | Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. | By Alexander Duncan, B.A., Lond. | with a sketch of the rise and progress of the Glasgow Medical School | and the Medical profession in the west of Scotland. |
 Glasgow. | James MacLehose & Sons, | Publishers to the University, | 1896. |
 Quarto.
21. The Cooper Craft : | A compilation of | the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, | of the Lords of Treasury and Exchequer, | and of the Magistrates of Glasgow, | from A.D. 1124 to A.D. 1707 | Relating to the laws, regulations and privileges of | burghs and burgesses, the Guild, the Cooper

Craft, | and the Cooper Craft in Glasgow, | Prepared by | William Craig, S.S.C. | at the request, and on behalf of William Craig, Ex-Deacon | of the Incorporation of Coopers, Glasgow. | Glasgow : | Printed by Charles Glass & Co., 43 Mitchell Street. | 1899.

Royal Octavo, pp. (i)-xiv, (15)-170. Impression 130 copies, numbered.

22. Records | of the | Incorporation of Barbers, | Glasgow, | formerly | The Incorporation of Chirurgeons and Barbers, | Extracted and narrated | by | James B. Tennent, Deacon of the Incorporation, 1890-91. | Glasgow : | Printed by Bell & Bain, Limited, | 41 Mitchell Street. | 1899.

Small Royal Octavo, pp. (i)-xii, (1)-264.

23. The History | of the | Incorporation of Gardeners | of Glasgow | from 18th November, 1626 to 1st September, 1903. | John Smith & Son, 19 Renfield Street, Glasgow. | No date. (By P. Baird M'Nab, Clerk of the Incorporation.)

Super Royal Octavo, pp. (i)-viii, (1)-325.

24. Old Glasgow Weavers : | being | Records of the Incorporation of Weavers. | With eight illustrations. | By | Deacon Robt. D. M'Ewan. | Glasgow : | Carson & Nicol, Limited, 12 & 14 Bath Street. | MCMV.

Crown Quarto, uncut edges, pp. (i)-viii, (1)-166.

Second edition, 1908, has the following added to the title page :

| With an additional Appendix by Dr. George Neilson, F.S.A., etc. | and Copy of latest Revision of Continuous Roll. | Glasgow : | Carson & Nicol, Limited, 12 & 14 Bath Street. | MCMVIII.

Crown Quarto, uncut edges, pp. (i)-viii, (1)-209.

25. Inventory | of | Charters, Deeds, Old Minute Books and other Records | belonging to | the Trades House of Glasgow | Charters etc. A.D. 1558-1833 | Minute Books, etc. A.D. 1605-1833. | Glasgow. | MDCCCXCIX.

Demy Small Quarto, pp. 32.

26. The Records | of | the Trades House of Glasgow | A.D. 1605-1678 | Glasgow | Printed for the Trades House of Glasgow | MDCCCXC |

Crown Quarto, pp. (i)-xxvii, (1)-574.

27. History of | The Hammermen of Glasgow | A study typical of | Scottish craft life and organisation | Paisley : Alexander Gardner | Publisher by appointment to the late Queen Victoria | 1912.

(Harry Lumsden, LL.B., Clerk of the Trades House of Glasgow, and Rev. P. Henderson Aitken, D.Litt. Oxford).

Crown Quarto, pp. (i)-xxv, (1)-446.

28. The Scottish Craft Guild as a Religious Fraternity. (*Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XVI., No. 63, April 1919). (By Robert Lamond, LL.B., Clerk of the Incorporation of Cordiners, Glasgow.)
29. Incorporation of Tailors | in Glasgow. | Rights, | Bye-laws, and Regulations. | As confirmed by the | Court of Session on | 13th November, 1920. | Aird & Coghill, Ltd., Printers, Glasgow | MCMXXI. |
Crown Quarto, pp. 102.
30. Traditions and Customs | of | The Hammermen of Glasgow | and | The Insignia and Relics | of | The Incorporation of Hammermen | By | Arthur Muir | Clerk to the Incorporation | M'Corquodale & Co., Ltd., Printers, Glasgow | MCMXXIII.
Crown Quarto, pp. Fifty Eight.

II. PAMPHLETS.

31. Proceedings of the Directors of the Trades Free School and of the Trades House regarding the proposed improvements of the School. Glasgow. Printed by John Clark, Queen Street. MDCCCXLI.
32. Letter by George Crawford to W. W. Mitchell on the subject of Trades House and Incorporation Reform. 28th March, 1848. Glasgow. Printed by Bell & Bain, 15 St Enoch Square. 1848.
33. Report to the Trades House by the Committee on the state of the Funds, the effect of the Act abolishing exclusive privileges, the Bye-Laws which should be enacted in consequence, and the Petitions to the Court of Session by certain Incorporations. 10th January, 1848. Glasgow. Printed by Bell & Bain, 15 St. Enoch Square. 1848.
34. The One Fourth share of the Lands of Gorbals and Bridgend belonging to the Trades House and Incorporations of Glasgow. (Purchased 1650.) Glasgow. Printed by Bell & Bain, 15 St. Enoch Square, 1852. (With history of the Lands from 1640, feuing plan and lists of feuars.)
35. On the Letter of Guildry, and the Merchants' and Trades' Houses.
By Laurence Hill, LL.B. 1858.
(See *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 6th December, 1858, Vol. I., pp. 29-37.)
36. The Annual Reports of the Association of Deacons of the Fourteen Incorporated Trades of Glasgow. 1858 *et seq.* (Containing lists of Deacons and Visitors from 1820 onwards; lists of Collectors, Master Courts, and Clerks; and Statements of Capital Stock, Revenue and Expenditure of the Trades House and the Fourteen Incorporations from 1858 and thereafter).

37. Sketches of a Glasgow Incorporation in the Seventeenth Century. (The Maltmen and Mealmen.)
By Robert Mitchell. 1865.
(See *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 9th January, 1865, Vol. I., pp. 420-437.)
38. Trades House. Memorandum explanatory of Mr. Campbell's motion for alteration of Bye-Laws, 1881.
(Explaining proposals of Deacon William Campbell, City Assessor, for broadening the residential qualification required of Guild Brethren elected to represent their Crafts in the Trades House.)
39. Bye-Laws and Regulations of the Trades House of Glasgow. Glasgow. Printed by Aird & Coghill, Printers, 263 Argyle Street. 1886.
(The first printed collection of Bye-Laws of the House taken from the Records from 1605 onwards, and from other sources.)

III. BOOKS BY GENERAL HISTORIANS OF GLASGOW AND OTHER WORKS CONTAINING REFERENCES REGARDING THE GLASGOW GUILDS.

40. The whole series of the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, Glasgow Charters, Glasgow Protocols and other Works of Sir James Marwick and Dr. Robert Renwick. (See Renwick's *History of Glasgow*, pp. xvi-xix and xlv-lit.)
41. Glasgow.—The Water Supply and Various Developments of the City till the close of 1900. By Sir James Marwick. Printed for the Corporation by Robert Anderson, Glasgow. 1901.
42. Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls. Volume VII, including Appendix with list of Markets and Fairs of Scotland and Notes by Sir James Marwick.
43. The History of Glasgow by John M'Ure. First published 1736.
44. The History of Glasgow, by John Gibson. 1777.
45. Annals of Glasgow. By James Cleland 1816.
46. Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow. By James Cleland. 1820.
47. Glasgow Past and Present. By Robert Reid (Senex) and Others. 1851-6.
48. Old Glasgow, the Place and the People. From the Roman Invasion to the Eighteenth Century. By Andrew MacGeorge. 1880.
49. The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow. 1573-1750. Edited by James R. Anderson. Edinburgh. Scottish Record Society. 1923-4-5.

