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THE

HISTORY OF GLASGOW.

GLASGOW FROM THE SOUTH ABOUT 1760.

FRONTISPIECE.

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THE HISTORY OF GLASGOW

From the Earliest Period to the Present Time

BY

GEORGE MACGREGOR

CONTAINING THIRTY-SIX ILLUSTRATIONS

GLASGOW: THOMAS D. MORISON
LONDON: HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO.
1881

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TO

THE CITIZENS OF GLASGOW

THIS VOLUME

THE RESULT OF PLEASANT RESEARCH INTO THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE

City of Saint Mungo

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY A FELLOW CITIZEN

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE.

SOME considerable time has now elapsed since the publication of any work claiming to be a record of the rise and progress of Glasgow; and that circumstance, in conjunction with the fact that within the past few years much has transpired to throw not a little additional light upon important matters hitherto but imperfectly understood, has weighed with the Author in the preparation of this History of Glasgow. He considered that the historical material that had accumulated during the present century, and the augmented information now obtainable, would enable him to place before the public much that would be interesting in relation to Glasgow, but which had not previously appeared in popular form.

From the *Extracts from the Burgh Records of Glasgow*, prepared for the Burgh Records Society by Dr. Marwick, the Town Clerk of Glasgow, and from the *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, edited by Mr. Joseph Bain and Dr. Charles Rogers for the Grampian Club, the Author has derived information which, while appealing in no small degree to antiquarian tastes, also discovers some notable incidents occurring in the early days of the City. Especially is this the case in regard to the beginnings of municipal government in Glasgow; yet the advantage thus gained is confined to no particular branch of inquiry, but extends itself to the whole scope of the volume.

Instead of dividing his work into different sections—such as ecclesiastical, educational, municipal, commercial, and social—as has been the custom of almost every writer of the history of Glasgow, the Author has adopted chronological sequence as his

guide, believing that to be the more natural method, and one less likely to have a confusing effect upon the mind of the reader. By showing that events of different complexions were contemporaneous would, he considered, lead to a clearer understanding of the various influences at work at the period of their occurrence. At intervals, also, short biographical notes have been given concerning those who have, in any noteworthy degree, contributed to the advancement of Glasgow.

The Author desires to express his indebtedness to Rev. Dr. Cunningham, minister of Crieff, for permission to reproduce, from his *Church History of Scotland*, the account of the General Assembly held in Glasgow in 1638; and to Professor John Young, of the University of Glasgow, for the summary of the *Nova Erectio* of King James VI. to the College. Also to Mr. Alexander M'Cutcheon, Treasurer of the City of Glasgow Bank Relief Fund; Mr. William West Watson, City Chamberlain; Mr. James Macgregor, of the Town Clerk's Office; Messrs. F. T. Barrett and John Ingram, of Mitchell Library; and Mr. Thomas Mason, of Stirling's Library, for assistance courteously granted.

GLASGOW, *November, 1881.*

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THE

HISTORY OF GLASGOW.

THE GLASGOW ARMORIAL INSIGNIA,
AS DECLARED BY THE LORD LYON KING OF ARMS.

History of Glasgow.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Early Inhabitants of the District—The Roman Occupation—The Introduction of Christianity—Kingdom of Strathclyde—The Saxons and Scots.

The origin of the early inhabitants of the British Isles has been a fertile source of controversy among antiquarians and anthropologists; and the many volumes written on the subject form, if nothing more, monuments to the industry and erudition of their individual authors. It may not appear to be a matter of very great moment whether the race which must be looked upon as the foundation or basis of the British nation as it at present exists, was Celtic or Gothic; more especially as there is a certainty that both the Celtic and Gothic elements enter largely into its constitution. But it is a truism to say that there is a desire in the human mind to know the why, wherefore, and whence of all things; and in the absence of information it will construct for its own satisfaction hypotheses which may have, probably have not, some slight resemblance to the true state of affairs. In this particular instance, there is comparatively little historical evidence in support of any special theory. There are, however, some suppositions so strongly reasonable that they have been generally accepted as likely solutions of the problem. As already indicated, it is the contention of some writers that the aborigines of this island were Goths, and that the Celts, on their arrival, found these Goths in possession. That theory is but feebly supported. On the other hand, there is a concensus of opinion among learned men favouring the idea that these aborigines were Celts, and Celts only—the overflow of the Celtic nations of Western Europe. Chalmers, whose *Caledonia*—a work of great magnitude and research—was published in the

early years of the present century, and whose conclusions on all that relate to North Britain are admitted to be generally sound and irrefutable, says (*Caledonia*, Vol. I., p. 15):—"The original impulse, which had been given to mankind, peopled the British Isles during the most early times. The stone monuments, which still appear to inquisitive eyes in Britain and Ireland, evince that the first settlement of these islands must have been accomplished during the pristine ages of the post-diluvian world, while only one race of men existed in Europe; and while a second impulse had not yet induced various peoples to quit their original settlements in Asia." Without going further into a controversy in which there has been so much hard thinking and hard speaking, it may be accepted as approaching the fact, in view of the concord of eminent authorities, that the early inhabitants of Britain were Celts. There is one strong point, though it also has been denied by pugnacious antiquarians, in favour of such a conclusion—that at the advent of the Romans the island was peopled by that race.

Becoming divided into tribes or clans the early settlers of Britain, with diverse interests, and occupying tracts of country differing in many respects, developed distinctive characteristics. The tribe inhabiting the district in the centre of which Glasgow now stands, was called the Damnii. Their territory extended from the ridge of hills between Galloway and Ayrshire, in the south, to the river Earn in the north. It comprehended all Strathclyde, or Lanarkshire, the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, and Stirling, with a portion of the shires of Dumbarton and Perth. Their towns were—Vanduara, the site of which is supposed now to be occupied by Paisley; Colania, thought to be Lanark; Coria, now Carstairs; Alauna, on the river Allan, probably at Keir, a short distance from Bridge-of-Allan; Lindum, near the present Ardoch, in the parish of Muthill, in Perthshire; and Victoria, Dalginross, in the parish of Comrie, at the confluence of the Ruchil Water and the Earn. Hunting and fighting seem to have been the chief occupations of the tribesmen. Although there are no written records of their habits and modes of living, there are still to be seen relics of these by-gone days in the remains of ancient British forts in many parts of the district, together with the fragments of weapons of war, and of canoes found, some recently, in the Clyde, Lochlomond, and elsewhere. Druidism, with its dark superstitions and atrocious rites, was the religion of this and all the other tribes; and in the parish of East Kilbride and the village of Kilbarchan, to go no farther afield, what are believed to be Druid remains have been found.

The Romans, having conquered the southern portion of Britain, Julius Agricola was sent by the Emperor Vespasian to undertake the command of the Roman legions in that most recent

addition to the great empire. It is recorded by Tacitus, Agricola's son-in-law, that in hopes of further conquest, this commander made an expedition into the region bounded by the Solway on the south and the Clyde and the Forth on the north. Although the tribes, including of course the Damnii, were not at that time thoroughly subdued, the Roman occupation of the country, afterwards known as the province of Valentia, was only a matter of time. During that occupation, which extended from the year 81 A.D. till about the year 410 A.D., the conquerors did much towards the civilisation and improvement of those whom, by force of arms, they had made Roman citizens. At no time, however, could the northern tribes be said to be under the domination of the Roman eagle. In order to check the ravages of these clansmen the conquerors built a wall, which had several times to be renewed, extending from Old Kilpatrick, or perhaps Dumbarton, on the Clyde, to Caeriden or Blackness, on the Forth. Of that wall many portions of the foundation are still shown. While the Romans maintained possession, it is said they had a small military station on the spot on which Glasgow now stands; but its name, or, indeed, anything about it, is not known. There is good reason to suppose that they had stations at most, if not all, of the towns of the subjugated Damnii. At this time the only difference between the Britons to the north of the Forth and those that had been subdued by the Romans, seems to have been that the latter had received some of the polish of civilised habits, while the former retained their native barbarity, including that custom of dyeing their bodies from which their name of Picts was derived.

The religious history of the time has also given rise to much excited writing. Some have contended that Christianity was introduced into the country directly from and under the supervision of the Pontiffs of Rome; while others hold that the early Christianity of these islands was of a purer and more strictly apostolic type than that promulgated from the Papal chair. It must be confessed that the latter give forth the stronger arguments in support of their idea. It is generally believed by Presbyterian writers, and also by several Episcopalians, that the persecutions of the Christians by the Roman emperors in the early days of the Church, caused many of that suffering sect to seek refuge in distant parts of the then known world. Some of these refugees settled in various portions of the British Isles, and, as they fled in the cause of religion, they proclaimed the new evangel of Christ to the people among whom they had taken up their abode. In Ireland, especially, did their work succeed, and in the course of time they and their converts became known as Culdees, or "Servants of God." St. Ninian, a native of Strathclyde, but educated at Rome, is credited with

having been the introducer of the doctrines of Christianity into his native land. Notwithstanding his Roman education, "the primitive history of the Church of Scotland," to quote the learned Dr. Reeves, "is essentially Irish in its character." (*Culdees of the Brit. Islands*, p. 26.) Being Irish it must have been Culdee. It is said that Ninian finished his education in a monastery in the county of Kildare; while during his ministry, or his episcopate, as some are pleased to term it, he had frequent communication with the chiefs of the Irish Church. Founding a religious establishment at Whithorn, in Galloway, about the end of the fourth century, he wrought faithfully and earnestly in the good work, and his efforts are admitted to have been rewarded by great success. As a result of his movement, it is stated that St. Patrick—born of noble parents, near Kilpatrick, on the Clyde, about the close of that century—on reaching manhood left for Ireland, where his manifold virtues and talents raised him to the position of apostle or patron saint of the island. After the death of St. Ninian, the missionary mantle fell upon St. Serf, or Servanus, who, it is presumed, must also have been a Culdee, and who laboured more particularly to the north of the Forth. By those writers who claim the early supremacy of Rome, it is asserted that St. Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine to convert the people of Ireland and Caledonia, and they say further that he assumed St. Serf as his assistant. But the writers on the other side, while not denying that such a mission came to this country, aver ill-success regarding it, and look upon it as a vain attempt by the pope to bring the Culdees under his rule. These Culdees took their inspiration directly from the Word of God, and their lives are recorded as having been exemplary and praiseworthy. They formed themselves into societies or colleges, and under a "head" or superior they educated the young and preached the Gospel. Their ecclesiastical polity was not very complex, for they were all of equal rank or status, merely acknowledging the headship of that one whom they had elected to preside over them. While the presence of such a band of men in the country must have had a beneficial effect in many ways, the temper of the mass of the people does not appear to have been much subdued; and if any stress is to be laid on the productions of later chroniclers, their religious impressions required to be sustained by many "signs and wonders."

The retiral of the Romans from the country in the fifth century gave the Picts new courage. Descending from their mountain fastnesses, they frequently plundered the defenceless British tribes of the southern division of the country. To such an extent did this proceed, that the retiring army had to make an expedition northwards from the Northumbrian wall, and

drive back the raiders. Having done so, they left the southern tribes entirely to their own resources. But these tribes, unaccustomed for many years to self-defence, suffered severely from the ravages of their less civilised brethren; and as a measure for self-preservation they formed themselves into a community known to history as the Cumbrian or Cambrian kingdom, and more commonly as the kingdom of Strathclyde. The new state was composed originally of five tribes, called the Ottadini, the Gadeni, the Selgovæ, the Novantes, and the Damnii. Their united territories are supposed to have included Cumberland, a portion of Westmoreland, Liddesdale, Teviotdale, Dumfriesshire, Galloway, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, the middle and western portions of Stirlingshire, and the greater part of Dumbartonshire. Roughly speaking, their boundaries may be placed at the Forth in the north, and the Derwent in the south. Here, again, antiquarians have been in fierce conflict. Pinkerton (*Enq. into Hist. of Scot.*, pp. 67–83) says the kingdom of Strathclyde included only the counties of Dumbarton and Renfrew, together with the upper part of Lanarkshire. The kingdom of Cumbria, he further asserts, was a kingdom separate and distinct from the other, and comprised Cumberland and Westmoreland. Skene (*Celtic Scot.*) gives the weight of his later authority in favour of the more extensive kingdom; and there can be little doubt, notwithstanding Pinkerton's earnest convictions on the matter, that Strathclyde and Cumbria were one and the same kingdom, and that that kingdom extended over a much wider area than he was willing to give it. The absence of any mention in the ancient traditions and records of any capital of Cumbria other than Alclwyd militates seriously against his notion. Running through this early British kingdom was the now famous river Clyde, a name derived, with little or no alteration, from the old British or Welsh word *Clyd*, signifying *warm* or *sheltered*. Even in these primitive days Clydesdale was celebrated for its fruit crops, for there is an obscure reference by one of the early chroniclers to the "orchardes of Lenerck." The metropolis of this region was Alclwyd, or Petra Cloithe (Rock of the Clyde), afterwards called by the Scoto-Irish Dunbritton (Hill of the Britons), from which, by an easy transition, comes the present name of Dumbarton. The first mentioned ruler is Cawn or Caw, who is said to have been driven from his kingdom at the end of the fifth century by the Picts, and who took refuge in the kindred principality of Wales. At the commencement of the sixth century, Hoel, Coyle, or Huail, became king; but his reign was no more fortunate than that of his predecessor. Tradition has it that the great King Arthur, whose exploits have been the subject of the works of many quasi-historians and minstrels, obliged

Hoel to seek refuge in Anglesea, where he died in 508. Arthur, on the same authority, established himself firmly in Strathclyde, fixing upon Alclwyd as one of his fortresses. This place, some say, was then called *Castrum Arthuri;* while Stirling Castle is affirmed to have been his "Round Table." Here he reigned from 508 till his death in 542. It is difficult to tell whether or not there is any truth, or even probability, in the tradition of King Arthur's rule in Strathclyde; but either through that rule being a fact of history, or through the story of his exploits having strongly affected the minds of the people, many localities in the district have traditions bearing upon his career, and some places for a long time bore evidence of Arthurian nomenclature.

While these events were taking place within the Cumbrian kingdom, many changes, having an important bearing upon the destinies of the whole country, were in progress in the surrounding regions. In 449, or perhaps a year later, the Saxons landed on the south-eastern coast of Caledonia, and taking possession of Lothian and the adjacent counties, they set up a Saxon kingdom, one of the kings of which gave his name to Edinburgh. About fifty years later, in 503, the Scots from Ireland effected a settlement in Argyleshire, and under their native rulers they commenced a new career in the country to which in after years they gave their name. Both these races, antagonistic in almost every respect, were fired with the one warlike spirit, and they each sought the extension of their territories. For many years the country was in a state of continual turmoil through the conflicts among the Britons of Strathclyde, the Picts of the North, the Saxons of Lothian, and the Scoto-Irish of Argyleshire.

CHAPTER II.

(A.D. 518 TO A.D. 603.)

Legends of the Birth, Life, and Death of St. Kentigern, or St. Mungo, Patron Saint of Glasgow—Foundation of the City—Origin of the Glasgow Armorial Bearings.

THE mist of ages and the superstitions of men have obscured the record of the life of the patron saint of Glasgow. No trustworthy account of St. Mungo now exists, and such as still remain are so full of miracles and supernatural events, that for the purposes of authentic biography they are of no value. Further than that the saint founded the church of Glasgow

about the middle of the sixth century, and that he died in the early years of the seventh, there is no circumstance related concerning him upon which much reliance can be placed.

Upon the suggestion of Herbert, the second Roman Catholic Bishop of Glasgow, a life of St. Mungo was written; and during the episcopate of Joceline, the third of the line of bishops, another life was written by a monk of Furness, in Lancashire, who was also named Joceline. The latter biographer states (Pinkerton's *Vit. Kent.*) that his information was derived from an ancient manuscript then existing in the Cathedral library; but he further adds, that as it was written in a barbarous language and contained many doctrinal errors, from a Roman Catholic point of view, he had taken the liberty of improving it in both respects. Here it is where the difficulty begins. Joceline's original would probably be written in the ancient British language, and the doctrine it contained would be Culdee doctrine. The original biography is now lost, and the admittedly "improved" one remains. In addition to this life by Joceline the commemorative celebrations of St. Mungo in the Aberdeen Breviary, record some of his reputed miracles in the lections; but, as they appear to be founded upon the work of the English monk, they possess no greater reliability.

However, as the legends are not without interest, and are probably founded upon events of actual occurrence, an endeavour has been made, in the following pages, to bring together, from every available source, whatever has been related concerning St. Mungo.

The parents of Kentigern, or Mungo, were Ewen ap Urien, a prince of Strathclyde, and Thenaw, a daughter of Loth, king of the Saxons of Northumbria, from whom the Lothians are supposed to be named. Of Eugenius little is known; of Thenaw the accounts, like those of her son, are purely legendary. The late Dr. Stevenson, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, states (*Legends and Commemorative Celebrations of St. Kent.*, p. 34) that Fordun was of opinion that Thenaw's mother was a sister of Uther Pendragon, and aunt of the famous King Arthur. But that and other similar statements, founded upon so much that has been the subject of dispute, can only be taken as expressions of opinion. In King's *Kalendar of the Saints* there is this entry:—"July 18—S. Thennow, vidow mother of s. mungo vnder King Eugenius in scot. 445." Her father, King Loth, was a worshipper of Woden and Thor. She is stated, however, to have become a convert to the Christian religion, but had not been confirmed into the faith by the holy rite of baptism. An enthusiastic dreamer, it was Thenaw's ambition to rival the Virgin Mary, and in her own experience to show forth to the world another immaculate conception. She was

handsome and fair of face, and Prince Ewen offered her his hand; but with her high aspirations she scorned him. Although her father was anxious that the match should be made, and used his parental authority in that direction, Thenaw was obstinate, and, throwing aside all her royal state, hid herself in a remote part of the country, where she became a swineherd. Here Ewen, in the guise of a female, discovered her, and the unfortunate daughter of a king afterwards found herself with child. She returned to her father, but denied all crime. As the laws of the country were exceedingly severe on an offence of this nature, her father relentlessly handed her over to the executioners to be stoned to death; but they, fearing to lift a stone to royalty, however blameworthy, thought of the expedient of casting her over a precipice. This they accordingly did, but she escaped unhurt. The cart in which she was thrown over left some extraordinary marks on the portions of the rock and soil with which it came into contact. But this happy deliverance did not effect any change of feeling towards her. Believed now to be a sorceress, the much-wronged Thenaw was put into a frail skiff, which was conducted by her persecutors down the Forth, and outside May Isle she was left to the mercy of the waves. Miraculously, a shoal of fishes on their backs bore the boat up the firth to the shallows at Culross, where St. Serf lived and laboured.

Landing at Culross with great difficulty, Thenaw, in the pangs of labour, dragged herself towards the remnants of a shepherd's fire, and there brought forth her son, with angels around her proclaiming in joyous song the advent of another saint into the world. St. Serf had been in his cell offering his morning devotions, and while he was listening to the angelic melody a shepherd brought to him the mother and her newly born babe. The venerable man greeted the infant with the words —"Blessed art thou that comest in the name of the Lord." Cast at his door St. Serf adopted the strangers into his household. He named the boy Kentigern, supposed to be derived from the British words *Cwn*, L. *capitalis*, and *tyern*, L. *dominus*. The Gaelic form is also given by some philologists as Kentiyern, from *Ken*, L. *caput* (*ceann*, G.), and *tyern* (*tighearna*, G.) Freely the English of both derivations is "Lord in chief," and St. Serf is credited with prophetic foresight in so naming the child. At the same time the mother was baptized; but after the mention of that event nothing is recorded of her until a much later period.

As time passed Kentigern manifested many good parts. He was attentive to his secular studies, in which he became remarkably proficient; he was good and brilliant, was possessed of a fine voice; and was, altogether, such an attractive boy that St. Serf's heart warmed towards him. That warmth of feeling

found expression in the pet name of Munghu, signifying "dear one," from the British *mwyn*, gentle, and *cu*, in composition *ghu*, dear. But more than this, Mungo, as he may now be called, developed the extraordinary faculty of miracle-working. Several stories in this connection are recorded. St. Serf's favourite bird, a robin, had been beheaded by some mischievous urchins, but "the marvellous boy" put its head and body together, and by earnest prayer restored it to life, when it flew, carolling merrily, to its aged master. It was the custom to keep the monastery lamps always lighted, but one night in midwinter they were maliciously extinguished by some of Kentigern's envious companions, and he, whose duty it was to tend them, relighted them by taking the frozen branch of a tree, which he blew into flame. Matters, however, came to a climax. One harvest season St. Serf's cook died, and, as the reapers had to be provided with food, a difficulty arose. It was solved by the saint adjuring Mungo, in the name of the Lord, either to raise the cook from the dead, or perform the cook's work. The lad was horror-struck at the command, and took immediate refuge in prayer. By his devotions he was comforted, and in the course of them it seems to have been revealed to him that he was to work the miracle, and then leave his home and fulfil his earthly mission. He brought the cook back to life; and knowing his time of probation to be at an end, he made preparations for his departure from the place that had given shelter to himself and his mother from the day of his birth.

Kentigern's journey to commence his labours among the benighted inhabitants of the surrounding regions was no less remarkable and eventful than his boyhood. Turning his face southwards he crossed the Forth; and here, at the very threshold of his mission, according to some, an extraordinary miracle took place. The water made way for him, and as with the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites, there was a wall on his right hand and on his left. Others, with a greater regard for probability, suggest that he waded across when the tide was at ebb; and perhaps under the then existing conditions of the river that was possible. In whatever way the passage was made, Mungo's departure was the cause of great anxiety and grief to St. Serf, who, on its being made known to him, rushed to the side of the stream, and called upon his adopted son to return and be the comfort of his old age. The young man was moved; but feeling his duty to lie before him, he invoked the blessings of Heaven upon his venerable protector, and proceeded on his journey. It is said that a chapel, dedicated to St. Mungo, was erected shortly after this on the spot where he was born; but while such a chapel was built, it was probably at a much later date.

Mungo, on his journey, reached Kernach, possibly Carnwath, where lived an old Christian named Fergus, who, Simeon-like, had had a revelation from God that he should not die until he had seen him who was to regenerate the country. When Mungo entered the humble dwelling, Fergus, by inspiration, knew him to be the promised deliverer, and having sung or recited the *Nunc Dimittis* ("Lord, now lettest thou Thy servant depart in peace," *et seq.* St. Luke, ii. 29), he fell dead on the floor. This alarming event did not discompose the pilgrim, for he remained one night in the house alone with the corpse. He regarded it in the light of a sign from Heaven. On the following morning he placed the body of the old man on a wain or cart, to which he yoked two wild bulls, and he resolved to follow them wherever they should lead. No details are given of this remarkable journey. Ultimately, the strange *cortege* arrived at a place, said to be called Deschu, on the banks of the Molendinar, in the kingdom of Strathclyde, probably about the site now occupied by the Glasgow Cathedral.

There are some vague indications that Deschu was a small village. Nearer the Clyde there was another village, named Cathures; and the two combined, if they were distinct hamlets, formed the nucleus of Glasgow. It is possible, however, that both names are applicable to one and the same place; but as they are used separately by tradition, the probability is that they were distinct. The name Deschu is said to mean "happy family," though with what reference it is difficult to surmise; while Cathures is not condescended upon in regard to the derivation of the name. The origin of these places is veiled in complete darkness, and as one or other of them may have been a Roman station, that one would likely be in existence in an insignificant condition previous to the occupation of the country by the Latins. At Deschu, continues tradition, when Mungo and his charges appeared, was a cemetery laid out and consecrated by St. Ninian, and in it the saint interred the remains of old Fergus. There was also here a primitive church founded by St. Ninian.

Whether owing to Kentigern's strange advent into the district, or owing to his fame as a man of learning and a miracle-worker having preceded him, tradition does not particularise; but it tells how the King of Strathclyde, accompanied by a large concourse of his people, approached Mungo, and prayed him to reside among them and take their spiritual oversight. That they should have thought on religious grounds of giving him "a call," as the saying is now-a-days, appears somewhat remarkable when the statement is taken into account that the troublous times through which the kingdom had passed since the death of St. Ninian had, to a very great extent, nullified what good

he was able to do. However, if the so-called biographers are to be credited, such a call was given. The saint was at this time only twenty-five years of age, and he felt that his youth was a serious obstacle in the way of his undertaking so heavy a charge. He told the people so, but they pleaded their cause so eloquently that he was constrained to accept. Accordingly, a bishop was sent for from Ireland to consecrate St. Mungo to the holy office to which, by the suffrages of the people, he had been elected. When the Irish bishop arrived, he performed the consecration rite in accordance with the apostolic tradition, by the anointing of the head, by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, and by the imposition of hands. Some, however, aver that, owing to a mistake, he was only ordained to the office of deacon, instead of to that of bishop.

It may be well here to note that the question arises as to whether St. Kentigern commenced his clerical career as a disciple of the Church of Rome, or in connection with the ancient Culdee Church of Ireland. Already it has been pointed out that the kingdom of Strathclyde was evangelised by one whose relations with the Culdees, if he were not a Culdee himself, were extremely close and intimate; and, in addition, it has been indicated that St. Serf, St. Mungo's foster-father, most probably belonged to that communion. Notwithstanding the reiterated statements of Roman Catholic writers, such evidence as can be adduced points strongly in favour of the founder of Glasgow being a Culdee. The spirit of the times in which he lived was Culdee; he was brought up under the guidance of one of the apostles of the Culdee faith in Caledonia; he was consecrated by a Culdee bishop; and the conclusion seems inevitable that he also must have been a Culdee, and not a Roman Catholic. There is no question but that in later times the doctrines of Rome became on the ascendant, but there seems as little question that in Mungo's days that ascendency had not been gained. If it be the fact that Kentigern was not under the Papal rule, then his position cannot have been one of a bishop, in the ordinary sense of the word, but merely that of a minister, who, by his learning and talents, drew around him many disciples, and whose qualities as a preacher were appreciated by the people occupying a very wide district, which district might, in a way, be regarded as his bishopric or see. Joceline says his "diocese" was co-extensive with the Cumbrian kingdom; and that that should be so was only natural. He had been requested by the king and people of Cumbria to be their minister; and he can be looked upon as the founder of the line of bishops of Glasgow in the same way as the early Christian preachers in Rome were the foundation of the long line of Roman Pontiffs.

Kentigern, on his appointment to this high office, became more

austere in regard to his personal habits than he had previously been. He travelled on foot throughout the whole kingdom, preaching wherever he went; and in the course of a short time he became exceedingly popular among the people. When at home in Deschu his couch was of stone in a cell on the banks of the Molendinar. In diet he was temperate, his food consisting principally of bread, cheese, and butter; and his drink was water and milk. He took neither flesh meat nor wines, and broke his fast once only every two or three days. According to Joceline the saint was a man of medium height, beautiful in features, graceful in form, and gentle and kindly in manner. His clothing was a hair shirt next the body, over which was a garment of goat-skin, with the addition, as the Romish writer states, of a narrow hood, and an alb and stole. The same authority says that his episcopal staff, or staff of office, was of simple wood without any ornamentation, and that he went about with his Manual Book in his hand, ever ready to exercise his sacred ministry. He is described as slow of speech, and his frequent pauses in preaching were very impressive and productive of good. Moreover, when at the altar, his hearers frequently saw a white dove hovering above his head; at times it was a golden halo or nimbus that encircled it. He imposed upon himself much penance. He would rise from his not too luxurious couch in the middle of the night, and rush, in all weathers, into the Molendinar, where he would remain until he had chanted or sung the whole of the hundred and fifty Psalms of David. When he had finished he would lay himself down on a stone on the hillside to dry. During Lent he would disappear from among his followers, and under pain of his malediction he forbade their endeavouring to find out where he went or what he did during that time. The people surmised, however, from some sermons he preached to them, that he betook himself to the woods, spent his time in devotion, living upon roots and whatever he could get around him. On Maunday Thursday he returned to his cell; on Good Friday he was crucified in spirit with Christ; on Saturday he spent the day in dejection and prayer; and on Easter Sunday he was hilariously joyful.

Several stories are recorded of events that occurred during St. Mungo's early stay in Deschu. While most of the people believed strongly in him, some few were sceptical, and these made no effort to conceal their unbelief from the saint himself. Two brothers resided near him, one of whom was his disciple, but the other took every opportunity of openly discrediting the saint and his works. After a very glaring act of disrespect this young man met with a fearful death through tripping under a great weight he had boastingly lifted. It is also stated that St. Kentigern sowed sand in a field one spring, and that when

harvest-time came grain, good and wholesome, was reaped from it. Possibly it was that same field that he prepared for the seed by yoking a wolf and a stag to the plough, and these two very dissimilar animals worked admirably together. Possessed of such remarkable powers of mind and body, it is not surprising that the saint should have attracted around him many persons whose ambition it was to devote themselves to the service of the Church; and, in the light of what has gone before, that community may more properly be called a Culdee College, than a monastery in the Roman Catholic sense. It so happened that once there was in this establishment a dearth of provisions, and the head of the confraternity went to King Morken, and informed him of the sad straits into which the brethren had fallen. "Cast thy care upon the Lord, and He will sustain thee," scripturally, but mockingly, replied the king. Mungo pleaded for human assistance, and Morken told him tauntingly that he could have the contents of his barns at Cathures, which had been newly filled with the harvest proceeds, if, by his power, he could transport them to Deschu. The suppliant retired from the royal presence, and by means of his miracle-working gifts he caused the waters of the Clyde to sweep the barns and their contents up the Molendinar to the college. Morken, though literally taken at his word, was furious when his loss was made known to him, and he went in a rage to St. Mungo, whom he denounced as a magician and sorcerer. Becoming more exasperated, he lifted his kingly foot, and made the saint measure his length on the ground. In addition to that, one of Morken's servants, a man who had never shown much respect for Mungo, spoke insultingly to him, and roundly abused him. But the hour of retribution was at hand. While the royal company was riding away to the king's country residence at Pertmet, believed to be the old name of Partick, this servant's horse became restive and threw the rider, causing immediate death. No sooner, also, had the king arrived at his palace than he was attacked with gout in the foot he had applied to Mungo's person; and from this disease, in an exceedingly acute form, he died shortly after the unfortunate and indignified action. As Morken's death was thought to be clearly traceable to the power of St. Kentigern, the deceased king's relatives desired to be revenged. They endeavoured to lay hands on the holy man; and so much did he fear their rage that he set out on a visit to St. David in Wales.

On this portion of Kentigern's life the collectors of tradition are peculiarly silent and indefinite, and, what must be considered more remarkable, they have not to any noteworthy extent endeavoured to provide imaginary accounts of it for the delectation of after generations. Only one or two statements are made regarding it. David received his brother saint with

all good feeling, but their stay together was not of long duration. After leaving him, St. Mungo followed the track of a wild animal until he arrived at a certain place, where he took up his abode, and where he founded another college or monastery. He collected many disciples around him, the most prominent of them being Asaph, after whom the place was ultimately called. While presiding over this establishment, Kentigern, according to Joceline, visited Rome several times. The only miracle attributed to the saint during his stay at St. Asaph's, was in relation to a pagan king of the district who, while mocking him, was struck with instantaneous and total blindness. His sight, however, was restored through the prayers of St. Mungo, and he became a convert to Christianity.

While this was going on in Wales many events of a stirring character had occurred in Strathclyde. There had, as usual on the death of a king, been a long struggle among the native chieftains for the throne, but a battle at Arderyth, or Arthuret, on the borders of Dumfriesshire and Cumberland—by some believed to be Airdrie—settled the dispute as to the succession, and gave the chief power to Rhydderch Hael, or Roderick the Bountiful, whose kind and considerate actions endeared him to the people. Rhydderch was a convert of, and had been baptized by, St. Patrick in Ireland. One of the earliest acts of his reign was to send to St. Mungo in Wales praying him to return. This petition was so urgent that Mungo handed over the government of his southern establishment to St. Asaph, and returned northwards accompanied by many whose personal interest attached them to him wherever he went.

The re-entry of the good St. Kentigern into Strathclyde was made the occasion of great rejoicing. King Rhydderch offered homage to him, and delivered to him the chief power of government in the state, reserving it only to himself to rule under the guidance of his spiritual lord. This, triumphantly declares Joceline, was a testimony to the prophetic christening by St. Serf of his foster-child as Kentigern, or "Lord in Chief." Either at the time of this return, or shortly after it, St. Mungo was preaching to the people on a plain, but as he could not be seen or heard by a large portion of the multitude, he manifested his miraculous power by causing the ground on which he stood to rise up into a mound, and he then continued his remarks to the better edification of his hearers. Tradition has it that the place where this event occurred was at what is now known as Dovehill, off the Gallowgate, a little to the east of Glasgow Cross; and that this incident gave rise to the motto of the city, "Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the word." Hoddam, in Dumfriesshire, where the saint first had his cathedral, is also said to have been the scene of this miracle. How-

ever that may be, the influence of the preacher over both king and people was very great, and he appears to have had unlimited temporal and spiritual power.

St. Mungo afterwards transferred his cathedral to Glasgow, where he performed as extraordinary miracles as he had done before; and these latter ones are related with more respect to circumstance than the former, though with as little regard to truth or probability. King Rhydderch had given his consort, Queen Langueth, at the time of their marriage, a very precious and peculiar ring. In an intrigue with a soldier the frail queen gave her lover this pledge of her husband's regard. One day, while the king was walking in a wood on the banks of the Clyde, he discovered this soldier sleeping off the fatigues of the chase underneath a tree, and on his finger he observed the much prized jewel. Without awakening the slumbering Mars, the outraged and indignant monarch slipped the ring off his finger, and cast it into the river. Going home in a jealous rage he demanded from his queen the ring he had given her. Knowing what she had done with it, she temporised, protesting that she knew not what had become of it, and she said she must have lost it some way or other. Her husband gave her a certain time, perhaps a day or two, in which to find it. In the first instance she sent to her lover asking him to return the ring; but he, aware of having lost it, without knowing how, was unable to comply with her urgent request. Despairing, she went to St. Mungo, confessed all to him, and besought his assistance. It is to be presumed that the saint read his fair penitent a lecture on her inconstancy, but, whether or not, he set about to help her in her serious difficulty. Commanding a fishing line to be cast into the Clyde, the first fish that was caught, on being cut up, was found to have within its stomach the ring about which there had been so much ado. Queen Langueth returned it to her lord, and tradition says, in effect, that he was mollified, and that the royal couple lived happily ever afterwards.

Another event of St. Mungo's second residence in Glasgow was the visit of St. Columba, the great Culdee apostle of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. The saint of Iona came with a large following to see St. Kentigern, and the meeting between them appears to have been of an extraordinary and imposing description. St. Columba, on approaching the college at Deschu, saw coming towards him a great company of the inhabitants of the place, and from among the multitude he could easily single out St. Mungo because of the "glory" that encircled his head. As the two companies drew near, the choirs of the meeting saints sang in response to each other the praise of the friend of their respective superiors, and the choral

festival lasted for some time. Their saintships then embraced and exchanged pastoral staves. The one presented by Columba to his clerical brother was, it is said, preserved for many years in the Church of St. Wilfrid of Ripon, in England.

Strange to say, some of St. Columba's followers, gaining little from the precepts and the example of their master, were given to thieving. A number of them fancied a fat wether belonging to the Glasgow bishop's flock, and they determined to make it their own. While they were doing so, the shepherd in the name of the Holy Trinity, and by the authority of St. Kentigern, bade them desist, adding that if they desired any of the sheep he had no doubt they might have them on preferring their request to his master. But they did not heed him, and as he showed some resistance to their sacrilegious conduct, they knocked him down. One of them cut off the head of the sheep, but the head turned immediately into stone, and became a fixture to his hand. Overcome with terror at this event the robbers fled, and they endeavoured to take the petrified head from their companion's hand, but without avail. Ultimately they had to go to St. Mungo and confess their sin, for which he corrected them; and he relieved the stricken man of his awkward burden. The lands upon which this occurrence took place were afterwards known as the lands of Ramishorne, and on these St. David's, or the Ramshorn Church, and adjoining buildings, now stand.

King Rhydderch's fame as a bountiful king had spread to Ireland, and one of the rulers of that country sent his jester to the court of Strathclyde to see if the extraordinary accounts that had reached him were true. Shortly after his arrival, on Christmas day, this jester was playing the harp and the timbrel before the king, who was so delighted with the entertainment made by the musician, that he promised to give him whatever he desired. Taking Rhydderch at his word, the Irishman requested a plateful of brambles. The joke tickled the king, and he laughed heartily; but the other assured him he was in earnest, and that he must have what he had asked. Royalty was in a fix, and did not know what to do, but ultimately he went to St. Mungo, told him his difficulty, and besought his aid. The saint directed Rhydderch to go to a place where he had thrown his garment the previous summer for ease in hunting. He went, and he found it lying over a bramble bush which was heavily laden with fine ripe berries. He brought a large plateful to the jester, who was taken aback to find that his unseasonable request could be complied with, and who considered it his interest to remain in Strathclyde for the remainder of his life.

On one occasion a servant of St. Kentigern was crossing the Clyde with some cans of milk belonging to his master. Accidentally the lids came off them, and the milk was spilled in the

water. In despair he fled to his superior's cell, and acquainted him with the loss; but the saint was equal to the emergency, for he sent the man back to the river, and told him to pick out of it whatever he could see. Returning he found in the water as many cheeses as there had been cans of milk spilled, and these he carried back to the college. Another of Mungo's miracles relating to the Clyde was in connection with a mill he had built on its banks, which would not work during church hours on Sundays, nor would it grind stolen grain.

But in addition to this power of working miracles, St. Mungo appears to have been possessed of a marvellous insight into the feelings and character of those with whom he came into contact. A clerk had presented himself for ordination, but as the saint saw a sulphury flame proceeding from his bosom, a certain sign of an unregenerated and unpurified heart, he rejected him. The man afterwards met with a fearful and sudden death. Another clerk, similarly situated, was drowned in the river after being rejected by the remarkable man of Deschu.

It is said by Joceline that towards the close of his life St. Mungo paid his seventh visit to Rome, and on this occasion he became so ill in the imperial city, that it was feared he would never be able to return home. However, he recovered, and he had a long interview with the pope, to whom he disclosed all the thoughts and actions of his life. The pope was so charmed with the candour and evident talent of the Strathclyde apostle, that he confirmed him in his episcopate, forgave him for being consecrated by only one bishop when three should have been at the ceremony, and by his kind words and actions sent Kentigern home rejoicing. He brought with him a bell, consecrated by his Holiness, which was set up in the college or monastery buildings at Glasgow.

The life of St. Kentigern became, as years advanced, more and more saintly, and even the elements seemed to respect him, for the rain never wet his garments. He paid many visits to different parts of the country, and he is stated to have extended his journeys to Orkney, Norway, and Iceland, preaching and doing good wherever he went. Besides an obscure story about his raising of a large stone cross which had fallen, and which it had been found impossible to re-erect, his miraculous actions may be summed up in the words of one of the old Kalendar writers:— "He gave sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb, health to the sick, and their right senses to those that were lunatick."

But the end came. The weight of advancing years pressed heavily on St. Mungo, and for about a week he was confined to his couch. Towards the close of the week an angel appeared to him in a vision, and instructed that he should be placed in a

warm bath, where his worn spirit could escape from its prison of clay and fly to its Maker. Those of his disciples who wished to be taken with him were to step into the bath also. The injunctions of the supernatural visitor were faithfully carried out. St. Mungo was taken to the bath, and gently lowered into it. A large number of his adherents followed him; and the immortal spirits of the saint and his companions were taken by Him who gave them. The saint's death was easy; "because," said the attendant angel, "thy whole life in this world hath been a continual martyrdom, it hath pleased God that thy manner of leaving it should be easier than that of other men." The body of St. Mungo, clothed in the robes of office, full pontificals, as Joceline calls them, was buried at the right side of the high altar in the cathedral church attached to the college, then known by the name of the Church of the Holy Trinity. His death was greatly lamented by the king and the people; and the memory of his holy life, however it may have been deformed by tradition, will be preserved as long as the city he founded exists.

At the time of his death, St. Kentigern, according to most accounts, had reached the age of 185. This, however, is palpably erroneous; but by taking such dates as are given for various events in his career by different writers, a probable table of chronology may be made up, which will give him at death the more likely age of 85 years. That table is as follows:—

Birth of St. Mungo at Culross, ...	518 A.D.
Elected to the oversight or bishopric of Glasgow, .	543
Left Glasgow on the death of Morken, . . .	563
Returned to Glasgow on accession of Rhydderch, .	574
Died at Glasgow, ...	603

It will be seen from the above that the see of Glasgow was probably founded in 543 A.D., when St. Mungo was twenty-five years of age; that his stay until the death of Morken lasted for about twenty years; that he remained in Wales for eleven years, and that he was in Glasgow twenty-nine years before his death. That event is said to have taken place on Sunday the 13th January, 603. Such entries as these are to be found in the Saints' Kalendars:—"7th January—S. Kentigerne vidoue in scotland, 560;" and "13th January—S. Mungo bischop of Glascowe in scotland vnder King Conwalle, 578." They do not, however, throw any light upon the subject; and further than that they afford ground for conjecture they are of no use.

It is needless to enlarge upon what has been written in praise of Glasgow's patron saint; and as a fitting termination to an account of his career, it may be stated that in the *Commemorative Celebrations of the Saint*, as translated by Dr. Stevenson

from the Aberdeen Breviary and the Arbuthnott Missal, the following lines occur in an antiphonal hymn :—

"Through thee, great prelate, son of royal line,
Lothian and Cumbria with new honours shine.

"And Scotia is converted to the faith divine,
Through thee. Glory. Through thee."

A succeeding hymn of twenty-seven lines contains :—

"In him be joyful, Glasgow chiefly,
Thy fortunes he'll raise high briefly."

In the office of the Feast of St. Kentigern, celebrated on the octave of the Epiphany, 13th January, there is a long hymn. These are the opening lines :—

"Sing, Sion, sing, with plaudits ringing,
Heart, voice, and hand together bringing,
Holy anthems loudly singing,
St. Mungo's praise proclaim!"

After relating, in similar verse, the saint's miracles, the hymn concludes :—

"Pastor faithful, prelate holy,
Guide from Heaven, meek and lowly,
Us, who tread thy path so slowly,
Lead to mansions blest! Amen."

In this place it may appropriately be pointed out that the city arms are stated to be founded upon some of the more prominent miracles of St. Mungo. The bird is St. Serf's robin restored to life by Kentigern in his youth; the tree is the bough, now fully developed, with which the monastery lamps were relighted; the fish and the ring are emblems drawn from Queen Langueth's imprudence, and her remarkable deliverance by the saint; and the bell is the consecrated one brought by St. Kentigern from Rome on the occasion of his last visit to that city. Cleland (*Rise and Progress*, p. 192) gives prominence to the following allegorical explanation of the city arms :— "The tree is emblematical of the spreading of the Gospel: its leaves being represented as for the healing of the nations. The bird is also typical of that glorious event, so beautifully described under the similitude of the winter being passed, and the rain over and gone, the time of the singing of birds being come, and the voice of the turtle heard in our land. Bells for calling the faithful to prayers, and other holy ordinances of the Church, have been considered so important in Roman Catholic countries, that for several centuries past the right of consecration has

been conferred on them by the dignitaries of the Church. That religion might not absorb the whole insignia of the town, the trade, which at that time was confined to fishing and curing salmon, came in for its share, and this circumstance gave rise to the idea of giving the salmon a place in the arms of the city." It is perhaps allowable to say, that such a meaning must be, from its nature, almost entirely imaginary, the only part having any appearance of probability being that regarding the salmon.

With this, and with the further statement that St. Thenaw followed her son from Culross to Glasgow, where she died full of years, giving her name—now corrupted to St. Enoch—to a church, then to a street and a square, in the city, the chronicle of the legends of St. Mungo may be fitly concluded.

CHAPTER III.

(A.D. 603 TO A.D. 1115.)

Death of King Rhydderch of Strathclyde—Supposed Successors to St. Mungo—Annals of Strathclyde—Dispute between the Culdees and the Roman Catholic Innovators—Downfall of the Kingdom of Strathclyde, and its Incorporation in the Scottish Kingdom.

IT is usually recorded by writers of the history of the see and city of Glasgow, that there is a blank from the time of the death of St. Mungo until 1115, when Prince David, afterwards David I. of Scotland, showed his interest in them, and his zeal for the Church, by instituting an inquiry into their then present and their past conditions. But while that is actually the case, there are many events believed to have transpired in the kingdom of Strathclyde, and in the surrounding territories, during the period mentioned, which have a material bearing upon the changed condition of affairs at the latter date.

St. Mungo's death caused great mourning in the kingdom; and it is on record that a fool or jester attached to the court of King Rhydderch went about continually lamenting. Being asked what ailed him, he replied that his lord the king and one of the principal chiefs could not remain in life after the bishop's death. Both the persons named died shortly after, and they were buried in Glasgow. Rhydderch died at Pertmet, ancient Partick, which appears to have been the Balmoral of Strathclydian royalty. This king, the greatest of all the

rulers of Strathclyde, is thus described by Joceline, St. Mungo's biographer:—"Glory in his house, liberality in his heart, urbanity in his mouth, munificence in his hand, so that the Lord blessed the work of his hands." In Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, there is the following passage relating to him:—"A prophecy of the holy man concerning King Rederc, the son of Totail, who reigned at Petra Cloithe—the same being a friend of the saint—sent at another time a secret message to him by Lugbeus Mocumin, wishing to know if he should be slain by his enemies or not. Lugbeus, being asked by the saint concerning the same king, his kingdom, and people, answered as in pity, Why do you ask me about this wretch, who can by no means know what hour he shall be slain by his enemies? The saint upon this said, He shall never be delivered into the hands of his enemies, but shall die in his house, upon his own pillow. Which prophecy of the saint concerning the king was fulfilled; for, according to his word, he died an easy death in his own house." The time at which this prophecy is said to have been uttered was when Rhydderch, only a chieftain in the country, was engaged in the struggle for supremacy which culminated at the battle of Arderyth. Very little more remains to be stated regarding him. According to some writers, Chalmers among them, he left no sons, and the chiefs again contended among themselves for many years for the throne. While it would seem to be the fact that no son of his succeeded to the throne on his death, it would probably be beside the truth to aver that he had no family. A legend exists that, through the blessing of St. Mungo, Queen Langueth, in her old age, brought forth a son, who was named Constantine. There is no evidence, however, that this son ever ruled, or sought to rule, over Strathclyde. On the contrary, he seems to have been dedicated to the service of the Church, and to have founded a religious house at Govan, whence his influence extended as far as Kintire. While preaching in Kintire he is said to have been murdered; and the entries in the Saints' Kalendars are to the effect that St. Constantine, martyr, whose day was on the 11th March, died towards the close of the sixth century, and was buried at Govan. In that event he would predecease his father by some years.

The references to Glasgow, under that name or the names of Cathures and Deschu, are in this period few and obscure. According to some authorities St. Balrade, whose name is mentioned in the Aberdeen Breviary as living on the east coast, and who was a disciple of St. Mungo, succeeded his teacher as head of the college at Deschu, and that he founded a religious house at Inchinnan, in Renfrewshire. One of the Kalendars has this item:—"S. Conualle, first Arch-Deacon of

glascow, disciple to S. Mungo, vnder King Eugenius ye 4, 612;" while it also says that he had a monastery or college at Inchinnan. The disturbed state of the country, however, was prejudicial to the cause of religion, and there is no further record of the Church or its clergy until the time of Prince David.

The dispute as to the succession on the death of King Rhydderch, was ultimately settled, probably about 640, when Owen, or Hoen, obtained possession of the throne. The history of his reign and of the rulers who followed him, can only be gleaned from fragmentary information given by the Annals of Ulster and some of the Saxon Chronicles, which consist almost entirely of accounts of battles and the deaths of kings in the shortest terms. At the time of Owen, Donald Breac was King of Kintire, and this warlike monarch of the Scoto-Irish sought to extend his territories by an invasion of Pictland. His course was not altogether victorious, for he was defeated in Inverness-shire, and while retreating homewards he heard that Owen, in command of his Cumbrian tribesmen, had threatened an invasion of Kintire. Accordingly he marched against this new enemy; but his troops again suffered a severe repulse, and he was himself slain in the battle. This event took place about the year 642 A.D. Thence to 658 there is no mention of any occurrence, when it is briefly stated that "Guiret, King of Alclwyd, died." Twenty-three years later, 681, the Strathclydians repulsed an invasion of the Irish from Ulster, the point of attack being on the Ayrshire coast. Presumably this was done in the reign of Daniel Mac Avin, or Donald, son of Owen, for under date of 694 the annals make known the death of a king of that name.

About this time, the close of the seventh century, a dispute arose between the clergy, in what at that period might be more properly termed North Britain than Scotland, and the officials of the Roman Church, as to several matters of ceremony. Such an incident is in itself a strong proof in support of the idea, already set forth in these pages, that the religion of the early Christian inhabitants of the country was Culdee in its form, as opposed to Roman Catholic. The tenets of Rome had made considerable headway, and it was not unnatural that the two parties should come into collision. The descendants of the Culdees had a manner of their own of computing the yearly return of Easter, and their calculations frequently brought the celebration of the festival a month earlier than the see of Rome thought proper. The Papal authorities were also displeased at the simplicity of worship and at the absence of clerical orders among the ministers of North Britain. With an intolerant zeal they sought to force

their own notions upon the Culdees. The controversy raged long and fiercely, and was not unmixed with barbarities and persecutions peculiar to a semi-civilised age. But the decreasing numbers and influence of the native party rendered their resistance to the innovations of little or no avail, and their struggles and sufferings had only the effect of making the introduction of the Roman Catholic forms more gradual and less sudden than it might otherwise have been. The dispute lasted with more or less vigour for nearly three centuries; but ultimately it was settled in favour of the see of Rome.

To return to civil matters. At the commencement of the eighth century the kingdom of Strathclyde, powerful and prosperous in its time among the many states into which the country was divided, suffered defeats that appear to have been the forerunners of its downfall. In an engagement, about 711, with the Scots, they were defeated, and a long war seems to have ensued between the two nations, for mention is made of another reverse in 717. Their territory was being gradually encroached upon on all sides, and though the Picts were in turn the aggressors, the Scots of Kintire were rapidly asserting their supremacy, and were carrying war with them throughout the whole country. In 722 Bile Mac Alpine, or son of Elphin, King of Strathclyde, died; but no successor on the throne is named in the annals for many years after. The Venerable Bede, who died in 734, states that in his time the Britons of Cumbria had possession of most of their territories; but it is more than likely that these were very considerably reduced in extent as compared with what they were at the formation of the kingdom on the retiral of the Roman legions. In 744 the Strathclydians fought a battle with the Picts, and were defeated; and six years afterwards, in another conflict between the two nations, Talgoran Mac Fergusa, a brother of Ungust, then the Pictish king, was slain. By 756 an alliance seems to have been entered into between the rulers of Pictland and of the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, for in that year Ungust, with his ally Eobert, ravaged Strathclyde and laid siege to its metropolis. Alclwyd was surrendered on the 1st of August in that year, and it was sacked by the conquerors, who, curiously enough, are said not to have obtained possession of the castle. The kingdom was evacuated on conditions, probably those of paying tribute and of rendering military service; but it was not left unmolested long. On the 1st of January, 780, Alclwyd was burned—it is not known by whom; but possibly that event was the result of another outbreak of the dispute between the Cumbrians and their northern and eastern neighbours. After this they sustained numerous defeats, and they were unable to prevent the Ulster Irish obtaining a settlement on the coast of Ayrshire, in

a district in which it is alleged the Picts had formerly gained a footing. "Conan Mac Ruorach, Kinge of Britons, died," say the Ulster Annals under the year 815; and they add, that by 839 the Strathclyde Britons were so weakened that they dared not declare war.

At this period the whole country was in a state of the most extraordinary turmoil. The Strathclydians, as has been seen, were exceedingly weak, and the Picts, whose power had for some time been decaying, were their companions in infirmity. The Danes were ravaging the whole country, and altogether matters were in a most tumultuous condition. In the midst of it all, Alpine ascended the Scoto-Irish throne, and as he was a man of great energy and decision, he saw that the times were favourable to the extension of his kingdom. Attacking the Picts settled in Galloway, he overthrew them; and throughout the whole of his reign his purpose seems to have been conquest. His son Kenneth, better known as Kenneth Mac Alpine, was a man of similar ambition, and he succeeded to his father's crown about 836. In 843 he became king of the united kingdoms of the Picts and Scots. This was brought about, some say, by virtue of a relationship between the reigning families of the Irish of Kintire and of the Picts; but, on the other hand, it is stated, that in 841 he commenced a terrible war with the Picts, and the inference to be drawn is that he conquered them. However, the manner in which the union was brought about has no effect upon the historical fact that in 843 Kenneth ascended the throne of the united kingdoms; and that the northern portion of the island of Britain was afterwards known by the name of Scotland.

Strathclyde still preserved its somewhat precarious independence. In 871 the Danes and Norwegians, who had landed on the east coast, and committed great depredations among the north-eastern kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy, ravaged Strathclyde, and invested Alclwyd, or Dumbarton, for four months, in the end, as a Welsh Chronicle relates, destroying the town. But the Scottish kings were not content with their greatly extended dominions, for it is recorded that in 872, Artga, King of the Britons of Strathclyde, was killed at the instigation of Constantine Mac Kenneth, King of the Scots, probably with some political object in view. In 875, however, the Danes, who had wintered in Northumberland, under the command of Halfden, advanced into his territory and that of the Cumbrians, and sadly depopulated the country. The people of Strathclyde had borne much, but many of them would not submit their necks to the Danish yoke, and they left in search of quieter habitations. Caradoc of Llancarvon, who wrote in 1157, says a large contingent of them went to Wales, under the leadership of one Hobert, where they

were granted all the district between Chester and the river Conway, on condition that they should expel the Saxons who had seized it. Necessity gave them courage, and they accomplished the feat, obtaining as their reward the territory for which they had fought. This colony is mentioned by the same writer under the years 944 and 1054, and this has given Mr. Pinkerton great trouble. While admitting that such an exodus took place from Strathclyde to Wales, he denies that there was ever such a kingdom in that principality. There is no need for assuming there was a kingdom, and the likelihood is that Caradoc merely referred to a district, the origin of whose inhabitants he had formerly described. In the old Welsh Annals it is recorded that the people of Dyffryn Clwyd came from Scotland in the ninth century, and gave their favourite name to the river flowing through the district they inhabited. Not only did the people flee before the Danes, but their kings also, for in 877 the Ulster Annals say that Roary Mac Murnin, King of the Britons, went to Ireland "for refuge from the black Gentiles." A year later, in 878, this same Roary, having apparently returned to his kingdom, was killed by the Saxons.

While the Scots and the Strathclydians were suffering so severely from the Danish scourge, the people of England fared no better. Students of English history know well how Alfred the Great freed his country from its enemies, and how he became the sovereign of those Danes who had settled in Northumbria. He was succeeded, in 901, by Edward the Elder, who is said about 921 to have received the submission of the King of the Scots, of Reginald the chief of the Danes of Northumbria, and also of the King of the Strathclyde Britons, who all chose Edward "as their father and lord, and contracted with him a firm league." How this extraordinary league came about is not known, but if it really took place the King of Strathclyde at the time would be Donald, a brother of Constantine III. of Scotland, who had been appointed king through the latter's influence on the death of King Dovenal in 920. The annals proceed to state that there died in the time of Constantine Mac Hugh Donald, and that Donald the son of Hugh was elected king. There must be some confusion of names here, for if the statement as to the appointment of Constantine's brother is true, the name of the king who died must also have been Donald. According to the Saxon Chronicles, Edmund I. of England invaded Strathclyde in 945, in retaliation for some raids the Britons had made into his territory, and he was successful in overthrowing the kingdom. But as he saw it would give him a great amount of trouble to keep in subjection, being so far from his centre of government, he handed it over to Malcolm I., of Scotland, on condition that that monarch should grant him

military assistance against the Danes in the north of England. Before doing so, he despoiled the country of all its wealth, and he deprived of their eyes the two sons of the then king of Cumbria, called Dunmail by Pinkerton, who goes on the seemingly mistaken presumption that Strathclyde and Cumbria were separate kingdoms. This Dunmail would probably be Donald, a nephew of Constantine III. of Scotland, as already mentioned. Malcolm is said to have granted the government of the kingdom to Indulf his tanist. The law of tanistry is thus defined by Hallam (*Constitutional History of England*, Murray's 1870 Ed., p. 831): "The demesne lands and dignity of chieftainship descended to the eldest and most worthy of the same blood; these epithets not being used, we may suppose, synonymously, but in order to indicate that the preference given to seniority was to be controlled by a due regard to desert. No better mode, it is evident, of providing for a perpetual supply of these civil quarrels, in which the Irish are supposed to place so much of their enjoyment, could have been devised." That law was prevalent in Scotland at this period and for a considerable time later, and its presence in the country marks in a prominent manner the Irish descent and customs of its dominant people. Possibly Indulf was related to the deposed reigning house of Strathclyde. As far as can be made out from the exceedingly obscure evidence, he was succeeded by one Anderach, whose daughter was violated in 965 by Culen, King of Scotland. On this event the Strathclydians flew to arms on behalf of their king against the Scottish monarch, with the result that Culen and his brother were, in 970, slain in battle. Kenneth III. immediately seized the deceased king's sceptre, and he renewed the war in Strathclyde with great vigour. No mention is made of Anderach's death, but the record continues that when Kenneth overthrew the British kingdom in 975, he drove King Dunwalon from it into Wales. Dunwalon died, according to the Ulster Annals, while on a pilgrimage to Rome soon after his deposition. This would seem to close the list of the kings of Strathclyde. It was afterwards governed by sub-kings under the kings of Scotland, these being, in most cases, the heirs-apparent to the Scottish throne, and its history after 975 must be looked upon as incorporated in that of Scotland.

Reference has been made to the dispute between the Culdee and the Roman Catholic parties as to some of the ceremonials connected with Divine worship; but it remained for Queen Margaret, the consort of Malcolm Canmore, who reigned at the close of the eleventh century, to complete the change. She was an English princess, with ideas of Papal supremacy far more advanced than those that had been held by the people of Scotland, and she introduced into the country many of the rites of the

Romish Church. She fostered religion; and in this and the succeeding reigns the Roman Pontiffs gained an unquestionable power over the people of Scotland. Culdee Kintire, Pictland, and Strathclyde had disappeared, and Roman Catholic Scotland stood in their place.

A sketch of the kingdom of Strathclyde would scarcely be complete without notice being taken of the sole representative of its literature, and also of one whose name has figured in romance. The first of these is known as St. Gildas, who was born at Alclwyd in 520, and is said to have been a son of King Cawn. He wrote one or two works which are only valuable for the very little light they throw upon a very dark period, and which find a natural resting-place on the shelves of antiquarian bibliophils. The other is Merlin the Wild, whose sister was married to King Rhydderch. He received his name through living solitarily in the woods; and, being a melancholy visionary, he was in his time looked to as a prophet and wise man.

CHAPTER IV.

(A.D. 1115 TO A.D. 1199.)

Re-Establishment of the Clergy in Glasgow—The Inquisition concerning the Church Lands—Erection of the Cathedral—Glasgow erected into a Burgh of Barony by King William the Lion—Burning of the Cathedral—Institution of Glasgow Fair—Origin and Meaning of the Name of Glasgow.

DONALD BANE, brother to Malcolm Canmore, thought himself, on the death of that monarch, entitled, under the tanist law, to the crown of Scotland, and he took forcible possession of the government. On his death he was succeeded by Edgar, eldest son of Malcolm Canmore; and Edgar, in turn, after a reign of nine years, was followed by his brother Alexander, who ascended the throne with the title of Alexander I. in January, 1107. As was then customary, he, on his accession, gave to his younger brother David, the heir-apparent, all the territory south of the Forth, with the exception of Lothian, as his appanage, and this David was known as Prince of Cumbria. The young prince inherited his mother's zeal for the Church, and throughout his whole life he devoted his energy to the improvement of the temporalities and the advancement of the spiritual influence of the Roman Catholic religion, first in Cumbria, and afterwards in his wider sphere as King of Scotland.

In the year 1115, Prince David turned his attention to the condition of Glasgow, and to the traditions of St. Mungo's residence in it. As a result of that attention he founded, or restored, the see; and he presented his tutor and chaplain, John Achaius, to the bishopric. The successor of St. Mungo, if he may be so called, was a person of learning and integrity. He had travelled much in France and Italy, and he had had the upbringing and education of his royal patron. John is said to have been unwilling to accept the office on account of the tumultuous and disorderly state of the diocese, but he was ultimately consecrated bishop by Pope Paschal II. in Rome. On his accession everything was in confusion, and an episcopal see without temporalities was, even in these times, too great an anomaly to be workable. Accordingly, in the following year, 1116, Prince David ordered an inquisition to be made into all the past circumstances of the Church; and an authentic Latin copy of the document resulting from that inquiry still exists in the Chartulary of Glasgow. The following is an English version of it:—

"The Inquisition of David, Prince of Cumbria, concerning the Lands belonging to the Church of Glasgow, made in the year of Our Lord 1116.

"Now, since the institutes of our predecessors are brought to remembrance by the sight of perishable charters, and by the deliberation of clerks, we have handed down some transactions of the Cumbrian nobility by these present mandates. In the region of Cumbria, situated partly in England and partly in Scotland, the Catholic faith first abounding and increasing in these countries, the nobles of the kingdom and the chiefs of religion, co-operating with the king, have erected the Church of Glasgow into the bishopric of the Cumbrian kingdom, to the honour of God and the Blessed Mary, and have confirmed it by proper decrees, according to the ancient religion of the Holy Fathers. This Church, from these promising beginnings and clerical institutions, likewise grew up in the knowledge of the Holy Faith, and, by the Divine appointment, admitted St. Kentigern into the bishopric, who furnished large draughts of knowledge to those thirsting after heavenly things, and administered spiritual food to the hungry, as became a faithful pastor. But a fraudulent destroyer, employing his common wiles, and grieving that the above Church continued long inviolate in the faith, brought in, after a long series of time, unaccountable scandals into the Cumbrian Church; for after St. Kentigern and many of his successors, by their adhering to the holy religion, were removed to heaven, various disturbances everywhere arising not only destroyed the Church and her possessions, but, wasting the whole country, drove the inhabitants into exile. These good men being destroyed, various tribes of different nations,

flocking in from several quarters, possessed the foresaid deserted country; but being of different origins, and varying from each other in their language and customs, and not easily agreeing among themselves, they followed the manners of the Gentiles, rather than those of the true faith. The inhabitants of which unhappy and abandoned country, though living like brutes, the Lord, who chooses that none should perish, vouchsafed to visit in mercy; for, in the time of Henry, King of England, Alexander then reigning in Scotland, God sent unto them David, brother german to the foresaid King of Scotland, as their prince and leader, to correct their scandalous and wicked practices, and to check their abominable obstinacy, by his greatness of mind and by an inflexible severity. He being distinguished for his piety, and pitying the miserable state of these irreligious people, influenced by Heaven, in order to efface their crimes, by subjecting them to a pastoral charge, of which they had long been deprived, by advice and consent of his nobles and clergy, made choice of John, a pious man, who had been entrusted with his education, and who had not in vain devoted his life to the service of God, to be their bishop; but the bishop, upon knowing the barbarity of these unhappy people, and the multitude of their abominable sins, being a good deal affrighted, had resolved to go to Jerusalem; but being, contrary to his inclination, consecrated by Pope Paschal, he would by no means delay entering upon this burdensome charge; and being received with joy by the prince and the nobility of the kingdom, and by the hearty concurrence of the commons, he diffused the Gospel throughout the Cumbrian diocese, the Holy Ghost powerfully assisting him. But David, Prince of Cumbria, chiefly from his love of God, and partly from his regard for, and by the advice of his clergy, caused make inquiry concerning the lands pertaining to the Church of Glasgow, throughout all the provinces of Cumbria which were under his dominion and subjection (for he was not superior of all the country of Cumbria), eagerly desiring to leave with certainty to posterity a restoration of those possessions which had formerly belonged to this Church; he, therefore, by the advice and assistance of the old and wise men of all Cumbria, has, as far as he was able, found out the lands after mentioned, —viz., Carlevien, Camcaw, Camcahethyn, Lengartheyn, Pathel, Asserhe, Canclut, Chefernenuat, Carnetheyn, Carvil, Quendal, Abercarf, Meeheyn, Planmichel, Stobo, Pentiacob, Alnerumba, Keveronum, Lilleseliva, Hodelm, Edyngahum, Abermele, Drivesdale, Colchtam, Kevertrole, Aschib, Brumeseheyd, Keversgyrt; in Peeblis, one currucate of land and a church; in Kincayrd, one currucate of land and a church; in Mereboda, one currucate of land and a church. The persons following made oath, that these lands had formerly belonged to the Church of Glasgow,

at the desire, and by the command of the foresaid prince, Ventred, the son of Waldef; Gitt, the son of Bold," &c., &c.

Many of the names mentioned in this document it has been found impossible to identify with existing places or names. However, the Church of Glasgow was re-endowed with its ancient possessions. Bishop John did not find his new charge any easier or less onerous than he seems to have expected, for he is said by some authorities to have thrown up or deserted his functions, and to have started on his contemplated journey to the Holy Land. Professor Innes, in his preface to the Bannatyne Club publication of the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, says the bishop had a long contest with the Archbishop of York, by whom he was put under sentence of suspension in 1122; and that he was about to proceed, or was on his way to the Holy Land, when in the following year he was ordered by the pope to return to his see. At this time the pretensions of the see of York were exceedingly overbearing. It claimed to be Metropolitan of Scotland, and had even come into collision with the see of Canterbury. It had been contended by Canterbury that York could not be metropolitan when it had no suffragan bishops; but York produced its records, believed to be interpolated, showing that in the year 1050, in York Minster, the archbishop had consecrated three bishops in succession, Magsuen, John, and Michael, to the see of Glasgow. This record, as has been indicated, is presumed to have been tampered with, so far as Glasgow is concerned, for the purposes of aggression.

A year after Bishop John returned to exercise his functions in the see of Glasgow, Prince David was elevated to the throne of Scotland, on the death of his brother, King Alexander I. In the same year, 1124, the bishop set himself to build the Cathedral on the site of St. Mungo's primitive church, which is thought to have been of wood. The new building was partially of stone and wood, and was consecrated in presence of King David and a large retinue of his nobles on the 7th of July, 1136. On the occasion of this ceremony the king presented to the bishop the lands of Partick and the church of Govan; while the diocese was divided into two arch-deaconries of Glasgow and Teviotdale, and for the first time there were appointed a dean, sub-dean, chancellor, treasurer, sacrist, chanter, and sub-chanter, all of whom had prebends settled upon them out of the gifts received from the king. In addition to the grants mentioned, King David is stated to have given to the Cathedral the church of Renfrew, the church of Cadzow or Hamilton, a tithe of the duty on cattle in certain districts of the diocese, and an eighth-penny on all pleas of court throughout Cumbria. The church of Borthwick, in the diocese of St.

Andrews, was also given by consent of the bishop of that see. Among the many personal honours showered by King David at his accession on Bishop John, was the office of chancellor of the kingdom; but the prelate, finding himself not suited to secular employment, resigned the position after a very short occupancy, and gave himself entirely to the duties of his bishopric. On his recommendation the Abbacy of Selkirk was founded by the king, but in 1128 it was removed to Kelso, and was inhabited by Tyronense monks, followers of the rule of St. Benedict. This new house was confirmed in 1143 by Pope Innocent; and it is said to have had under it the church and parish of Lesmahagow. The good bishop, who had written a few works in addition to attending to his ordinary episcopal duties, died on the 28th May, 1147, after holding office for thirty-two years.

Herbert, third abbot of Selkirk and first of Kelso, and chancellor of the kingdom, was consecrated to the bishopric of Glasgow, on the 24th August, 1147, at Auxerre, by Pope Eugenius III. He is believed to have added to the Cathedral, though to what extent is not known; and he also bestowed the church of Govan on his chaplain, and erected it into a prebend. During Herbert's possession of the see the question of the supremacy of York again emerged, and the dispute became so vehement that it had to be referred to Pope Alexander III., at Rome. Ingram, then Archdeacon of Glasgow and Chancellor of Scotland, was sent to represent his see before the pope, and his holiness, after hearing both sides, issued a bull declaring the Church of Scotland to be exempt from all jurisdiction, with the exception of that of the apostolic see. In Bishop Herbert's time, also, the pope enjoined that the clergy and the people of the diocese should visit the Cathedral Church of Glasgow yearly; and he likewise confirmed the constitution of the dean and chapter, declaring that on the demise of a canon the receipts of his prebend should, for one year, go to pay his debts, or to the poor.

Although the gifts by the Crown to the see in the episcopal reign of Herbert consisted only of the church of Old Roxburgh and the endowments it had received from King David, a number of presentations was made to it by private persons. Malcolm IV., King David's successor, granted a charter regarding the payment of tithes, an important matter for which the saintly king had omitted to make provision, and in addition he granted some land to compensate for the church dues not having been sufficiently secured. This charter is a curious document, originally in Latin, and is well worthy of reproduction. It was granted in 1164.

"Malcolm, King of Scots, to all justiciaries, barons, sheriffs,

and their attendants, Normans, Saxons, Scots, Welsh, and Picts, and every the parishioners of the Church of St. Kentigern of Glasgow, and of the bishopric thereunto belonging, greeting. As the Divine providence hath appointed us, in our kingdom, to rule over our clergy and people, it becomes necessary for us to correct the excesses of both, and effectually to secure the power delivered to us; whence, by the Divine appointment, and by the advice and command of the Holy Roman Church, our mother, and of his holiness the pope, we, by our royal authority, command, enjoin, and charge all of you in the Lord, that you give due reverence and obedience to your bishop, archdeacon, and their servants, and that you pay up your tithes, and other ecclesiastical dues, to your Churches, in all things fully and without dispute, in the same manner as I have commanded them to be paid through the other bishoprics in my kingdom, viz., of corn, lint, wool, cheese, butter, lambs, calves, pigs, kids, chickens, and of everything else not made mention of which the Christian law enjoins to be paid. But if any of you shall presume to detain any part of your just tithes, then my sheriff shall take my forfeit from him, viz., twelve cows; but if my sheriff shall agree with him, or detain the tithes himself, then my justice may take my forfeit from the sheriff himself, and cause the tithes so detained to be paid fully to the Church; that no complaint for defect of justice may come unto me."

Bishop Herbert died in 1164, while Archdeacon Ingram was at the Papal court engaged in the settlement of the York dispute; and Pope Alexander III., then at Siennes, consecrated Ingram with his own hands to the vacant see, in spite of the determined opposition of the delegate from York. The new bishop was of a Lanarkshire family of the name of Newbigging, and in addition to being Archdeacon of Glasgow he was also Rector of Peebles. His reign of ten years over the diocese does not seem to have been productive of any very startling results, but he is believed to have done much to consolidate the existing institutions. He was the author of several works relating to theology and the administration of episcopal affairs. On the 2nd February, 1174, he died, being at the time of his death well advanced in years.

Joceline, then Abbot of Melrose, was elected to the office on the death of Bishop Ingram, and he was consecrated on the 1st of June, 1175, by Escaline, the pope's delegate, at the Cistercian Abbey of Clairvaux, in France. He appears to have been one of the most indefatigable and capable men who ever occupied the episcopal throne of Glasgow; and his labours were not only directed towards increasing the prosperity of his see in its ecclesiastical affairs, but also towards the temporal welfare of the people among whom he dwelt. In his time the infant city

would be properly described by the name of village, and the greater part of the few houses it contained was occupied by the clergy and their dependants. With the view of adding to the trade and importance of the community, one of the first acts of Bishop Joceline, who was in great favour with William the Lion, then King of Scotland, was to obtain from that monarch a charter for the erection of Glasgow into a burgh of barony, holden of the bishop. The English of this charter, written originally in the Latin, is as follows :—

"William, by the grace of God King of Scots, to the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs and their attendants, and all his good subjects, both clergy and laity, present and to come, greeting. Know all ye, both present and future, that I have granted, and by this my charter confirmed, to God and St. Kentigern, and Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, and all his successors for ever, that they shall hold a burgh at Glasgow, with a weekly market upon Thursday, fully and freely, with all freedoms, liberties, and customs which any of my burghs throughout the whole of my kingdom enjoy. Wherefore, I will and command, that all burgesses residing within the foresaid burgh, shall be held to be in my firm peace, throughout the whole kingdom, in coming and going; and I strictly command that no one shall disturb or unjustly harass them or their cattle, and that none shall maltreat or injure them, under the pain of my highest displeasure. Witnessed by Lord David, my brother," &c.

A year or two after the granting of this charter, King William the Lion gave the city another in these terms :—

"William, by the grace of God King of the Scots, to all his good subjects, both clergy and laity, greeting. Know all ye, that I have given and granted my absolute protection to all those who shall come to the markets of Glasgow, which I have granted to God and St. Kentigern, and the burgh of Glasgow, in coming there, standing there, and returning thence, provided they behave themselves according to the laws and customs of my burghs and kingdom. Witnessed by Wm. Wood, my chaplain," &c.

But while Joceline was thus laying the foundation of the prosperity of his city, a circumstance occurred which turned his energies into another channel. In the year 1192, the Cathedral Church, built by Bishop John, was destroyed by fire. It is believed that while a great portion of this building was constructed of wood some of it was composed of stone, for in excavations since made fragments of stone carved in the early Norman style were found. The extent and arrangements of this church are unknown. The bishop was equal to the emergency, for he set to work with the rebuilding of the Cathedral of St. Mungo. His diocese, though large, was in

very poor circumstances, and the bishop and his clergy formed themselves into what would be called at the present time a building committee to receive subscriptions for the furtherance of the great and praiseworthy object they had in view. From King William they obtained the following charter:—

"William, by the grace of God King of the Scots, to all good men of his whole realm, both clergy and laity, greeting. Sympathising with the necessity of the Glasgow Cathedral, and entertaining for it a devout affection, both out of regard to its Supreme King and his most holy confessor, Kentigern, we will take upon ourselves the care of administering comfort to its desolation, and to cherish it as far as in us lies with the support of our royal protection. But seeing that this mother of many nations, heretofore in pinched and straitened circumstances, desires to be amplified for the glory of God, and, moreover, in these our days has been consumed by fire, requiring the most ample expenditure for its repairing, and demands both our aid and that of more good men,—the fraternity appointed by the right rev. Joceline, Bishop of said Cathedral, with the advice of the abbots, priors, and other clergy of his diocese, we devoutly receive and confirm by the support of our royal protection aye and until the finishing of the Cathedral itself; and all the collectors of the same fraternity, and those who request aid for its building, we have taken into our favour, strictly charging all our bailiffs and servants that they protect, and take them by the hand everywhere throughout our kingdom, and forbidding that any one should offer injury, violence, or insult to them, under pain of our highest displeasure. Before these witnesses, Hugh, our Chancellor," &c.

It is to be presumed that money came in rapidly at the bishop's appeal, for on the 6th July, 1197, the work was so far advanced that the new Cathedral was consecrated by Joceline and two assisting bishops, with befitting ceremony and splendour. The result of Joceline's labours is believed to have been that the crypt at present called by his name was completed. In it a tomb to St. Mungo was erected, with a votive altar attached; and many relics of that saint and of others are said to have been treasured in the sacred edifice. To this prelate, then, is due the honour of commencing the erection of Glasgow Cathedral as it now exists.

Among the many acts of Joceline's episcopacy was the grant to the Abbey of Paisley of the churches of Mearns, Cathcart, and Rutherglen; and to the Abbey of Melrose of the church of Hassendean. He also went on a mission to Rome, and obtained for King William the pope's pardon for the neglect of that monarch to enforce by his royal authority the tithes of the Church. In 1180 he received from Pope Lucius III. a bull

setting forth that when a patron of a church failed to make an appointment to a vacancy within three months, the bishop was himself to do so, without prejudice to the future rights of the patrons. But while these and other acts were of considerable importance from an ecclesiastical point of view, his endeavours for the benefit of the burgh did not cease. In the year 1190, or about that time, Bishop Joceline obtained from his royal patron another charter giving further privileges, and privileges of no small importance in those days, to the bishopric of Glasgow. This charter, after the usual introduction, proceeds to say:—"Know all men by these presents that I have given and granted, and by this my charter confirmed, to God and St. Kentigern, to the Church of Glasgow, and Joceline the bishop of the place, and to all his successors for ever, a fair to be kept at Glasgow, and to be held every year for ever, from the octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul, for the space of eight days complete, with my full protection, and with every freedom, and all other liberties belonging and granted to fairs throughout the whole of my dominions, as fully and freely as all fairs are or ought to be held in any of my burghs. Witnessed by John, Bishop of Dunkeld," &c. This fair commenced on the 6th of July in each year, and it continues still to be held, though under greatly altered circumstances, and for a different purpose. Joceline is also noteworthy in having induced Joceline, the monk of Furness, to write the life of St. Mungo referred to in the second chapter. After an episcopal reign of about twenty-four years, Bishop Joceline, one of the greatest benefactors the city of Glasgow ever had, died, in the midst of his labours, on the 17th of March, 1199, and was buried on the right side of the choir of the Cathedral he was instrumental in building. As an indication of the state of society at this time, it may be said that in the course of Joceline's episcopate, King William the Lion gave him and his successors in office "Gillemachoy de Conglud, with his children and all their descendants, as serfs."

Having thus traced the foundation of undoubted episcopal rule in Glasgow, and its advancement from the position of a small hamlet to that of a burgh of barony, it may be interesting, and in the light of the fact that the name "Glasgow" occurs for the first time chronologically in the charters that have been quoted, it will be appropriate, to consider the origin and meaning of that name. The names of Cathures and Deschu have been given as belonging to two villages on the present site of the city, but there is the difficulty that neither of these bear any striking resemblance to the word Glasgow or even Glasghu. It is true that the termination of Deschu may be like that of the medieval spelling of the present name, but that does not afford any help towards defining the meaning or pointing out the origin of the

latter. Many theories have been put forward with the intention of doing both, but most of them are unsatisfactory. M'Ure, Glasgow's earliest historian, says (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 1):—"It is called Glasgow, as some say, because in the Highland or Irish language Glasgow signifies a gray-hound or a gray-smith." Even the learned Principal Macfarlan, who wrote the article on Glasgow for the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Vol. VI., p. 101), inclines to the idea that Glasgow means "gray-smith, or dark glen." The meaning of "dark glen" is taken, it is said, from the dark ravine in the vicinity of the Cathedral, through which the Molendinar flowed; while one of the old authors suggests, in all earnestness, that probably the name signifying "gray-smith" was given because some celebrated smith resided in the place in early times. Wade, a pleasant writer, says (*Hist. Glas.*, p. v.):—"The name of Glasgow is, we conjecture, derived from *Glas* (Brit.), signifying *green*, and *coed*, *wood*, thus Glas-coed, the green wood, since abbreviated to Glasgow." He founds this conjecture on the existence of a forest at Glasgow, subsequently designated the Bishop's Forest. None of these explanations, ingenious as some of them are, can be considered satisfactory. Mr. Andrew Macgeorge, whose *Old Glasgow*, published some time ago, is an excellent work and highly appreciated, presents a far more probable idea of the meaning of the word Glasgow. He points out (*Old Glas.*, p. 29) that it was not an unusual thing for transcribers of old manuscripts to mistake the letters *cl* for *d*; and he suggests that in this case these transcribers wrote Deschu instead of Cleschu, which in course of time might become transformed to Gleschu or Glaschu. Having arrived at this conclusion, much more satisfactory than the others, and probably correct, he proceeds to state that in the Welsh language *Glas* means *green*, and *cu* or *ghu*, as in Munghu or Mungo, *beloved* or *dear*, giving to the combination Glasghu or Glasgow the meaning of *beloved green spot*. This is a likely origin of the name, when the fact is taken into consideration that Joceline, the biographer of St. Kentigern, describes the pleasant shade of trees which surrounded the ancient and original Church of Glasgow.

CHAPTER V.

(A.D. 1199 TO A.D. 1447.)

Glasgow freed from the Oppression of Rutherglen and Dumbarton—Settlement of the Black Friars in Glasgow—Early Magistracy—The English Occupation of the City—Battle of the Bell o' the Brae—Erection of the First Stone Bridge in Glasgow—Ravages of the Plague, and Building of Leper Hospital—Improvement of the Cathedral—Magnificence of Bishop Cameron.

ON the death of Bishop Joceline, in 1199, Hugh de Roxburgh was promoted to the see. He was Rector of Tullibody, in Clackmannanshire; was clerk to Nicholas, the Chancellor of Scotland; and he was also Archdeacon of St. Andrews. In the year 1189, he was chancellor of the kingdom. Before he could be consecrated to the high office to which he had been elected, he died on the 6th July, 1199.

William Malvoisin was the next bishop, and he was consecrated at the end of 1199, or the beginning of 1200. He seems to have been of native birth, and of a good family; and after he had spent his youth in France, he returned to Scotland and took holy orders. Before his preferment to Glasgow, he had occupied the positions of Archdeacon of St. Andrews, chancellor of the kingdom, and, on the 6th September, 1199, the Great Seal was given into his custody. In 1202 he was translated to the see of St. Andrews. There is no record of any remarkable events during his stay in Glasgow, except that, in 1201, a society of fishers was formed, whose residence was on the banks of the Clyde, and who gave the name of Fishergate to what was afterwards known as the Bridgegate. Their's must have been the only houses in the locality at the time, for the town was clustered round the Cathedral and in the vicinity of the Drygate. Malvoisin is said to have been the author of Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern; but nothing is known concerning either of these works.

Florentius, a son of the Earl of Holland, and nephew to King William the Lion, was Bishop Malvoisin's successor. He had been appointed Chancellor of Scotland in 1200. Though he was elected to exercise the episcopal function in Glasgow, he seems never to have been consecrated—for what reason is not known—and in the year 1207 he went to Rome and died there.

Immediately on Florentius' death, in 1207, Walter, chaplain to the king, was elected bishop, and he was consecrated at Glasgow on the 2nd November, 1208. He was sent, in 1215, together with a number of other bishops, to a General Assembly at Rome, and he resided in the imperial city for three years. About 1220 he was witness to a charter by the Steward of Scotland, which grants to the monks of Paisley Abbey free liberty to elect their own abbot and prior. In Bishop Walter's time Rutherglen and Dumbarton, both of them royal burghs, exercised a certain control over Glasgow; but the bishop by special favour obtained exemption from toll and custom for himself and his people. The two places directly interested resisted this encroachment upon what they considered their rights; but the bishop prevailed against Dumbarton, and obtained for his burgesses the privilege of free trading in Argyle and Lennox. Rutherglen was, however, more powerful, and all he could procure was a protection against that burgh levying toll or custom within Glasgow, or nearer than the cross of Shettleston. Bishop Walter died in the year 1232.

In the following year, 1233, William de Bondington, of an ancient Berwickshire family, as Rector of Eddlestone, a prebendary of Glasgow, and for some time Archdeacon of St. Andrews and Chancellor of Scotland, was elected to the bishopric, and was consecrated in the Cathedral of St. Mungo by the Bishop of Moray. In the year 1240, Pope Gregory called a General Council at Rome, on pretext of discussing relief to the Holy Land, and Bishop Bondington, along with a number of other prelates, was sent home by the Emperor of Germany when he was passing through that monarch's territories, the emperor suspecting that the council was convened to devise a crusade against himself. The bishop is said, in this same year, to have founded a monastery for the accommodation of Dominican, or Black Friars, on the east side of the High Street, near the place now occupied by the Midland Railway Company's Offices; and six years later the pope granted a bull for the erection of a church in connection with that house. At a provincial council of the Scottish clergy, held at Perth in 1242, a canon was passed for the advancement of the building of Glasgow Cathedral. This canon ordained that in all the churches in the kingdom, on every Sunday and feast-day between Ash-Wednesday and the first Sunday after Easter, the purpose of the canon should be explained to the people after the reading of the gospel in the mass; and it was further to be explained that those who contributed to this good work would receive certain indulgences, a list of which was hung up in every church. It is believed that the choir of the Cathedral was either finished or nearly so by this bishop

from 1233 till the time of his death, which took place at Ancrum on the 10th November, 1258. He was buried three days after near the high altar in Melrose Abbey. By his means the ritual of Salisbury was introduced into the Cathedral of Glasgow.

Nicholas Moffat, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, was elected to the see of Glasgow in 1260; but the Pope, Alexander IV., consecrated his chaplain, John de Cheyam, Archdeacon of Bath, to the office. This prelate was so disagreeable to both king and clergy that he found it convenient to reside in Rome, where he died in 1268. Archdeacon Nicholas was again elected; but he never seems to have been consecrated. He died in 1270.

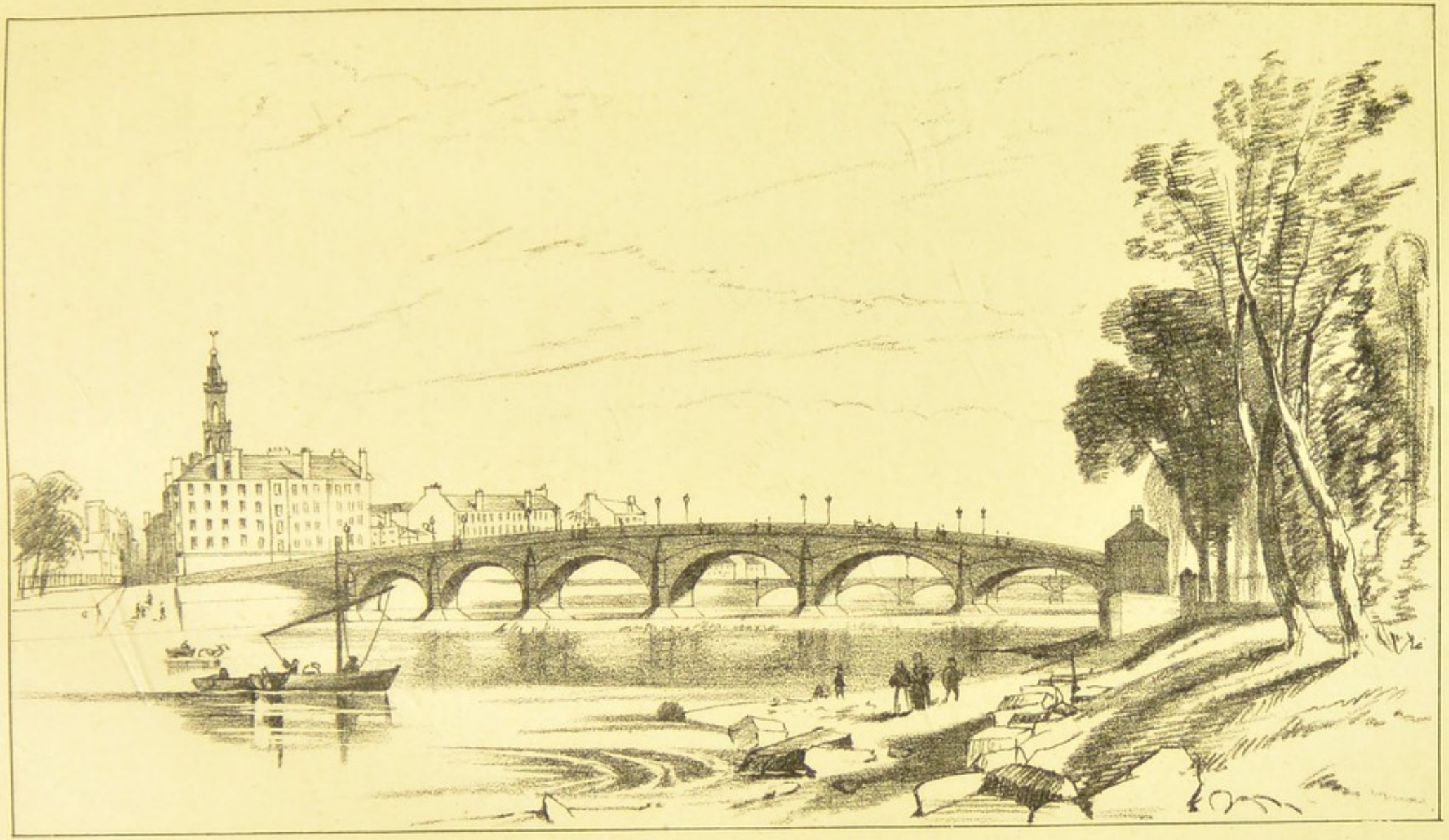
About this time mention is made of the city being governed by magistrates. It would be, doubtlessly, so governed from the date of its erection into a burgh; but 1268 is the first date on which the name of any magistrate is given. These officials would then be the nominees of the bishop, and to all intents and purposes the burgh was not under civil, but under ecclesiastical rule. Three names are put under this year—Richard de Dunidovis, Alex. Pathie, and Wm. Gley. A curious document, of date 1268, is extant, which casts a little light on the condition of the city at that time. Robert de Mythyngby in that charter states that, "compelled by great poverty and pressing necessity, with the consent of Agnes, my daughter and heiress, and of Walter, my brother," he had sold to Mr. Reginald de Irewyne, Archdeacon of Glasgow, all his lands in the city of Glasgow, without any reservation, for a sum which the foresaid Mr. Reginald, in his great need, had satisfied him in, and that in the presence of the provost, bailies, twelve burgesses, and other inhabitants of the city. To this charter the common seal of Glasgow was appended.

In 1270, William Wishart, Archdeacon of St. Andrews and Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, was preferred to the bishopric; but as he was elected at the same time by the chapter of St. Andrews, he accepted the latter see.

Robert Wishart, a nephew of the prelate of St. Andrews, was next elected to be Bishop of Glasgow, and he was consecrated, probably about 1273, at Aberdeen by the Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Dunblane. His celebrity seems to have been much more national than purely local; a fact not surprising when the extraordinary nature of the time in which he lived is taken into account. Scotland was then passing through a struggle that threatened its existence as an independent kingdom; but under leaders such as Wallace and Bruce, and with patriots such as Bishop Wishart, English ambition and aggression were checked. On the death of King Alexander III. of Scotland in 1286, the Bishop of Glasgow was made one of the Lords of

Regency, and it is not enough to say that he discharged the duties pertaining to this high office with great reputation. When the infant princess, grand-daughter of Alexander, and heir-apparent to the Scottish throne, died, numerous claimants arose for the crown. In this dilemma, and for the purpose of avoiding civil war, Edward I. of England was appealed to, and requested to act as umpire. Edward agreed to do so on condition that the Scots should acknowledge him as Lord of Scotland, and that they should place their castles in his hands. This the chiefs naturally demurred to, and it is on record that Bishop Wishart expressed in very plain terms the feelings of his nation upon the matter. The English king thereupon declared that John Baliol had the best right to the Scottish throne, and Baliol was crowned accordingly. But Baliol's weakness was taken advantage of by Edward, and the Scots rose to arms. Edward overran the country with his troops, and he is believed to have had a small garrison in Glasgow. He was so incensed at the speech of the bishop that he wrote to Pope Boniface, who sent the following letter, dated 13th August, 1302, to the prelate of Glasgow:—"I have heard with astonishment that you, as a rock of offence and a stone of stumbling, have been the prime instigator and promoter of the fatal disputes between the Scottish nation and Edward, King of England, my dearly beloved son in Christ, to the displeasing of the Divine majesty, to the hazard of your own honour and salvation, and to the inexpressible detriment of the kingdom of Scotland. If these things are so, you have rendered yourself odious to God and men. It befits you to repent, and by your most earnest endeavours after peace, to strive to obtain forgiveness." The bishop, however, paid no attention to this injunction, and he preached war against the English to his people.

In the midst of all this turmoil, Bishop Wishart was looking to the interests and improvement of his Cathedral. He appears to have made an arrangement with the Lord of Luss for a supply of timber as material for the erection of a steeple and treasury. It is also said that King Edward granted him some timber for the same purpose; but this statement is somewhat strange in view of the fact that the bishop was a friend of Wallace and Scottish independence. However that may be, the prelate fell into the hands of the English troops, in 1306, while he was engaged in the defence of the Castle of Cupar; and one of Edward's charges against him was that he had used the timber granted for the improvement of the Cathedral to make engines of war to be used against the Southerners. While confined in English prisons the clerical patriot was most cruelly treated, and when he was liberated after the battle of Bannockburn—exchanged along with Bruce's Queen for the



THE OLD BRIDGE ERECTED BY BISHOP RAE IN 1850.

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Earl of Hereford, according to some—he was totally blind. He only lived two years afterwards, and died in November, 1316, a veteran martyr to his country's wrongs. He was buried in Glasgow Cathedral, between the altars of St. Peter and St. Andrew. Among his many acts are stated to have been his absolution of Bruce after the murder of Comyn, though the anathema had gone out from York against the liberator of Scotland; and, also, his preparation of the robes and royal banners to be used at Bruce's coronation at Scone in March, 1306.

While Bishop Wishart was engaged in the national struggle, his city of Glasgow was not altogether exempt from the national troubles. It has been already stated that an English garrison was quartered in the episcopal palace, near the Cathedral; but, more than that, it was honoured with a visit of three days' duration from the English monarch in the year 1301. Edward resided with the Black Friars, and he is believed to have been a devoted attendant of the Cathedral, to which in his offerings he was most profuse. Probably it was at this time, in his zeal for religious ordinances, that he granted the timber which was put to purposes far different from what he intended.

Blind Harry, in his well-known romance, referring to the occupation of Glasgow, gives an account of a desperate battle at the Bell o' the Brae, that portion of the High Street now crossed by George Street, in 1300. Of course it is in praise of the valour of his hero, Sir William Wallace. There is good reason to think that in this affair, as in many others, he has given vent to his tendency for exaggeration; but while the account may not be strictly accurate in every detail, there is a likelihood that it may have been founded upon a veritable incident in these very exceptional times. Brown (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 3) records the battle in the following terms:—

"This worthy prelate [Wishart] was long a prisoner in England, where he suffered a rigorous confinement, in daily expectation of being put to death by his implacable conqueror, Edward I., who, in the meantime, had filled the see of Glasgow, of his own authority, with one of his own creatures in priest's orders, called Anthony Beik. At the same time, Earl Percy seems to have had the government of this western district, and his residence principally at Glasgow with the English bishop, where, it is presumed, he might find himself as well lodged as with any of the nobility of the country. Sir William Wallace, being in the possession of the town of Ayr, left the town and fortress to the care of the townsmen; and, being joined by the Laird of Auchinleck, and his uncle, Adam Wallace of Richardtown, and Boyd, they borrowed English horses after it was dark,

forming a squadron of 300 cavalry. They left Ayr at ten o'clock p.m., and arrived at Glasgow at nine o'clock next morning, and having crossed the bridge, which was then of wood, drew up their men (where the Bridgegate is now built) in two columns, one under the command of his uncle and the Laird of Auchinleck, who knew the road, by St. Mungo's Lane, to the north-east quarter of the Drygate, to attack the Lord Percy in flank; while the main body, commanded by Sir William Wallace and Boyd, marched up the High Street to meet Earl Percy and his army, which consisted of a thousand men in armour. The scene of action seems to have been between 'The Bell o' the Brae' and where the college now stands. Adam Wallace and Auchinleck, with 140 men, who had made a running march round the east side of the town, when the battle was doubtful came rushing in, from the road where the Drygate now stands, upon the English column and divided it in two. At the same instant, on hearing the shout of his friends, Sir William stepped into the front, and, with one stroke of his long sword, cleft Percy's head in two. The rout of the English now became general. The gallant Aymer Vallance led off Bishop Beik and 400 of their men by the Rottenrow Port, being all that remained of the 1,000 men in armour brought out to oppose Wallace at the head of 300 cavalry. He, however, availed himself of his situation. In what might be then termed a street, Percy could not bring his men to act upon this small squadron. Notwithstanding of this victory, obtained by stratagem, surprise, and valour, it was not safe for Wallace and his followers to stay here, nor yet in the old Druidical groves about the Blackfriars Church, nor in the forest beyond the Molendinar Burn. They marched straight to Bothwell, where they arrived at one o'clock p.m., having performed a march of thirty-six miles in eleven hours; fought a battle with three to one of the men of Northumberland, the best soldiers in England, gained a victory, and marched ten miles to safe quarters at Bothwell, in fifteen hours. The 'word' at the battle of Glasgow was, 'Bear up the bishop's tail,' spoken jeeringly by Sir William to his uncle, when their men were drawn up at the end of the bridge." Carrick (*Life of Sir Wm. Wallace*, Ed. 1840, p. 42) gives the following account of the battle:—"In pursuance of this object [the expulsion of the English ecclesiastics holding benefices in Scotland] Wallace, at the head of 300 choice cavalry, proceeded to Glasgow to dislodge Bishop Beik, who, with a garrison of 1,000 men, kept possession of the town and episcopal castle belonging to Robert Wishart, the Scottish bishop of that place. As the Scots drew near the spot against which their operations were directed, Wallace divided his followers into two bands. Taking the command of one

himself, he committed the other to the guidance of his uncle, the Laird of Auchinleck. 'Whether,' said our hero to his gallant kinsman, 'do you choose to bear up the bishop's tail, or go forward and take his blessing?' Auchinleck at once understood the intended plan of attack, and proposed assailing the rear of the English, resigning the more honourable post to the merits of his nephew, 'who,' as he jocularly observed, 'had not yet been confirmed.' Having received the necessary instructions, Wallace enjoined him to be diligent; 'for,' said he, 'the men of Northumberland are all good warriors.' The parties separated,—that under Auchinleck to make a compass round the town, so as to get in rear of the enemy; and the other, under the conduct of Wallace, advanced up the principal street leading to the castle. Their approach, however, had been discovered; for, when near the present site of the College Church, the Scots came in contact with the English, and the inhabitants had scarcely time to shelter themselves in their houses before a dreadful conflict commenced. The powerful and warlike prelate with whom our patriots had to contend, possessed a feudal following of knights and esquires inferior only to that of Edward himself. The narrow street, however, in which they were engaged was in favour of the Scots; and the sword of Wallace told dreadfully on the helmets and headpieces of the enemy. The manner in which he swept his antagonists before him is still a matter of tradition among the descendants of the early inhabitants of Glasgow. Though the enemy fought with obstinacy, the gallantry of the Scots sustained them against the efforts of their numerous opponents; and in the heat of the engagement, Wallace having unhorsed Henry of Hornecester, a stout monk who carried the banner of the bishop, this circumstance damped the ardour of some of the superstitious vassals of the prelate, who now fell back before a vigorous charge of the Scots. At this juncture, those under Auchinleck having reached the elevated ground in the rear of the English, and seeing the turmoil of battle that was raging below, hastily arranged themselves for the charge, and, before the enemy were fully apprised of their danger, the torrent of spears came rushing down upon them with overwhelming impetuosity. Their dismay was now complete. A hasty and disordered retreat ensued, and the bye-ways leading from the High Street were so choked up by the fugitives, that a number of them were trampled to death by their companions. Beik effected his escape with about 300 horse, and directed his flight towards England, carrying with him, it is supposed, the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert, and that of St. John of Beverley." Carrick, in a footnote, denies that Henry de Percy was slain in this conflict, and asserts that that soldier was at the time either in the east of Scotland or in

Northumberland. At this time the population of the city amounted to between one and two thousand persons; and as the *Crux Floralis* then stood at the junction of the High Street and Drygate, the battle could be said to have taken place at the Old Cross of Glasgow. It is more probable that Wallace's horsemen forded the river than crossed it by the bridge, which was a wooden structure, and in no way suited for the passage of such a cavalcade.

On Bishop Wishart's death the vacant see was filled, in 1317, by the election of Stephen de Dundimore, a cleric of a good Fifeshire family, and who had filled the office of chancellor to the Church of Glasgow. Known to be a determined enemy of England and English ambition, he received the attention of King Edward II., whose dislike for the elect of Glasgow prompted him to write to Rome desiring the pope to refuse sanction to the consecration of Stephen. While on his way to Rome, possibly for the purpose of making an explanation to the pope, Stephen died in the same year of his election.

Two years later, 1319, John Wishart, formerly archdeacon of the church, was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow. Unless he is confused with Bishop Robert Wishart, he had fallen into the hands of the English on the 6th April, 1310, and was released on the conclusion of active hostilities after the battle of Bannockburn. No account is given of his bishopric. He died in 1325.

John Lindsay, of the house of Lindsay of Crawford, succeeded to the see in 1325, on the presentation of King Robert the Bruce. He had been one of the prebendaries of Glasgow, and had occupied the position of Lord Chancellor of the kingdom. In the year 1335 he died, and was buried in the Cathedral. Another account is to the effect, in the year 1337 two Scotch vessels, homeward bound from France, were attacked and captured by the English fleet. Bishop Lindsay and many other Scottish notables of the time were on board, with a large quantity of armour, £30,000 in specie, and the instrument of agreement and treaty between Scotland and France. The bishop and his companions were so overcome by their disaster that they refused food, died before the English fleet reached land, and were buried at Wystande, in England.

The next occupant of the episcopal office in Glasgow was William Rae, consecrated in the year 1335 or 1336. His see would appear to have been in an exceedingly impoverished condition, for it is stated that in 1340 and 1341, the pope forgave it the payment of the diocesan contributions for these two years. However that may be, the bishop was able, in 1350, out of his own purse, to pull down the wooden bridge which crossed the Clyde, and construct in its stead a handsome stone erection of eight

arches, twelve feet wide, then and long after looked upon as one of the finest bridges in the kingdom. In this work he was assisted by Lady Lochow, who possessed some property at the Bridgegate, and who, besides bearing the expense of one of the arches, erected a leper's hospital, afterwards known as St. Ninian's Hospital, on the Gorbals side of the river. Bishop Rae was also instrumental in getting a chaplaincy instituted in connection with the Cathedral, through his having obtained a dispensation from the pope in favour of a marriage between King Robert II. and Elizabeth More, his near relation. At the time of the building of the bridge some authors indicate that a plague, which decimated the clerical and lay population, visited the city; and in view of the circumstance of the erection of a leper's hospital by Lady Lochow, it may be assumed that the disease with which the early Glasgowegians were afflicted was leprosy. Notwithstanding this misfortune, however, the city appears to have been steadily increasing in size. The most ancient portion of it, surrounding the Cathedral, seems to have been principally occupied by the clergy; and the laity built their houses nearer the river, and in the direction of the Bridgegate. In the light of the present day the extension cannot have been very great or very rapid, but it would be, doubtless, an extraordinary sign of progress in the fourteenth century. Bishop Rae died in 1367.

Walter Wardlaw, of a Fifeshire family, who had been made a Canon of Aberdeen in 1362, and afterwards Archdeacon of St. Andrews and clerk to King David II., was consecrated bishop in 1368. The king made him one of an embassy to the court of England, and on the accession of Robert II., he was nominated one of the ambassadors to France, sent for the purpose of renewing the ancient league between the two crowns; and while on this mission he so gained the esteem of Charles VI., that that monarch used his influence with the pope to create Bishop Wardlaw a Cardinal. This was done in 1381 or 1384. The prelate's coat of arms is to be seen still on several portions of the Cathedral in which he presided. He died in 1387. In his reign, also, the plague is said to have again visited Glasgow.

Matthew Glendinning, one of the Canons of the Cathedral, was the next bishop, and he died in 1408. It would seem that the building of the Cathedral steeple of wood had been accomplished, for it is stated that in Bishop Glendinning's time the steeple was struck by lightning and burned. He accordingly made great preparations for erecting one of stone, but before he could carry out his intention he was overtaken by death. In Bishop Glendinning's episcopate there was an hospital at Polmadie; for in the Chartulary of Glasgow there is a precept in his name, dated 10th May, 1391, under which he appoints one

Gillian Waugh "a sister and portioner of the said house, during all the days of her life."

In 1408, William Lauder, son of Sir Allan Lauder of Hatton, in Mid-Lothian, who had been formerly archdeacon, was presented to the see by Pope Benedict XIII., who had set up a popedom at Avignon in opposition to Gregory XII. at Rome. The appointment was made in defiance of the wishes of the chapter of Glasgow. He was Lord Chancellor of Scotland in 1424, and in the same year he was nominated as one of the commissioners sent to England to treat for the ransom of King James I., who had been a prisoner there for some years. This purpose having been effected, the bishop devoted his attention particularly to the duties of his see. He took up the work for which preparation had been made by Bishop Glendinning. He built the steeple of the Cathedral, as it now exists, as far up as the battlements, and he laid the foundation of the vestry; but before he could complete his plans, he died on 14th June, 1425.

John Cameron, of the family of Lochiel, was consecrated bishop in 1426. He had been first official of Lothian in the year 1422; he was confessor and secretary to the Earl Douglas, who presented him to the Rectory of Cambuslang; he was Provost of Lincluden and secretary to the king in 1424, keeper of the Great Seal in 1425, and after his appointment to the bishopric he was nominated chancellor of the kingdom. He spent large sums of money in carrying out the building of the vestry, or chapter-house, and the completion of the spire; while he added a tower to, and otherwise ornamented, his own palace to a considerable extent. This and other acts gave him the appellation of "the Magnificent." With the consent of their patrons he erected the churches of Cambuslang, Kirkmaho, Tarbolton, Eaglesham, Luss, and Killearn, into prebends, by this means raising the number of prebends belonging to the Church of Glasgow to thirty-one; and, in addition, he caused these prebendaries to reside in Glasgow, while the work of their parishes was undertaken by clergy of a lower grade of ecclesiastical rank. In point of ceremony he was exceedingly punctilious, for it is stated that he defined the duties of his clergy, and appointed his higher officers to hold particular benefices. All the festivals were celebrated in the most imposing manner. On these occasions he would enter the choir of the Cathedral, passing through the nave by the western doorway, preceded by his officials carrying his crozier and his mace, while the members of the chapter followed. The procession moved towards the chancel amid the ringing of bells and the sound of triumphal music. The *Te Deum* having been sung, the celebration of the mass was proceeded with in the most sumptuous style. At this time the revenues of the see were in a

flourishing condition. Doubtlessly the numerous possessions of the Church of Glasgow, having increased in value, would contribute largely to this result; but it is asserted that it was due in no small degree to the oppressive dealings of the bishop with his vassals. In 1443 he was chosen delegate of the Church of Scotland to attend the Church Council at Basil. He died on the 24th of December, 1446, in his country residence at Lochwood, in the parish of Monkland. His "exit" is recorded by Buchanan and by Archbishop Spottiswoode as "fearful," and Buchanan points out that the bishop was at his death the victim of the avarice of his past life.

In 1446, James Bruce, son of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, who had been Bishop of Dunkeld from 1441, and who in 1444 had been elected Lord Chancellor of Scotland, was nominated to the bishopric of Glasgow; but before he was consecrated to his new sphere he died on the 4th October, 1447.

CHAPTER VI.

(A.D. 1447 TO A.D. 1462.)

Foundation of the University—Charters by the King and the Bishop to that Institution—The Early Buildings and Constitution of the University—Celebrations of the Feast of St. Nicholas by the Collegians.

THE appointment of William Turnbull to the see of Glasgow in 1447 was an event of no small importance to the city, for in his short episcopal reign of seven years he was instrumental in procuring for it many advantages which in the highest degree contributed to the growth, and extended the influence, of the ancient city of St. Mungo. This prelate was of a Roxburghshire family. He was first a prebendary of Glasgow, after which he was made a LL.D., and appointed Archdeacon of St. Andrews. He had also been a member of the King's Privy Council, and had been Keeper of the Privy Seal. Further, he was styled Lord of Provan.

Shortly after Turnbull's consecration, King James II. requested him to make overtures to Pope Nicholas V. for the purpose of obtaining permission for the institution of a University in Glasgow. At that time the Scottish youth, whose parents sought to give them a liberal education, had to be sent to England, and besides the inconvenience of such a journey it

would seem that the students from Scotland were subjected to a good deal of petty annoyance from their fellow-scholars at the English seats of learning. All this inconvenience and disagreeableness were, however, obviated by the pope granting the following bull, dated 7th January, 1450-1:—

"Nicholas, bishop, the servant of the servants of God, for now and ever, Amen. Among the other blessings which mankind may acquire in this transient life, it ought not to be accounted the least, that, by constant application to study, they are able to acquire the pearl of knowledge, which points out the way to live well and happily; and by its worth greatly distinguishes the learned from the unlearned; it introduces them to the clear knowledge of the secrets of the creation; it raises on high the ignorant, and those of mean birth; therefore the apostolic see, the provident dispenser of spiritual and temporal blessings, the constant and careful assistant in every good work, that men may the more easily be induced to acquire the highest perfection in life, and may transfer to others such knowledge, so acquired, with improvements, encourages, prepares places for, assists, and cherishes them, and loads them with favours. As, therefore, it has been lately shown to us, by our illustrious and beloved son in Christ, James, King of Scots, that the same king, carefully attending not only to the interest of the state, inhabitants, and subjects of his kingdom, but to the good of other neighbouring countries, having a great desire that an university, in every branch of literature, should be erected and ordained by the apostolic see in the episcopal city of Glasgow, being a place well suited and adapted to that purpose, on account of the healthiness of the climate, the plenty of victuals, and of everything necessary for the use of man, that there the Catholic faith may abound, the simple be instructed, justice taught, reason flourish, and that the minds and understandings of men may be enlightened and enlarged. We carefully considering the premises, and the great love and devotion which the foresaid king is known to bear to us, and to the whole Roman Church, are urged by a fervent desire to have the said city adorned with the gifts of science, that it may produce men distinguished for ripeness of judgment, adorned with virtue, and skilled in different sciences; and that there may be a fountain of knowledge, from the fulness of which all desirous of being instructed may drink liberally. After diligently weighing these things, and the fitness of the said city, which is said to be extremely well adapted for producing and increasing the seeds and growth of learning, not only for the benefit and advantage of the whole kingdom of Scotland, but of the neighbouring nations, we, moved by parental affection, and influenced by the entreaties of the said king, to

the praise of Almighty God, and the propagation of the orthodox faith in the said city, do, by our apostolic authority, erect, decree, and ordain an university, that studies of every kind may flourish in that city, as well in theology, in the canon and civil law, as in arts and other sciences; and that the doctors, masters, lecturers, and students, may there enjoy and have all privileges, liberties, honours, exemptions, and freedoms, granted by the apostolic see, or otherways, to the doctors, masters, and students in the university of our city of Bologna; and that our reverend brother, William, Bishop of Glasgow, and his successors for the time being Bishops of Glasgow, shall be rectors and chancellors of the foresaid university of Glasgow; who shall have the same power and authority over the doctors, masters, scholars, and others, in the said university, as the rectors have over the foresaid college of Bologna; and that those who, in process of time, shall deserve to obtain a diploma, and liberty of teaching in that branch of literature in which they have studied, that they may be able to instruct others therein; and also that those who apply for the degree of master or doctor, shall have the same bestowed upon them by the doctor or doctors, master or masters, of the same faculty in which they have been examined; and that this degree be conferred by the Bishop of Glasgow for the time being; or, in case of a vacancy of the Church of Glasgow, by the vicar, official, or chapter of the Church of Glasgow, which bishop, vicar, or official, after having convened the doctors, masters, and other lecturers, for the purpose of advancing such persons to the honour of master or doctor as have desired it, must cause them to be carefully and diligently examined by himself and others, according to used and wont observed in other universities; and that those who have been so examined and approved of, in the university of the city of Glasgow, and have obtained the freedom and honour of teaching as above, shall from thenceforth, without any further examination, have full and free power of directing and instructing, as well in the same city as in every other university in which they shall choose to teach and instruct, according to the statutes and customs of apostolic confirmation; anything to the contrary notwithstanding. Let no person whatever presume to break through, or rashly dare to dispute, this our charter of erection, constitution, and appointment; but if any one should be so bold as to attempt this, let him know that he must incur the wrath of Almighty God, and of His blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Given at St. Peter's at Rome, upon the 7th of January, in the year of Our Lord 1450, and of our pontificate the fourth." This bull, in the month of June in the subsequent year, was proclaimed with great solemnity at the cross of Glasgow.

In an article in the *College Album* for 1869, an interesting account is given of the foundation of, and the early transactions in connection with, the University of Glasgow. It is there pointed out that the four nations—the *Natio Glottiana, Natio Transforthiana, Natio Rothesiana*, and *Natio Loudoniana*—into which the matriculated students are divided, is a feature remanent of the continental system, which formed an example for the constitution of the College of Glasgow. On receiving the bull Bishop Turnbull and his chapter proceeded with the preparation of the statutes for the government of the university, which was opened for teaching in 1451, and consisted of the chancellor (the bishop), a rector, masters and doctors in the four faculties, and, of course, of students. All the executive power was vested in the chancellor and the rector, the former of whom conferred honours, and the latter acted judicially with the advice of the four procurators, who were elected by the "nations." Subsequent to the opening of the university, King James II. granted a charter, of which the following is a translation:—

"James, by the grace of God King of the Scots, to all his good subjects, clergy and laity, greeting. As amidst the cares and anxieties with which our mind is affected, and which are incumbent upon us, from the exercise of the royal power, we ought, in a more particular manner, to have an eye to those things by which literary studies may prevail in our kingdom, and the number of adepts in the sciences may be increased; those are they who enlighten the house of the Lord, and point out the right road to those running their race, whilst they entice some to virtue by good works, and attract them by the desire of divine knowledge, and, by their example, spirit on others, to cherish and promote the prosperous and happy state of our University of Glasgow, our dearly beloved daughter, we are induced, by earnest desire, to employ our labour and care to the utmost of our power, cheerfully to endeavour that, during our times, she may make a happy progress, and the rather because we very frequently see her produce men distinguished for learning, of profound understanding and unspotted morals, by whom, after the Christian people committed to us shall have drunk from the fountain of discipline, the rod of equity and justice may be wielded, the orthodox faith fully defended, all causes of strife cut off, and justice administered to every man. We, therefore, upon due consideration of the premises, make known to all men, that we have taken, and keep under our firm peace, protection, and safeguard, all and every the rectors who for the time shall be, deans of faculty, procurators of nations, regents, masters, and scholars, both present and to come, studying in the aforesaid university; we likewise, by

these presents, exempt the said rectors, deans, procurators, regents, masters, beadles, writers, stationers, parchment makers, and students (excepting the bishop), from all tributes, services, exactions, taxations, collections, watchings, wardings, and all dues whatever, within our kingdom imposed, or to be imposed. Our will is, therefore, that this our grant to the foresaid students shall, in all time coming, be inviolably observed. Given under our Great Seal, at Stirling, the 20th of April, 1453, and the seventeenth of our reign."

This charter put it within Bishop Turnbull's power to confer many privileges upon the university; and on the 1st December, 1453, he accorded its members the then highly valuable privilege of buying and selling goods within the city, not only for private consumption, but also for the purposes of trade, without exaction or custom. Three years later he gave them full plenary jurisdiction over their own members in trifling civil and criminal matters, and they could all claim to be tried before their equals; but he specially reserved to himself the decision of atrocious injuries or causes of importance.

The new university became exceedingly popular, considering the times, when the nobility was almost the only portion of the community that could afford and aspired to the luxury of higher, or, indeed, any education. Within two years from its foundation more than 200 students were enrolled; and within four years of its opening the number in the faculty of arts had become so large, that it was deemed necessary to provide specially for it. At first the crypt of the Cathedral was allowed by the bishop for the meetings of the students, but ultimately a house was obtained on the south side of the Rottenrow, near the High Street, for the accommodation of the classes, and this place went by the name of the Pedagogium. In 1458 the faculty of arts rented a piece of ground on the east side of the High Street, where a new pedagogium was erected, the other having, presumably, become too small. As the resources of the faculty were limited—their income being solely derived from some small perquisites connected with the granting of degrees, and from the patronage of two or three small chaplaincies—they could not raise the money to pay for this ground; but in 1459 Lord Hamilton made them a present of it, the grant being in the name of Duncan Bunch, then first regent of the faculty, and his successors in office, and on the express condition that, before the meals of the members of the faculty, prayer should be made for his own soul and those of a number of his relatives. This ground is described as a tenement on the east side of the High Street, lying between the house of the Black Friars on the south, and the lands of Sir Thomas Arthurlie on the north, with four acres

of Dovehill, beside the Molendinar burn. In 1465 the operations of the university were transferred to the buildings erected on this ground; and in 1466 the adjacent houses and lands were bequeathed to the college by Sir Thomas Arthurlie. These lands amounted to two acres, and appear to have stretched from the High Street along the New Vennel to the Molendinar. They were annexed to the university property in 1475, and on the front portion of them, in later times, were built houses for the accommodation of the professors. No account of the buildings then in use is known to exist, but it is considered that they were of unambitious arrangement and appearance.

It would appear that at first the students attending the university resided within the college buildings; and the discipline they were subjected to was of a strictness that would be exceedingly unpalatable to Glasgow collegians of the present time. The rule was that all must be in and the gates shut by nine o'clock in the winter time, and ten o'clock in the summer. It was the duty of the regents of the various faculties to see that all their students were abed before they themselves retired to rest. As the number of scholars increased, it became necessary for them to seek accommodation among the towns-people; but great disputes arose in regard to the payment of the rents, the lodging-house keepers making such extortionate charges that, lest the interests of the university should suffer through students being driven away on account of the expense of living, Bishop Turnbull interfered. He enacted that all the lodgings for members of the university within the city were to be let at rents fixed by an equal number of the members of the university and of the citizens, sworn as umpires; and no one was to be disturbed in his possession of lodgings so long as he paid his rent and conducted himself properly.

It is said the first meeting of the chapter of the university took place in the chapter-house of the Dominican brotherhood, or Black Friars, adjacent to the college, on the 14th October, 1453; and the first Lord Rector mentioned is Master David Cadzow, who, in the same place, on the 29th July, 1460, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, read, in the presence of the clergy and students, the rubric of the Third Book of Gregory's Decretals concerning the life and uprightness of the clergy—probably a subject of considerable interest at the time. The system of the election of the rector seems to have been very different from what it is now. It was not in the hands of the students, but was a privilege exercised by the procurators of the four nations, in conjunction with some of the other officials. There was, also, at first, a difference in the mode of teaching, for instead of a student having different teachers in different years, according to the classes he might take, he was carried through all the stages

of his three years' course of whatever was his line of study by the one professor.

An interesting account is given in the *College Album* for 1869, already referred to, of the annual celebration by the collegians of the festival of St. Nicholas, the pope whose bull gave constitution to the university. On the 2nd of May, 1462, twelve years after the foundation of the university, there assembled a congregation of the faculty of arts, at which the masters agreed that in all future times, at the feast of the translation of St. Nicholas, the 9th of May, there should be held, on the intimation of the dean at the doors of the cathedral, a general congregation for electing two discreet masters, who should provide the necessaries and utensils for a banquet in the college of the faculty of arts, on the Sabbath day or days following the said day of the translation of St. Nicholas, as should seem most suitable to the faculty; and to promote that object every beneficed master in the congregation, or resident in the city, was to give three shillings Scots [threepence sterling], and every non-beneficed master, as well as the licentiates, bachelors, and students, the half of that sum. Moreover, it was ordained that on the day fixed by the faculty, all the masters, licentiates, bachelors, and students should, under a penalty of two shillings Scots, assemble at eight o'clock a.m., in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, and there hear mass, after which they should, in a becoming and solemn manner, receive flowers and branches of trees, provided at the common expense. They were then all to proceed on horseback through the public street from the higher part of the city to the new Cross, and return the same way to the college, where the masters were to take council concerning what might be done to promote the interests of the faculty and its members, and do their utmost to remove discords and quarrels. After the banquet was over, the masters and students were to retire to a place more fitted for amusement, where some of the masters and *alumni* should perform an interlude in a becoming manner for the delight of the people. Because it was just that those who devoted their labour and money for the honour of the faculty should not want a reward, the faculty further ordained that the masters and students who had made such shows for the honour of the faculty, should have special favour and prerogatives in their promotions and petitions. These exhibitions were continued for many years afterwards, and appear to have been of great importance in the estimation of the members of the faculty.

CHAPTER VII.

(Circa A.D. 1454.)

Additional Privileges granted to the Bishops—Charter of Regality—Appearance of Glasgow at the Foundation of the University—The Fairs and Rise of Trade in the City—Its Inhabitants and Government—The Vernacular of the People.

Bishop Turnbull, in addition to obtaining for the city of Glasgow the important privileges detailed in the last chapter, received from King James II., in 1450, a charter erecting the town and patrimony of the bishops to the dignity of a burgh of regality. After having taken a journey to Rome he died on the 3rd September, 1454.

A considerable amount of dubiety seems to have existed as to the exact status conferred on the city by this charter of regality. M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 10) erroneously states that Glasgow became a royal city in virtue of the charter granted by King William the Lion; but there seems little question, both from the terms of that charter itself and from after events, that the grant was all to the benefit of the bishops and none to that of the citizens. The charter of 1450 merely confirmed the grant of barony, and put more power in the hands of the bishops. The charter of regality was in the following terms:—

"James, by the grace of God King of Scots, to all faithful subjects of the land, as well clergy as laity, greeting. Know ye that we, for the honour and praise of Almighty God, and of the glorious Virgin Mary, and the blessed Kentigern, confessor, patron of the Church of Glasgow, wherein we are esteemed a canon, and of all the saints, and for the singular favour, zeal, and affection, which we bear to the reverend father in Christ, William, present bishop of the said Church, our well beloved counsellor, and for his good deeds and faithful services done to us in time past, have given and granted, and by this our charter confirmed, to the said rev. father in Christ, William, Bishop of Glasgow, and his successors, bishops of the Church of Glasgow, to be for ever held, possessed, and enjoyed by them, in all time coming, the city of Glasgow, barony of Glasgow, and lands commonly called Bishop Forest, in pure and mere regality, to be holden and held, the said city, barony, and lands called Bishop Forest, by the said William and his successors, bishops

of the Church of Glasgow, of us and our successors, in free, pure, and mere regality or royalty, in fee and heritage for ever, with the whole commodities and profits of the said city and lands, with their pertinents in woods, plains, moors, marshes, ways, paths, waters, lakes, rivers, meadows, pastures and pasturages, mills, multures, and sequels of the same, hawkings, huntings, fishings, water-courses, peats, turfs, coal-pits, quarries, stone and lime, smithies, kilns, breweries and brooms, with vassalages, courts, and their issues, escheats, free ish and entry, bloodwits, heralds, and *marchetis mulierum*, with free forest and warren, with the fee of the forfeitures of courts, and ancient usages, together with the customs of the chamberlain, and itinerant courts and their issues, ports and passages, with the chapel, into a free, pure, and entire regality or royalty, with pit and gallows, fok, fak, thol, them, infangand theif, outfangand theif, ham-sucken, with tenants and tenandries, and services of free tenants, together with fishings, ancient usages, and advocations of churches, and all and singular other liberties, commodities, and easements, and just pertinents whatsoever, as well not named as named, belonging to a regality or royalty, or which we will should belong to a regality, any manner of way, in time coming; and that freely, quietly, fully, wholly, honourably, well, and in peace, in all things, as any other regality or royalty, given or granted to any church, or ecclesiastical person whatever, in our kingdom, paying therefor yearly, the said William and his successors, bishops of the Church of Glasgow, to us, our heirs and successors, a red rose upon the feast of the nativity of the blessed John the Baptist, at Glasgow, in name of Blanch-farm, if asked only, and the assistance of their prayers, and that for all other burden, exaction, question, demand, or secular service, that can be any way exacted or demanded for or furth of the said city, barony, and lands called Bishop Forest and pertinents. In testimony whereof, we have ordered our Great Seal to be appended to this our present charter, in presence of the reverend father in Christ, James, Bishop of St. Andrews; William, Lord Crichton, our chancellor, and beloved cousin; our dear cousin, William, Earl of Douglas and Avondale, Lord of Galloway; the venerable father in Christ, Andrew, Abbot of Melrose, our confessor and treasurer; our beloved cousins, Patrick, Lord Glamis, master of our household; William, Lord Somerville; Andrew, Lord Gray; Mess John Arous, Archdeacon of Glasgow, and George Schoriswood, Rector of Coulter. At Edinburgh, the 20th day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord 1450, and fourteenth year of our reign."

There is much in this charter contrary to the idea of the erection of Glasgow into a burgh held only under the king; and it will be seen that it is to all intents and purposes a

charter of privileges to "William, Bishop of Glasgow, and his successors, bishops of the Church of Glasgow, to be held, possessed, and enjoyed by them in all time coming." The bishop was the feudal lord of the citizens, and held the power of life or death. They were vassals, and they owed their lord bishop vassals' obedience. Indeed, it is said that this charter of regality destroyed freedom in the city; but probably that is too strong a statement, for the bishops conferred many privileges upon their citizens which were not in the possession of many other similar communities.

As the foundation of the university marks an important era in the history of Glasgow, a description of the city and its inhabitants, as far as the material available for that purpose will permit, in the middle of the fifteenth century, may not be uninteresting. As was to be expected, the establishment of the college very soon caused considerable improvement in the state of Glasgow. Previous to that time it was of exceedingly small dimensions—its northern limit the Cathedral, its eastern the Drygate, its western the Rottenrow, near where Balmano Street is now; and its southern the Blackfriars monastery. It will appear strange in these days of million-peopled cities that a place so very small, with a population of numerical insignificance, should be of so much importance. But in addition to the fact that small as it was it was one of the largest cities in Scotland at the time, it had many natural advantages, for Pope Nicholas V., in the bull quoted in the last chapter, speaks of "the healthiness of the climate, the plenty of victuals, and of everything necessary for the use of man." After the university was opened it was found that the city was too limited for the accommodation of the students, and of the many tradesmen from various parts of the country, who would see in the new state of matters in Glasgow an opportunity of increasing their worldly gear. Accordingly, the High Street was soon built up from the Blackfriars monastery down to where the Cross is now placed; the road to the Gallow Muir, or town's common, was broken up and built upon, receiving the name of Gallowgate; and in a westerly direction the city was extended to where now stands the Tron Steeple. Towards the Clyde, also, houses were erected.

Beside the Cathedral, in the northern portion of the city, and on the site of the Royal Infirmary, was the bishop's palace or castle, a building of triangular form, and of the style common to such residences in the warlike times of its construction. By whom or when it was erected is not known, but it is on record that Bishop Cameron added a great tower to it. Behind were the bishop's stables, and immediately to the north of these was what was called the Stable Green Port, so named because of its proximity to the episcopal mews. In reference to this

and the other ports, it may be stated that although Glasgow was not at any time surrounded by walls, yet on the thoroughfares giving access to it from the surrounding country, gates had been erected, probably more for the purpose of facilitating the collection of tolls and customs than for anything else. It has been pointed out, in a previous chapter, that Bishop Cameron appointed that the prebendaries of his cathedral should leave the work of their parishes to subordinates, and should erect residences for themselves in the city, where they would be always ready to assist with the services and celebrations in the church. Accordingly, near the Stable Green Port are supposed to have been the manses of the rectors of Balernock, also known as Lord of Provan, and of Ancrum, the sub-chanter of the Cathedral. In the charter of regality, King James says, "The Church of Glasgow, wherein we are esteemed a canon;" and it is understood that he was honorary rector of Balernock and Lord of Provan. Immediately to the south-east of the Cathedral, on the banks of the Molendinar, was the house of the rector of Monkland, sub-dean of the chapter. In High Kirk Street, perhaps on the eastern side of the street, were the residences of the parsons of Glasgow, the bishop's vicar, and of Morebattle, Archdeacon of Teviotdale. From this place Limmerfield Lane extended a short distance to the south-east, till it joined the Drygate, and in it was the lodging of the chancellor of the diocese, the prebendary of Campsie. The line of the High Street was then much the same as it was a few years ago, and at the junction of that street with the Rottenrow and Drygate was the Market Cross, at which St. Mungo's Fair, obtained for the city by Bishop Cameron, was held in the January of each year. In the Drygate were the residences of the rector of Cambuslang, the sacrist of the chapter, and of the rectors of Cardross, Eaglesham, and Peebles, the last-named being Archdeacon of Glasgow. But in addition to these, there was in this street the episcopal mint-house, permission for the erection of which was probably granted by the king to Cardinal Wardlaw. M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 83) says: "Some of the coins of King Robert III. bear to have been stampt here, and have the king's picture crowned, but without a scepter, and *Robertus Dei gratia rex Scotorum*, in the inner circle *Villa de Glasgov*, and on the outer *Dominus protector*, some of which are preserved in the cabinets of the curious." This mint-house stood on a portion of the ground now utilised for the Bridewell buildings. Having thus reached the Drygate Port, it will be necessary to return by the ancient Cross to the Rottenrow. The origin and meaning of the name of this street have puzzled many; but Wade, an historian of Glasgow, ventures the interpretation that the name is "derived from the

two French words *routine*, usual, and *route*, a way, from the circumstance of that street, in ancient times, being the common road to the west part of the city from the Cathedral." This combination would give Routineroute, and certainly the sound of that and of the modern name are not dissimilar. The Rottenrow was honoured by being the residence of the parson of Hamilton, vicar-general of the diocese and dean of the chapter, whose house and gardens were outside the port, and were in the locality near Balmano Street still known as Deanside. There were also in this street the manses of the prebendaries of Erskine, situated near the old Cross, and of Carstairs, Renfrew, Govan, Eddlestone, and Luss. The "Auld Pedagogy," the first meeting-place of the students of the faculty of arts in the university, was here; but it had been deserted when the faculty acquired the ground in High Street. The Pedagogy, judging from prints of it still in existence, was a building of two storeys, of a style not unlike a small country school-room of the present day. There are a number of documents relating to the Rottenrow possessed of considerable interest, and, as they refer to the street as it was about the time of which this chapter treats, a summary of them will be appropriate. In the year 1440, "Donald Taylyburn, burgess of Glasgow," sold to "Master John de Dalgles," one of the vicars officiating in the choir of Glasgow Cathedral, a tenement with its pertinents, namely, a currucate of front land—as much as one team could plough during a season—and a garden, situated on the south side of the street called the "Ratownrow," between the property of "Jonete Pryd," on the east, and that of the sub-dean of Glasgow, known as Deneside, on the west. The purchase-money was five merks Scots (5s. $6\frac{2}{3}$d. sterling). In 1425, fifteen years earlier, it was agreed upon between "the venerable and circumspect man," the sub-dean of Glasgow, and William Nicholas, a burgess, with the consent of Jonete, the wife of the latter, that as William was considerably in arrear in the payment of the duties upon the tenement on the north side of the Rottenrow, held on perpetual fee from that official, the property should be restored to the sub-dean, with a reservation in life-rent to the burgess or his wife of the garden of the house in question. Again, in 1434, John Stewart, sub-dean of Glasgow, with the consent of the bishop and chapter, conveyed "ane akyr of land of my land callit the Denesyde lyend in lynth and brede on the north syde of the comown strete callit the Ratownrawe next a west half the tenement of Thome Curouris . . . to Thome of Welk, a burges of the toune his heiris and assygneis, he or thai gyffand to me and my successouris sodenes [sub-deans] of Glasgu for the tyme beand, at two vsuall termys Quhitsonday

and Martynmes yherly, sex syllingis and acht penys (of vsuale mone) of Scotland [6⅔d. sterling] . . . the said Thome of Welk beand oblist to bigg a sufficiand tenement on the said akyr of land within a yher followand the date of thir letrez and alsua to mac the half of the calse befor the forfront of the said akyr als far as to thaim pertenys, and til vphald," &c. Besides being witnessed in the usual manner, there is also affixed to this deed the seal of the bishop and chapter, together with that of the sub-dean himself.

Returning to the ancient Cross, it may be presumed that, in addition to the weekly market, there would be congregated various booths and stands for supplying the inhabitants with ordinary necessaries, and here, also, would probably be transacted all the business of the city.

Proceeding down the High Street, there was no house of importance until the university was reached. As has been already stated, the style and extent of the primitive buildings of the university are unknown; but in view of the fact that the faculty of arts was unable through poverty to pay for the grounds, and also of the fact that Lord Hamilton presented them with a "tenement and lands," there is an extreme likelihood that the early home of learning in Glasgow was no palatial erection, but merely a collection of ordinary dwelling-houses adapted, as well as could be, to their new purpose. Immediately to the south of the university grounds was the Blackfriars monastery, a series of buildings most extensive and complete for the times. The church of the friars is said to have vied in magnificence with the Cathedral itself. It had a square tower, with a spire rising from it, similar in structure to that of the High Church. The brethren of the monastery, though continually bewailing their poverty, must have been in receipt of a considerable revenue, for many gifts had at various times been given to them, the first donor being King Robert the Bruce. Opposite the Blackfriars monastery, on the site, it is stated, of Canon Street, was the Seminary of Canons Regular. Of this institution no particulars are given, but it was probably a school conducted by the clergy for the instruction of the youth of the city, and it is believed to have been in existence as an educational institution previous to the foundation of the university. Indeed, in it may be found the venerable ancestor of the Grammar School of Glasgow. In the same vicinity, about this time, the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, had a small monastery; but their influence was not great, nor were their possessions rich. Passing still farther southward, the new Cross, at the junction of the High Street with Gallowgate, was reached. The Gallowgate had been but newly opened up, and the buildings in it were few and unimportant. The

same remark applies to the street now called the Trongate, which then only extended westwards to the West Port, near the head of the present King Street, and was only in the course of being formed. The city was beginning to spread its area downwards from the Cross to the Clyde; and in a somewhat irregular fashion there was a roadway down the Waulker or Fuller's Gate, now the Saltmarket, and the Bridgegate, to the stone bridge erected across the river by Bishop Rae. It has been generally understood that the Bishop Forest mentioned in the charter of regality was a portion of the existing Glasgow Green; but to what extent this was available to the citizens, or what were its dimensions, is not known. Near the bridge was a number of fishers' huts; and on the south-side of the river stood St. Ninian's Leper Hospital, founded by Lady Lochow at the time of the first great plague. This was the only house on the south of the Clyde in the immediate vicinity of Glasgow.

What has been here attempted is a description, as far as can be ascertained, of the city of Glasgow shortly after the foundation of the university in 1450. There were, in addition to the main features already detailed, several lanes and wynds; and the Molendinar, in its pristine purity, and a fishing stream, ran through the city, and was at various points crossed by bridges for the accommodation of the citizens. The Clyde itself was a fordable river, incapable of navigation, but fish were plentiful and good. Glasgow was then a beautiful country town, with numerous gardens within its precincts, and with an atmosphere and a general appearance so different from those of the present time, that the language of Pope Nicholas would be quite justified by the fact. The houses within it were not, however, handsome in construction, or great in accommodation. As in other parts of the country, they would probably be of only one storey, and would be built of stones and turf, with coverings of thatch.

Nothing is definitely known of the condition or numbers of the citizens of Glasgow at this time, though an approximate conclusion as to both these matters may be arrived at from a consideration of the state of Scotland in the fifteenth century. The population of the city did not probably exceed two thousand; and in great part it would be composed of the servants and tradesmen necessary for supplying the wants of the Cathedral dignitaries and of the members of the university. Two or three hundred, perhaps, would be students; and with the exception of these and the clergy, it must be presumed that the inhabitants of the city that was to flourish by the preaching of the word were, for the most part, in a state of ignorance and superstition. Their mode of life was simple, and they were almost totally dependent upon the presence of the priests and

scholars for their livelihood. The advent of the latter into the community is credited with having caused a considerable increase in the number of cows to be seen daily feeding on the town commons, on the Green, Gallow Muir, and Cowcaddens. M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 93) says that at this period the trade of Glasgow was commenced and promoted by William Elphinstone, a cadet of the aristocratic house of that name. Elphinstone settled in the city as a merchant; and curing salmon and herrings on a large scale, he exported them to the French markets, bringing in return brandy and salt. But in addition to this, it is also probable that a few of the inhabitants may have been engaged in the manufacture of cloth, for the name of Waulker Gate, or Fuller's Gate, strongly sustains that presumption; and in the Chartulary of Glasgow there is a provision that no one shall make cloth on pain of the king's amercement unforgiven, while the laws of burghs prohibit any but a burgess making or dyeing cloth. It is not at all likely that the trade had become to any extent noteworthy, especially in view of the particular restrictions everywhere imposed by the Crown. There would also be the trade arising from the presence of pedlers or packmen at the annual fairs, which in these days were more for business than they are now. The greater portion of the articles used in the city were imported from England or Flanders. The women of the ordinary ranks of the people, like those in Scotland generally, would wear the kirtle or close fitting gown, made of coarse material, with kerchiefs on their heads; while the men would have woollen bonnets, and clothing of "hodden grey," their trousers being short, leaving their legs bare, and their feet would be covered with the undressed skins of animals.

Glasgow and its inhabitants were, therefore, almost entirely dependent upon the bishops, and their whole interest was centred in the crumbs thrown to them by proud prelates and priest-ridden kings and noblemen. The city government was completely in the hands of the bishop, whose courts were five in number. These were—the chapter, the diocesan synod, and the deaneries, purely ecclesiastical courts. For dealing with semi-civil matters was the consistorial court, which was held in the bishop's name by his official, and which judged all matters of tithes, marriages, divorces, testaments, and mortifications, &c., and granted dispensations for marriages between persons within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity. There was also a court of regality, presided over by a nominal provost or his deputies; but these provosts were appointed by the bishop, and were generally powerful nobles possessed of the means to overawe the people to submission and obedience. These nobles, in their turn, appointed deputies, who transacted all the business. The

amusements of the people were probably few. No doubt they would derive considerable recreation on the annual demonstration of the faculty of arts through the city, and at the two fairs —the fair in January and the one in July; while they would most likely have exercise in the use of warlike weapons; but the only mention made of anything of this kind is the distribution on certain festivals and special days of the "give ale" and "dole" at the Cathedral door by the clergy, though tradition asserts that these often ended in disgusting orgies in the church yard.

As was usual at the time throughout Scotland, the language of the educated was Latin, and nearly all documents were written in that tongue. The vernacular was considered vulgar; but after the lapse of fully 400 years, it is natural to desire information as to what difference exists between the Scottish dialect of the olden time and now. No better specimen could be given than that quoted by Mr. Andrew Macgeorge in his recent interesting work on *Old Glasgow*. That gentleman (*Old Glas.*, p. 63) says that, of the vernacular language of Glasgow in legal writs, one of the earliest examples is to be found in an agreement between "Frer Oswald, Priour of the Freris of Glasgow and the convent of the Samyn on the ta part and Johne Flemyn of the Covglen on the tother part." This agreement, of date 22nd January, 1433, bears that "the said Johne has set in to ferferm tyll the said Priour and the convent, or quha sa be Priour in the said convent, a rud of lands lyand on the gat at strekis fra the Markat cors tyll the he kyrk Glasgu . . . the said Priour and convent payit thar for yherly tyll the said Johne hys ayris or assignyis ten schylling of vsuale mone of the kynryk of Scotland . . . and stabylling for twa hors in that samyn place or ellis within the freris tyll the said John Flemyn qwhen hym lykis tyll cum tyll do hys erandis or mak residens within the toun; and attour gyf it lykis the said Johne Flemyn tyll cum and dwell and mak residens within Glasgu, the said priour and convent, or qwha sa be priour in the tym, sall byg tyll the said John an honest hall chaumir and butler, with a yard to set cale in, sic as effeiris in thir thyngis, tyll the said Johne Flemyn till he be herberyt in the said Johne ressavand nan annuell of the sad plase sall lang as he maynures it in the maner as is before said but fraud or gyle: To be haldyn and had the said landis with thair appertenans fra me myn ayris executoris and assignyis tyll the priour and the convent of the said freris in fourme and maner as is befor spokyn . . . with all profitis commoditeis and eysmentis and als freely as ony landis broukyt or possedyt in fe and heritayge within the burgh of Glasgu." With this as a specimen of the legal documents written in the vernacular of the time, a very

fair and accurate estimate may be formed of the dialect of the common people; and, except in the matter of spelling, it must be acknowledged to be different in a very slight degree from the language spoken by the Lowland Scotch of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER VIII.

(A.D. 1454 TO A.D. 1510.)

Bishop Muirhead founds the Hospital of St. Nicholas—The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, settle in Glasgow—The See of Glasgow erected into an Archbishopric—Archbishop Blackadder improves the Cathedral—Heretics before the Provincial Council of Glasgow—Furnishings of the Altar of St. Mungo—Royal Visit to Glasgow—Dispute between the City Magistrates and the Chapter.

UPON the death of Bishop Turnbull in 1454, Andrew Muirhead, of a Lanarkshire family, and bred to the Church, was promoted to the bishopric. One of the offices held by him previous to his elevation to the episcopate was that of Rector of Hamilton. When, in 1460, the death of King James II. rendered a regency necessary, Bishop Muirhead was, in conjunction with some others of the principal noblemen and prelates, appointed to exercise the powers of government; and, in 1462, he was one of the Commissioners who went to England in order to negotiate a truce between the two kingdoms, then upon no very friendly terms, in consequence of disputes as to the possession of Berwick. Six years later he was employed in an embassy to Norway, to make arrangements for the marriage between the Princess Margaret of that realm and the young King James III. In addition to the assistance Bishop Muirhead rendered in the management of the affairs of a troubled State, he adorned and re-roofed a portion of his Cathedral at Glasgow, and he founded in connection with it vicars of the choir. For the accommodation of this new order, he is stated to have erected houses on the north side of the Cathedral, and the roadway leading to them was denominated the Vicar's Alley. The name long attached itself to the thoroughfare, which was closed recently by order of the Town Council. As to the nature and construction of these houses, long ago removed, there is nothing definitely known; but, judging from the construction of similar buildings, it is generally believed that they formed a square,

having in the centre of each row of buildings an arcade or cloister, where the inmates could meditate on holy things. In addition to this, the general community of the city was benefited by the bishop founding an hospital, dedicated to St. Nicholas, in the year 1471. Its building was on the west side of High Kirk Street; it gave accommodation for twelve old and indigent men, and, by the arrangement of the bishop, one of the clergy of the Cathedral performed divine services within it to the edification of the inmates. Bishop Muirhead died on the 20th November, 1473.

John Laing, of the Edinburghshire family of Reidhouse, was Muirhead's successor, being consecrated to the office of bishop in 1474. He had been preferred to the position of High Treasurer of the kingdom in 1465, which he held till 1468, when he was made Lord Clerk Register. About this period he was the incumbent of two rectories. He was afterwards, in 1482, elevated to the Lord Chancellorship; but this honour he did not long enjoy, for he died on the 11th January, 1483.

During Bishop Laing's episcopate, in 1476, the Grey Friars, or Franciscans, first settled in Glasgow, and had certain feu-duties set apart for their maintenance by that prelate. Their monastery was situated between the High Street and North Albion Street of the present day, and to the immediate northward of College Street. M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 57) states, "It was at the special instance of a prior of the convent of the Grey Friars, that the fair that commences in the city here on the first day of July, and continues to the seventh, was procured; and the community of this city was so sensible of this favour, and the advantage of that fair, or concourse of the neighbourhood of all ranks coming to the city, that every last day of the fair annually they went to the prior of the Grey Friars at the convent." This statement of the foundation of Glasgow Fair seems to be a mistake on the part of M'Ure; for it has been seen that the Glasgow July fair was established by royal charter granted by King William the Lion to Bishop Joceline about the year 1190.

The bishop-elect, on the death of Bishop Laing, was George Carmichael, like some of his predecessors of a Lanarkshire family. He had been Rector of Carnwath. While on a voyage to Rome, to be consecrated, he died, and the see was again vacant within a single year.

Robert Blackadder, Rector of Cardross, and a prebend of Glasgow, was elected by the chapter to fill the episcopal throne. He belonged to Berwickshire, where, as M'Ure puts it, "the family long continued in lustre." He was one of those who had arranged with the English king the marriage of James

IV. of Scotland with Princess Margaret of England, and he was otherwise much employed in State affairs.

On the 9th October, 1488, through the influence of King James, who was a canon of the Cathedral, Pope Alexander VI. issued a bull erecting the see of Glasgow into an archbishopric; but its advancement into the position of a metropolitan was the cause of great opposition and dispute. Notably among the opposers was Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who deemed his powers encroached upon, together with some of the clergy of the diocese of Glasgow. The dispute raged vehemently for a considerable time, and it was brought before the Courts of Scotland and Rome. Ultimately it was settled in favour of the Bishop of Glasgow, and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyle and the Isles were made his suffragans. The prelates of Glasgow, extensive as their powers previously were, had now princely rule over a very large section of the country.

Archbishop Blackadder continued the building and the improvement of the Cathedral of Glasgow. His work in this connection is thus described by the garrulous but industrious M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 23):—"He founded several alterages in the choir, and caused place his arms above them, in the roof of the lower area, illuminate in a small escutcheon, three cinque foils on a bend, without either a mytre or a crosier; and above it in large capital letters, *Robertus Archiepiscopus.* He raised the ascents on each side of the church by steps, from the nave to the floor, of fine work, with effigies, as I take it, of the apostles neatly engraved; and in the descent, on both sides, you will see the archbishop's arms, in several places at large, with his mytre and other *pontificalia*, with the initials of his name. He likewise founded the great isle [aisle] to the south of the church, of curious work, corresponding to the other parts of this most magnificent structure." This addition to the Cathedral, unfinished still, is known by the name of Blackadder's Crypt. Mr. Macgeorge (*Old Glas.*, p. 11) has pointed out that there is engraved in Saxon letters on a stone over the entrance of the crypt this inscription:—"This is ye ile of car fergus;" and the inference to be drawn is that the crypt was erected over what was believed to be the burying-place of that Fergus whose interment by St. Mungo has been recorded in the second chapter. Archbishop Blackadder is also believed to have erected the organ screen.

During Blackadder's reign the doctrines of the Reformation were beginning to make themselves known in Scotland; and Lollardism, though then weak in numerical strength, seems to have been outspoken against the errors of the Romish Church of Scotland. In the Protocol Book of the Diocese of

Glasgow, edited for the Grampian Club by Mr. Joseph Bain and Dr. Charles Rogers, an instrument appears under date of 9th March, 1503, narrating that by Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, in the chapter-house thereof, copies of the citations were produced in the case of heresy against George Campbell of Sesnok, and John Campbell of Neumylns, and the archbishop declared himself ready to give copies to the said George and John, or their procurators, wishing to receive the same. Robertson (*Ayrshire Families*) says that "a provincial council was convened at Glasgow by Archbishop Blackadder, at which King James IV. in council was present. Before this synod about thirty individuals were arraigned for heresy, among whom the chief were George Campbell of Cessnock, Adam Read of Barskimming, John Campbell of Newmills, Andrew Schaw of Polkemac, Helen Chalmers, lady of Robert Mure of Polkelly, and Isobel Chalmers, lady of William Dalrymple of Stair (both of these ladies were daughters of Gadgirth), and all were of the districts of Kyle and Cunningham; and Adam Read made a bold and spirited defence, in which he exposed the malice and ignorance of their accusers, and rendered them equally odious and ridiculous. It was, in conclusion, thought to be the safest plan to dismiss them with an admonition to take heed of new doctrines, and content themselves with the faith of the Church."

Another incident brought to light by the Protocol Book referred to—the MS. of which was, until a few years ago, thought to be irretrievably lost—is of a purely local character, and as such is possessed of peculiar interest. An instrument narrates "that Patrick Culquhoun, provost, and Thomas Huchonson and David Lindsay, bailies of Glasgow, for themselves, and in name of the whole community of the city, delivered to Sir Bartholomew Blare, chaplain of the chaplaincy of St. Mungo, founded at the altar of St. Mungo, on the south side of the upper church, and newly inducted and invested therein, the goods and ornaments underwritten: first, an image of the Saviour, with a pedestal, in a wooden chest, of alabaster; an image of the Glorious Virgin, on a table, of alabaster; two large chandeliers and two small brass prikkets; two extinguishers, for torches, of tin; two silver phials, one of which wanted the 'strowp;' a chasuble of blue, with the hood, stole, and apparel thereof; a chasuble of dun-coloured 'sathyne,' without the hood, stole, and apparels; a chasuble of burdalexander; two white albs, with an old alb; a missal, with a wooden boss of overlaid work; two curtains of taffety; six coverings for the altar, of linen cloth; two amices; a hanging of arras cloth, suspended at a pillar before the altar; a frontal of black velvet, with a frontal hanging to the ground joined to it of arras

work; also an arras frontal, with a hanging front of worsted reaching to the ground; two cushions of blue and red velvet; a stole, with a *fillet de Leige* cloth of gold—'the luke;' two apparels of red velvet upon the tail, with an apparel of green burdalexander upon the sleeve of an alb; an apparel upon an amice of green burdalexander; a large hanging chandelier before the altar; which goods the said Bartholomew received into his custody, as chaplain of the said chaplaincy, protesting for the replacement of the wanting ornaments in the said inventory and instruction when they happened to be restored to the said altar. Done at the said altar, in the Church of Glasgow, 22nd February, 1505."

It is believed that Archbishop Blackadder erected a chapel at Culross in honour of the memory of St. Mungo, the patron saint of Glasgow; and probably this may be the erection, rather than one built at an earlier date, of which traces are still to be seen. But, in addition to this, he took the opportunity of furthering the educational interests of his city; for he, according to the abstracts from the Protocols, on the 8th June, 1506, gave the vicarages of Cadder, Stobo, Lintoun, and Kilbirny, together with the rectory of Garvald, "to his college of the university of Glasgow for the utility of the clergy, and improvement of the superior bearing of the learned men therein, to which proposal the dean and chapter consented." During Blackadder's episcopate, it appears from the Rental Book of the diocese that portions of Balshagray, Gairbraid, Shettleston, Dalbeth, Carmyle, Kenmuir, Auchenairn, Woodside, and other districts belonging to the Church, were rented to various parties, all the portions being small in extent, and the sums to be paid being generally only a few shillings yearly. The archbishop, having had a somewhat eventful episcopate, died on the 28th July, 1508, while on a visit to the Holy Land.

While Blackadder was archbishop, the city of Glasgow seems to have extended considerably. Under royal charter, a "trone" or weighing machine was erected in what was then called St. Thenaw's Gate, leading from the Cross to the West Port. Outside this port was a small chapel dedicated to the saintly mother of St. Mungo, and her name has, in course of time, become transformed into that of St. Enoch, certainly a remarkable change. St. Mungo also had erected to his honour, in 1500, a chapel, on the north side of the Gallowgate, called St. Mungo's-in-the-Fields, and it was, as usual, surrounded by a churchyard. Its builder was David Cunningham, provost of the Collegiate Church of Hamilton, who also gave it valuable endowments. The chapel of St. Roche, or Rollox, was erected outwith the Stable Green Port, about 1508, and the patronage was vested in the Town Council. The Blackfriars monastery

had been receiving many valuable donations during this and the previous episcopates, and a strange document is in existence which illustrates the conditions of gifts, and the religious views of the people, at the time. It is an obligation by Friar John Mure, Vicar-General of the Order of Preachers, or Black Friars, "till say a Mess, the quhilk salbe the secunde mess of the convent betwix sevine and acht ouris, for the sawll of Mathow Stewart, Larde of Castlemilk, ande for the sawlis of his modir and barnis, that thar banis rests in our place; and for the sawll of his progenitouris and successouris, and for all Cristine sawlis perpetuallie to be done; He giffande to the forsaid Prior and Convent ten markis [11s. 1⅓d. sterling] of annuall zerly for the saynge of the said mess; Item, we obliss us ande our successouris, quhen at ewir it plesis the forsaid ayris of Mathow Stewart, till fownd perpetuallie till the forsaid convent of Glasgw xx. markis [£1, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling] of annual zerly rent, the forsaid mess sal be changit fra a said mess till a songin mess with noyt." The date of this writing is 8th June, 1473.

There still continued to be exercised by the archbishop the civil as well as the ecclesiastical rule of Glasgow, and the Stuarts of Minto, in Roxburghshire, were provosts or provosts-depute of the city. In 1480, Sir Thomas Stuart occupied that position, and his family held it for many years afterwards. In 1476 the bishop had obtained a charter confirming the grant of regality, and conferring upon him and his successors power to appoint provosts, bailies, sergeants, and other officers within the city, and, of course, power to dismiss them when he pleased.

James Beaton succeeded Archbishop Blackadder. He was of a Fifeshire family, was provost of the Collegiate Church of Bothwell in 1503, and was a year later Abbot of Dunfermline. Having been Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, he was bishop-elect of Galloway when presented to the archbishopric in 1508. Besides improving, to some slight extent, the arrangements in the Cathedral, he built a stone wall, fifteen feet in height, round his palace, with a bastion on the one angle, and a tower with embattled wall on the angle facing High Kirk Street.

That Glasgow was honoured by a royal visit is apparent from an entry in the Diocesan Protocol Book. On the 21st June, 1510, a meeting of the chapter of the Cathedral was held; and it was agreed, in respect that the king, James IV., accompanied by Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland and *legate nate*, was approaching Glasgow, that the archbishop, clergy, and inhabitants of Glasgow, by doing homage to the said primate, should not prejudice them or their successors, as they were exempt from doing so both by ancient and modern privileges granted them by Roman pontiffs and kings. To this

entry the editors of the Protocol Book append the following footnote:—"James IV. and his accomplished son, Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews, appear to have been expected on the following day, Saturday; and the chapter declared that the Archbishop of Glasgow, by going to meet the illustrious personages, forfeits none of the privileges of his see, conferred by popes and kings, but does so out of compliment to the royal and illustrious visitors" (*Protocol Book*, Vol. I., p. 482). The carefulness of the clergy of Glasgow shows that the old controversy as to precedency had not yet died out. Of this royal visit no account exists; but it would seem, from what has been stated in the preceding lines, to have been attended with all due ceremony.

Besides this royal visit in 1510, there was, in the same year, a dispute between the magistrates of Glasgow, the nominees of the archbishop, and the chapter, as to the jurisdiction of each; and in this incident is to be found the first instance, in the history of the city, of an attempt to free its government from ecclesiastical control. Probably, it was caused by the feelings which produced the Reformation. It should be first stated, that on the 20th August, 1509, the family of Lennox acquired their first residence in the city, having purchased from Adam Colquhoun, rector of Stobo, his house at the Stable Green Port. The purchaser was Matthew, second Earl of Lennox; and it may be assumed that either at that time, or a little later, he was made provost of Glasgow by the archbishop, for in the following year his name is mentioned in the Protocols as occupying that office. One of these protocols is an instrument narrating that, in presence of Mr. Martin Rede, chancellor and official of Glasgow, and of Mr. John Spreule, his commissary, sitting in judgment in the chapter-house, along with several of the lords of the chapter, for hearing causes, and especially for prosecuting a certain citation issued under the seal of the official, and duly executed upon John Schaw, Alan Steward, and Thomas Law, bailies of Glasgow for the time, and their fellow-citizens, whose names and surnames were inscribed at length in the citation, citing them to hear themselves declared to have incurred sentence of the greater excommunication, because they had established and recorded in their books of acts certain statutes against the jurisdiction of Holy Mother Church, and to the prejudice of ecclesiastical liberty; namely, that none of the citizens of Glasgow ought to summon another citizen before a spiritual judge respecting a matter which could be competently decided before the bailies in the court-house of Glasgow; and because they had fined one Adam Lethame, a citizen of Glasgow, who complained to the official against Archibald Watson, another citizen, in order that justice might be done him by the

official, in the penalty of the said statute—namely, eight shillings Scots (eightpence sterling); or to show reasonable cause under pain of excommunication. Appeared Matthew, Earl of Lennox, provost of Glasgow for the time, as official for the said bailies, and procurator for the citizens, who protested solemnly that he and they would not recede or fall from their lawful liberties and defence of law, to be afterwards brought forward at suitable time and place, and requesting a copy of said citation, and a term to answer thereto; and also asked instructions upon the premises, especially upon this, that the official and commissary exceeded their jurisdiction in calling the said citation in the chapter-house of the Church of Glasgow. This was done on Sabbath, 7th December, 1510. On the 16th January following, Matthew, Earl of Lennox, provost of Glasgow, as procurator for the magistrates of Glasgow, appeared before James, Archbishop of Glasgow, his chapter, sitting in judgment, and openly acknowledged, in the name of the magistrates and citizens, that they had condemned Lethame in the fine of eight shillings for injury done by him to Archibald Watson, in respect that he called the said Archibald before another judge "for half ane hundredth lenthern waire" (supposed by the editors of the Protocols to be fish), which Lethame denied, but which was found proven by inquest. But the magistrates seem to have become alarmed at their own temerity; for the next instrument of the same date records the renunciation by the provost, in name of himself and the citizens of Glasgow, of all statutes made by them against the liberty and jurisdiction of Holy Mother Church, promising never to put them in execution in time to come. A week later, 23rd January, absolution was given by the archbishop to Alan Steward, bailie of Glasgow, and others, from the sentence of excommunication incurred by them in fining Lethame. In this way ended the first attempt at municipal freedom engaged in by the magistrates of Glasgow.

There is sufficient evidence in the Grampian Club publication that the ecclesiastics of Glasgow loved to have the civil and criminal jurisdiction, not only within the city, but also throughout the whole diocese. For instance, on the 6th June, 1505, the official of Glasgow warned John M'Kee of Myrton in Galloway, under pain of excommunication, and under penalty of £100 Scots (£8, 6s. 8d. sterling), to be applied to the fabric of the Church of Glasgow, in the event of contumacy, to abstain in future from injuring Andrew Porter. Again, in May, 1510, Andrew Birkmyre, a vicar in the choir, was convicted of having used loose and profane words in presence of Martin Rede, official of the diocese, sitting in judgment in the consistory house. The culprit had to apologise to the official on his knees on the floor of the court.

CHAPTER IX.

(A.D. 1513 to A.D. 1551.)

Glasgow Citizens at the Battle of Flodden—Storming of the Castle of Glasgow—Feuing in the Vicinity of the City—Reformation Doctrines—Martyrdom of Russel and Kennedy in Glasgow—Archbishop Dunbar and the Bible—Knox's Opinion of the Precedency Dispute—Progress and Trade of the City—The Battle of the Butts—The City Plundered.

THE kingdoms of Scotland and England having again entered the field against each other, the hostile armies met at Flodden on the 9th September, 1513, with the most disastrous results to the Scots, who, besides their king, left on the field two bishops, two mitred abbots, twelve earls, thirteen barons, and five eldest sons of peers—the flower of the Scottish nobility. In that battle many of the citizens of Glasgow were engaged under the banner of their provost, the Earl of Lennox. M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 248) states that "Sir John Stuart of Minto, who was slain at the fatal battle of Flouden, was provost in the year 1513." Probably, however, the provost and his depute were both slain; for it must be assumed, in view of the testimony of the Protocols already quoted, that Stuart of Minto was the deputy of Lennox. This nobleman, in conjunction with the Earl of Argyle, commanded the rear of the Scottish army; and he and the Dean of Glasgow were among the slain.

During the minority of James V., there was, as usual, a dispute among the nobles for power over the youthful king. The Queen-Dowager was regent of the kingdom and guardian of her son; but her marriage with the Earl of Angus offended a large and powerful section of the nobility, who invited the Duke of Albany to assume the regency. This he obtained, and he ruled the country for some time; but the intriguers became so powerful, that the flag of rebellion was raised against him, the leaders being the Earls of Arran, Lennox, and Glencairn, Mure of Caldwell, and others. Tytler (*Hist. Scot.*, Nimmo's Ed., Vol. II., p. 308) says:—"The rebellion at first assumed a serious aspect: the Castle of Glasgow, belonging to Beaton, archbishop of that see, and which was important from its being the depôt of the king's artillery, was stormed and plundered by Mure, who enriched himself by the spoil, and retained it for

Arran; but the promptitude and energy of Albany, who instantly assembled an army and marched to the spot, overawed the conspirators, and compelled them to submit to terms. The fortress was surrendered. Beaton, the primate, employed his influence to obtain the pardon of Arran with his associate earls; and Albany, who often erred on the side of leniency, once more received them into the peace of the king; whilst Mure, an able and turbulent baron, who was nearly connected with Lennox, profiting by the commotion, continued to excite disturbances in the west country." The historian of Scotland is scarcely accurate in referring to Beaton as the primate, for it was not until four or five years after this event that that prelate became Archbishop of St. Andrews, to which office the primacy was attached. The following extract from the Books of Council will throw some further light upon this noteworthy incident in the history of Glasgow:—"March, 1517. In the action and caus persewit, at the instance of ane maist reverend fader in God, James, Archbishop of Glasgow, &c.; againis Johnne Mure of Caldwell, for the wrangwis and violent ejection, and furth-putting of his servands out of his castell and palice of Glasgow, and taking of the samyn fra thame, the 20 day of Februar, the yer of God, 1515. And for the wrangwis spoliation, awaytaking, and withalding of thir guds underwritten, being in his said castell and palice in the samyn tyme; that is to say 28 feddir bedds furnist, 18 verdours, tua arress, 6 rufs and cutings of say, with mony uthur insight guds; claithing, jewells, silkes, precius stanes, veschell, harness, vittales, and uthur guds: And for the wrangwis destruction of his said castell and place, breking doun of the samyn with artalzary and uthurwis;—The lordis of counsale, decretis and ordanis him to restore and deliver the samyn again to him, or the avale and prices of thame as eftir follows. That is to say, 13 feddir beds furnist, 18 verdour bedds, &c., 12 buird claiths, 12 tyn quarts, 12 tyn pynts, 5 dusane of peuder veschell, tua kists, 15 swyne, 4 dakyr of salt hyds, 6 dusan of salmond, ane last of salt herring, 12 tunnes of wyne, ane hingand chandlar, ane goun of scarlett lynit with mertricks, 6 barrells of gunpulder, 11 gunnis, 14 halberks, 14 steill bonnets, 6 halberts, 4 crossbowis, &c., &c. The quhilk castell, plaice, and guds forsaid, pertenet to the said maist reverend fader, and was spulzeit, taken and intromettit with be the said Johnne Mure of Caldwell, and his complices; likas was clerly provit before the said lordis; Thairfor ordainis lettres to be direct, to compell and distrainze the said Johnne Mure, his lands and guds tharfor, as effeirs."

Several portions of the diocese in the vicinity of Glasgow were rented during Archbishop Beaton's episcopate. Donald Sym, for instance, "rentallit in the new walkmyll off Partik in

THE ARCHBISHOP'S CASTLE & THE CATHEDRAL FROM THE WEST

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the new towne," and he would seem to have built a mill thereon. In 1518, "Wat Stuart rentallit in ane mark land off Gwuan;" and "Alan Heriot" rented land in the "Ramys Horne et Medowflat," upon which George Square and the neighbouring thoroughfares are now situated. Three years afterwards, among other like events, "Jhone Gayne and his son, Tome Gayne," rented land in "Kowkadens."

On Archbishop Beaton's translation to the primacy at St. Andrews, under letters patent of date 27th September, 1524, he was succeeded by Gavin Dunbar, a younger brother of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, who was educated at Glasgow University, and had been Dean of Moray and Prior of Whithorn. At the time of his promotion to the archbishopric, Dunbar was tutor to the young King James V. Certainly the most remarkable and memorable event during his occupancy of the see was the martyrdom of two men in his diocese who had become converts to the Protestant doctrines. The clergy of the Church of Scotland had resolved to make an example of some person, so as to strike terror into the hearts of the people; and after the well-known case of Patrick Hamilton, it was concluded, in 1538, that the heretics of Glasgow and the west required intimidation. Archbishop Dunbar, however, was a man with too tender a heart for such proceedings; and the chiefs of the Church sent John Lawder, Andrew Oliphant, and Friar Maltman, from Edinburgh to assist him. M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 27) describes the trial in these terms:—"There is one thing that lies very heavy on the memory of the archbishop, that under the shadow of his authority two very young men, Jerom Russel, and John Kennedy, a young man of Air, were put to death as martyrs here, for the cause of religion. In their sufferings, and at their death, they were wonderfully assisted by the divine Spirit, to bear a faithful testimony even to their very death; but before they came to the stake, the young youth Mr. Kennedy, not past eighteen years of age, at his first appearing in judgment discovered some weakness, and would have gladly saved his life, by denying the points laid to his charge; but being encouraged by Mr. Russel, his fellow-sufferer, and by the answers he made to the judges, he gathered his spirits, and falling down upon his knees, broke forth in these words: 'Wonderful! O God, is thy love and mercy toward me a miserable wretch; for even now while I would have denied thee, and thy Son the Lord Jesus Christ my only Saviour, and so would have thrown myself into everlasting condemnation, thou, by thine own hand, has pulled me back from the bottom of hell, and given me to feel most heavenly comfort, which has removed the ungodly fear that before oppressed my mind; now I desire death, do what you please,

I praise God, I am ready.' Mr. Russel reasoned long, and learnedly confuted his accusers, and being answered only with railings and bitter speeches, said, 'This is your hour, and power of darkness; now you sit as judges, and we are wrongfully condemned; but the day cometh, which will clear our innocency, and you shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go on, and fulfil the measure of your iniquity.' At which words, the archbishop was greatly moved, affirming that these rigorous proceedings did hurt the cause of the Church more than could be well thought of; and therefore declared, that in his opinion, it would be best to save the lives of these men, and take some other course with them; but these others who were sent to assist, told him expressly, that if he followed any milder course than that which was kept at Edinburgh, they could not esteem him the Church's friend, whereupon he was compelled to give way to their cruelty, and these innocents were condemned to be burned alive. All the time they were preparing the fire, Mr. Russel comforted mightily the young man, using these speeches unto him, 'Fear not, brother, for he is more mighty that is in us, than he who is in the world. The pain which he shall suffer is short and light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end; death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by him for whose sake we suffer; therefore let us strive to enter in by that same streight way which our Saviour hath taken before us.' Many other comfortable speeches he uttered, which moved the hearers wonderfully. When they were brought to the place of their suffering, they used not many words, but commended their souls to God; after they were tied to the stake, they endured the fire constantly, without expressing any token of fear or amazement." The place of martyrdom is said to have been at the east end of the Cathedral. Some authors state that Russel was one of the Grey Friars of Glasgow, and was a man of great learning and talent. These were believed to be the only Glasgow martyrs of the Reformation period; but Petrie states that "in the year 1407, James Resby was burnt at Glasgow, for saying the pope is not the vicar of Christ, and a man of wicked life should not be acknowledged for pope." If there be any fact in this statement, probably the date should be 1507; and in that case the event would occur under the episcopal authority of Archbishop Blackadder.

Another matter about which Archbishop Dunbar concerned himself was a proposal that the Bible should be translated into the vulgar tongue. In March, 1542, Lord Maxwell introduced a bill into the Scottish Parliament authorising the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; and in spite of the determined opposition of the clergy, led by the prelate of Glasgow, the bill became law. In the Chartulary of Glasgow the arch-

bishop's protest against the Act is recorded in these words:—"In ye parliament haldin at Edinburgh, ye 15 daye of Marche, the zeire of God imvc42. zeiris. The quhilke daye our maist reverend fader in God, Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor, for himself, and in name and behalf of all ye prelatis of yis realme, being present in parliament, schew, that there was ane act instantlie maide and red in face of parliament, yat ye halie wryte may be usit in our vulgar toung, and yat nae cryme should follow yairupon throw ye using yairof; and allegeit, in ye saide act, yat ye three estatis concludit ye samyne; quhilke he, for himself, and ye remanent of ye prelatis, being present, as ane of the three estatis of ye said parliament, dissassentit thereto simple; and opponit yame yairto, unto ye tyme yat ane provinciall counsell myt be had of all ye clerge of yis realme, to avyss and conclude yairupon, gif ye samyne be necessare to be had in vulgare toung, to be usit amang ye queenis lieges or nocht, and yairafter to schew yair utter determinatione quhat sall be in yat behalf."

The feud occasioned by the erection of Glasgow into a metropolitan seems to have now revived, and there were violent disputes as to whether St. Andrews or Glasgow was entitled to precedency. The reformer, John Knox, refers to one of these conflicts between the followers of Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow and Beaton, the Cardinal-Archbishop of St. Andrews, and he gives a rather humorous colouring to it. He says:—"Cuming furth or ganging in (all is ane) at the queir dure of Glasgow Kirk, begane stryving for stait betwix the twa croce beiraris; sa that frae glouming they come to schouldring, from schouldring they went to fuffetis, and fra dry blawis be neiffs and nevelling; and then for cherities saik, they cryit, Bispersit dedit pauperibus, and assayit quhilk of the croces war fynest mettall, quhilk staf was strongest, and quhilk bearer could best defend his maisteris pre-eminence; and that there should be na superioritie in that behalf, to the ground ganges bayth the croces. And then begane na littel fray, bot yit a mirrie game, for rocketis war rent, tippetis were torne, crounnis were knypsit, and syd gounis mycht have been sein wantonelie wag fra the ae wall to the uther."

Archbishop Dunbar, who had for some time been Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom, built, as the *Glasgow Register* says, "in 1544 a stately gatehouse at the episcopal palace, on which his arms are engraved." During his episcopate, about the year 1540, there was built on the south side of the street called St. Thenaw's Gate—but then beginning to be called the Tronegait, from the presence in it of the "trone," or weighing machine, already referred to—a collegiate church dedicated to St. Mary and St. Michael, which was endowed for a provost, eight

canons, and three choristers. From 1480 till this time there had been seven provosts-depute of Glasgow, viz:—Sir Thomas Stuart of Minto, Sir John Stuart of Minto, Sir Robert Stuart of Minto, Archibald Dunbar of Baldoon, Lord Belhaven, John Stuart of Minto, and Andrew Hamilton of Middop. The trade of Glasgow seems to have gone on progressing, and there is mention made of Archibald Sym, a son of Lord Glammis, who came to the city with Archbishop Dunbar, and who opened up trade with Poland, France, and Holland. Another important statement is that the ships belonging to Glasgow had, in 1546, been annoying the seafaring subjects of King Henry VIII. of England, so much as to induce that monarch to send a remonstrance to the court of Scotland. Neither the trade nor the shipping could have possibly been great, but there can be no doubt that by this time they both had a beginning. It is believed that the people of Glasgow at this period did a considerable amount of business with the inhabitants of the south of Scotland and the north of England. The extension of the city appears to have been slow, for the principle seemed to be to put as many inhabitants as possible within a limited space, and there was in all likelihood a considerable encroachment upon gardens for that purpose.

In the time of Archbishop Dunbar, Glasgow was the scene of another battle, or, more properly, a skirmish. The field was on the ground on the north side of the Gallowgate, now occupied by the old infantry barracks, and which was then called "The Butts," from the fact that on it the ancient wappenshaws in connection with the city took place. This gave the conflict the name of "The Battle of the Butts." Pagan (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 16) gives the following account of the incident:—"During the minority of Mary, Queen of Scots, Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, who was then in France, was called over to Scotland to assist in reducing the power of Hamilton, Earl of Arran, regent of the kingdom, and then next in succession to the throne. Lennox garrisoned the bishop's palace, and retired himself to the stronghold of Dumbarton. The regent forthwith raised a numerous army in Stirling, and, marching to Glasgow, besieged the castle with brass guns. On the tenth day of the siege the garrison surrendered on the promise of quarter; but no sooner had they laid down their arms than all were massacred, with the exception of two persons only, who escaped. Lennox, assisted by the Earl of Glencairn, determined to revenge himself upon the regent; and having mustered their adherents, their first intention was to march into Clydesdale, and there carry fire and sword into the country of the Hamiltons. Arran was timeously apprised of the scheme, and resolved to counteract it by taking possession of Glasgow. Glencairn, however,

was beforehand with him; and, when the regent approached, he had his army, amounting to about 800 men, among whom were many of the citizens of Glasgow, drawn out at a place called 'the Butts,' now the site of the infantry barracks, and then the scene of the 'wappen-shaw' exercises. A sanguinary conflict followed, and victory for a time seemed to favour Glencairn, for he had already taken the brass guns brought against him; but the arrival of Robert Boyd, of the Kilmarnock family, with a small party of horse, turned the scale in favour of the regent, and Glencairn's band fled in great confusion. It is recorded that about 300 fell on both sides—a sufficient proof of the sanguinary character of the engagement. The regent immediately entered the city, and in revenge for the part the citizens had acted, gave the place up to plunder; and so completely was it harried, that the very doors and windows of many dwelling-houses were carried away." In order to explain the exact position of the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn at this time, it may be stated that Henry VIII. of England had formed a plan for uniting the kingdoms of England and Scotland by a marriage between the infant Queen of Scotland and his only son Edward, afterwards Edward VI., then also a child. Many of the Scottish nobles, actuated doubtless by jealousy and ambition, supported the interests of the English monarch, and among these were Lennox and Glencairn. On the 17th May, 1544, at Carlisle, an agreement was entered into between these two earls and King Henry, by which the former were to receive certain personal advantages on condition that they acknowledged the English king as protector of Scotland, that they endeavour to deliver the young queen into Henry's custody, with the addition that the principal fortresses of the country should also be given up. "In this base agreement," says Tytler (*Hist. Scot.*, Nimmo's Ed., Vol. III., p. 24), "one redeeming article was included, by which Glencairn and Lennox undertook to cause the word of God to be truly taught in their territories. The Bible is described by them as the only foundation from which all truth and honour proceedeth; but it appears not to have suggested itself to these Scottish barons, that the seizure of their lawful sovereign, and the betrayal of the liberty of their country, were scarcely reconcilable with the sacred standard to which they appealed." This author then proceeds to narrate his version of the battle:—"From Carlisle, where he had concluded the negotiation, Glencairn hurried to his own country to assemble his vassals, whilst Lennox collected his strength at Dumbarton; but, as if to punish their desertion of their country, everything went against them. Arran, whose measures, now directed by the Cardinal [Beaton of St. Andrews], were marked by unusual promptitude, lost not a moment in marching against

them at the head of a thousand men; and advancing to Glasgow, was boldly confronted by Glencairn, with five hundred spearmen, on a wide common beside the city. The parties engaged under feelings of unusual obstinacy, and in the battle the unrelenting features of civil strife appeared with all their native ferocity; but Glencairn was at last defeated with great slaughter, his second son being slain, with many others of his party, while the rest were dispersed or made prisoners. The governor immediately occupied the city, which he gave up to plunder, the chief magistrate having sided with his adversary." In most lists the provost of the city at this time, 1544, was John Stewart of Minto; and it is probable that the Lennox family still retained the superior position which it has been seen they occupied in 1510, a fact which would account for the citizens of Glasgow espousing their cause. It is possible that the Reformation zeal of these citizens may also have been due to a certain extent to his Protestant leanings.

Archbishop Dunbar died in 1547, and his body was buried in a stately tomb he had caused to be erected for himself in the chancel of the Cathedral. The chapter elected, as his successor, Alexander Gordon, brother to the Earl of Huntly; but the election was cast, as it was not favourably received by either the Romish or the Scottish courts.

CHAPTER X.

(A.D. 1551 to A.D. 1568.)

The Reformation Troubles—The Duke of Chatelherault engages to defend the Archbishopric of Glasgow, and violates his Bond—Flight of Archbishop Beaton, and Establishment of Protestantism in the City—Darnley and Queen Mary in Glasgow—Battle of Langside—Tradition of Crossmyloof—Regent Moray and the Glasgow Bakers.

WHEN Archbishop Dunbar died, the whole country was in a most extraordinary state of turmoil through the continual struggle between the Reformers and "Holy Mother Church." The Protestant religion had obtained many adherents among the more powerful of the nobility, and these, with the countenance and assistance of the people, kept up a moral and physical guerilla warfare against their religious opponents, who, in their turn, were not slow to retaliate. The govern-

ment, since the death of James V., had been under the regency of the Queen-Dowager, a woman of strong mind and nerve, but under the domination of the Romish party in the state.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that, as M'Ure says, "it was no easie matter to fill the archbishoprick" of Glasgow. It has been already stated that Alexander Gordon, brother to the Earl of Huntly, was elected by the chapter to the vacant see; but his election was invalided by the refusal of the Scottish and Romish courts to ratify it. James Beaton, then Abbot of Arbroath, was next preferred, and his consecration took place at Rome in 1551. He was a nephew of the Cardinal-Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had been assassinated in 1546. Previous to his appointment as Abbot of Arbroath he had been Rector of Campsie, and as such had been first chanter in Glasgow Cathedral. It could not be expected, under the circumstances in which he and his brother prelates were placed, that Archbishop Beaton, although a man of undoubted ability, was able to do much for the improvement of the condition of his diocese—indeed, all through he seems to have acted principally upon the defensive against the violent demonstrations of the Reformers. In his time, however, one important work was begun, for Cleland (*Rise and Prog. of Glas.*, p. 112) narrates that "in the beginning of the sixteenth century the channel of the river, for about thirteen miles below Glasgow, was so interrupted by fords and shoals as to be barely navigable for small craft. In 1556, by the united exertions of the inhabitants of Glasgow, Renfrew, and Dumbarton, who had entered into an agreement to work on the river, for six weeks at a time, with a view to remove the ford at Dumbuck, and some other prominent hirsts, the river was so far improved that small craft were soon brought up to the Broomielaw." But progress in the arts of peace was not to any extent the order of the time, and ultimately Archbishop Beaton had to remove whatever was valuable in the Cathedral for safety to his own palace; while he had to obtain the assistance of a number of the adherents of the ancient faith to guard both these monumental relics of by-gone days from the fury of the populace. But more than that—presumably because the Lennox family, sometime the aristocratic mainstay of the diocese, had joined the protesting party—he entered into the following agreement with the Duke of Chatelherault, the most powerful nobleman in the neighbourhood, and the titular ancestor of the Dukes of Hamilton:—

"Be it kend till all men, be yir present letters, ws James, duke of Chatelrault, erle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoune. For sa meikill as an maist reverend fader in God, James archbishop of Glasgow, has maide and constitutit us and our aires, wt

avyse and consent of his cheptour, his bailzes of all and sundry his landes of barony and regalitie of Glasgow, for ye space of nynetene zeiris, as yair letteris yairupon, under his and his forsaid cheptours commoune seil, beris; and yairfor, for singular favoris wee bere to ye metropolitane kirk of Glasgow, our moder, quhair divers of our forbearis lyis, quhilk is brukit ye said office of bailzerie for yair tyme, and als havand consideratioune of this perrillous and dangerous tyme, quhan detestable heresies ryses and increases in ye diocese of Glasgow, beand of gude mynde and purpose, God willing, to repress yem efter our power; and yairfor to be bundin and obliged, and, be yir presentis letteris, bindes and obliges ws, be ye faith and treuth in our bodies, to ye said maist reverend fader, his successouris and cheptour, to maintayne, supplee, and fortifee, and tak a fald part and syde with our frendis, and all oyir yat will tak our part, quhin neid beis, we beand requirit yerto, with yame, in all yair gude, honest, and lefull matteris, actionis, and querellis, belangand to yame; and sall defend him and yame, yair privileges of yair kirke of Glasgow, yair landis, servandis, and tenantis, as ony oyer his or yair bailzes hes done to him or yame or yair predecessouris, archbishopes and cheptour of Glasgow, in ony tymes by-gone, againis quhatsomever person or personis, within yis realme, except ye queans grace, prince, or Kingis grace, authorities, for ye tyme allieverlie; and sall nocht tholl ye said maist reverend fader, his successouris, or cheptour, yair privelegeis, kirklandis, tenentis, nor servandis, be put down, wrangit, inferit, troublit, nor molestit, be na person or personis, wtin yis realme, except ye supreme auctoritie, as said is, nor sall put down, infire, troubile, nor molest him nor yame, ourself, our airis, nor nane oyoris, yat we may gudlie stop; bot, in case yat ony wald pretend ye samyne, sall seyd, manteyne, supplie, fortifie, and tak a fald part with him and yame, at our uttir power, as said is, and specially, sall assist and concurr with him and yame, in expelling of heresies within ye royaltie of Glasgow; punissing of heretykis, beand within ye samyne, with all our friendis and partakeris, efter our utter power, how oft, and quhat tyme, wee be requirit be ye said maist reverend fader, and successouris, to do ye samyne, without any excusatioune or delay, to ye honour of God and our patron St. Mungo. In witness of ye quhilk thing, to yir our present letteris of maintenance, subscrivit with our hand, our proper seal of armis is hingin. At Edinburgh, ye sext day of Februare, ye zeir of God, 1557-8. James."

Chatelherault, however, did not remain true to his bond, for the intrigues of the Lords of the Congregation with the English court against the authority of the Queen-Regent had the effect of seducing him from his allegiance to the Franco-Romish party

in the country. As he was closely related to the royal family, the temptation of the regency was held out to him. After the defeat of the Lords of the Congregation at Leith by the French allies of the Queen-Dowager, in which the duke and his son, the Earl of Arran, seem to have been engaged on the Protestant side, and while negotiations for assistance were being carried on with Queen Elizabeth of England, Chatelherault, with the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Boyd, Lord Ochiltree, and others, retired upon Glasgow with their followers. This was in 1559, and a council of the Reformers appears to have been established in the city. While in Glasgow the duke violated both the spirit and the letter of his agreement, and his reformation zeal is said to have been of a very active and violent description. Not only did he cause all the images, altars, and relics within the church to be destroyed, but he also attacked and took possession of the palace of the archbishop, from which he was with difficulty expelled by a body of the Queen-Regent's French troops. It is believed that at this time the leaden roofing was stripped from the Cathedral. In the same year, on the 30th November, a royal proclamation was made at Glasgow. It ran in the name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of the Scots, and informed those who still respected the authority of the Queen-Dowager, that her whole power had been devolved upon the Lords of the Privy Council who were reformed. Their chief aim, they declared, was to advance the glory of God, and to remove idolatry; for which end they commanded all such clergymen as had not yet made open confession of their faith to appear before the council at St. Andrews, and there give full proof of their conversion by a public renunciation of all manner of superstition, under the penalty of losing their benefices, and being reputed enemies of God.

It is not surprising, then, that Archbishop Beaton should seek refuge in France. The action of Chatelherault would probably precipitate his flight; but as that action, however blameworthy it might be as coming from the quarter it did, was representative of the feelings of the mass of the people, flight was the only politic resource left the archbishop. Accordingly, in 1560, he removed from Glasgow, escorted by a body of French soldiers, and made his way to Paris, taking with him all that was valuable relative to the diocese. The following is the list of articles which, according to the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Archbishop Beaton carried away with him:—The image of Christ in gold, and those of the twelve apostles in silver, with the whole vestments belonging to the church; a silver cross, gilt in the upper part, and adorned with precious stones in the lower part, with a small portion of the cross of our Saviour; another silver cross, adorned with precious stones, with

several other portions of the cross of Christ; a silver casket, gilt, containing the hair of the Blessed Virgin; a square silver coffer, containing several of the scourges of St. Kentigern and St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a portion of the hair garment worn by the former saint; another silver casket, gilt, containing part of the skin of Bartholomew the apostle; a silver casket, containing a bone of St. Ninian; a silver casket, containing part of the girdle of the Virgin Mary; a crystal case, containing a bone of some saint and of St. Magdalene; a small phial of crystal, containing the milk of the Blessed Virgin, and a part of the manger of Christ; a small phial of saffron colour, containing the fluid which formerly flowed from the tomb of St. Mungo; a phial, containing several of the bones of St. Eugene and St. Blaze; a phial, containing part of the tomb of St. Catherine the virgin; a small hide, with a portion of the cloak of St. Martin; a precious hide, with portions of the bodies of St. Kentigern and St. Thomas of Canterbury; four other hides, with bones of saints and other relics; a wooden chest containing many small relics; and two linen bags, with bones of St. Kentigern, St. Thenaw, and other deceased saints. This is truly a goodly and an extraordinary list of articles; but the archbishop also took with him what were of much greater importance, the archives of the diocese, which, of course, contained the only authentic records of the city. After he had settled in Paris, he was appointed, by Queen Mary, Scottish ambassador at the court of France.

On Archbishop Beaton's retiral from Glasgow, the Reformers appointed a superintendent, probably Sir Alex. Lauder, for the district.

In the same year, 1560, two important events occurred—Queen Mary, on the death of her husband, Francis II. of France, returned to Scotland; and the Scottish Parliament ratified the Confession of Faith. Glasgow became identified, to a great extent, with the stirring movements of these troublous times, and though its purely local history is somewhat obscured, there can be no doubt of the part it played in the transactions of the nation. The proposal of the Queen's marriage with Lord Darnley, a nobleman who, as eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, had a traditional and close connection with the city, soon agitated the country. While the dispute, or rather rebellion (in which the Queen's half-brother, the Earl of Moray, was leader), was at its height, in 1565, Mary became aware that a convocation of Moray's adherents was to be held at Glasgow, and she sent a herald to the city to forbid all such illegal assemblies, under the penalties of treason. The opposition, however, was of no avail, and the obnoxious marriage took place. Immediately after the marriage Moray was commanded to appear at the court, but as he failed to do so his life and

estates were declared forfeited to the laws. The royal army compelled the rebels to flee from Stirling, and they took refuge for a time in Argyleshire, making a halt in their flight at Glasgow.

It is not necessary here to trace the course of events which led Darnley, to whom was accorded the title of King, to retire from court to his father's house in Glasgow. It is generally assumed that the residence of the Earl of Lennox at this time was in Limmerfield Lane, off the Drygate, and there seems to have been little reason to doubt the accuracy of the *locus* fixed for it. But the learned editors of the Book of Protocols of Glasgow, in view of the purchase of the house belonging to the rector of Stobo at the Stable Green Port by the Lennox family, assert that it was in this house, and not in one in Limmerfield Lane, that the unfortunate husband of Queen Mary resided. Only a few years have elapsed since the removal of what was believed, rightly or wrongly, to be Darnley's cottage. Soon after his arrival in Glasgow Darnley was seized with what was at first reported to be the result of poison, but which transpired to be the very commonplace ailment of small-pox. The queen professed much anxiety on his account, and she sent her own physician to attend upon him. This occurred in 1566, and towards the end of January, 1566-7, Mary visited the king at Glasgow. After remaining with him a few days, she left for Holyrood; and Darnley was soon removed to Kirk-of-Field, where he met a tragic death.

When the queen married the Earl of Bothwell the indignation of her subjects was so great, that she was confined in Lochleven Castle, and Moray took the regency. On the 2nd May, 1568, she escaped, and was taken by her friends to the Earl of Arran's residence at Hamilton. Here a large portion of the nobility crowded to her standard: among them the Earls of Argyle, Cassillis, Eglinton, and Rothes; Lords Sommerville, Yester, Livingston, Herries, Fleming, Ross, Borthwick, and many other barons of power and note, so that she soon found herself at the head of 6,000 men. While an endeavour was being made to reach Dumbarton, the regent's troops were encountered, on the 13th May, 1568, at Langside. "The affair," says Mr. J. Hill Burton (*Hist. Scot.*, Vol. V., p. 114), "lasted but for three-fourths of an hour. In the number engaged, and the nature of the contest, it was of the character of a mere skirmish; but the conditions on which it was fought rendered it a decisive battle. It settled the fate of Scotland, affected the future of England, and had its influence all over Europe."

All the accounts of the battle of Langside are founded to a greater or less extent upon what Sir James Melvil, who acted as gentleman of the chamber to Queen Mary, records of it in

his *Memoirs*, and as he was an eye-witness to the conflict his story is entitled to due weight. Tytler, among others, founds on it, and by the aid of it and what he has gleaned from the State papers and other sources, he gives a most interesting and detailed narrative of the incidents leading up to the battle, and of the battle itself. After mentioning the assembly at Hamilton, he says (*Hist. Scot.*, Nimmo's Ed., Vol. III., p. 285) that the queen "assembled her council, declared to them that her demission of the government, and consent to the coronation of her son, had been extorted by the imminent fear of death, and appealed for the truth of the statement to Robert Melvil, who stood beside her, and solemnly confirmed it. An act of council was then passed, declaring all the late proceedings by which Moray had become regent treasonable and of none effect; and a bond drawn up by the nobility for the defence of their sovereign, and her restitution to her crown and kingdom, which in the enthusiasm of the moment was signed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, twelve abbots and priors, and nearly one hundred barons. But the queen, though encouraged by this burst of loyalty, felt a desire to avoid the misery of a civil contest, and in this spirit sent a message to Moray with offers of reconciliation and forgiveness. The regent was in Glasgow, a city not eight miles from Mary's camp at Hamilton, engaged in public business, and attended only by officers of the law and his personal suite, when almost at the same instant he received news of the queen's escape and her overtures for a negotiation. It was a trying crisis—one of those moments in the life of a public man which test his judgment and his courage. Already the intelligence, though but a few hours old, had produced an unfavourable effect upon his party. Some openly deserted, and sought the queen's camp; others silently stole away; many wavered; and not a few, whilst they preserved the show of fidelity, secretly made preparations for joining the enemy. Under these difficult circumstances Moray exhibited that rapid decision and clearness of judgment which mark a great man. When counselled to retire, he instantly rejected the advice. 'Retreat,' said he, 'must not for a moment be contemplated. It is certain ruin; it will be construed into flight, and every hour's delay will strengthen the queen and discourage our adherents. Our only chance is in an instantaneous attack before Huntly, Ogilvy, and the northern men have joined the royal force.' Pretending, however, to deliberate upon the offers of negotiation, he gained a brief respite: this he used to publish a proclamation, in which he declared his determination to support the king's government; and sending information to the Merse, Lothian, and Stirlingshire, was rapidly joined by a considerable body of his friends. Morton, Glencairn, Lennox,

and Semple lost no time, but marshalled their strength, and advanced by forced marches to Glasgow: Mar despatched reinforcements and cannon from Stirling; Grange, whose veteran experience in military affairs was of infinite value at such a moment, took the command of the horse; and Moray had the good sense to entrust to him the general arrangements for the approaching battle. Hume, also a skilful soldier, not only foiled Hepburn of Riccarton in his attempt to seize Dunbar for the queen, but kept the Mersemen from declaring for her, and soon joined the regent with six hundred men; whilst Edinburgh beat up for recruits, and sent a small force of hagbutters. The effects which so invariably follow decision and confidence were soon apparent, and in ten days Moray commanded an army of four thousand men. . . . We have already seen that this [a reconciliation between the two factions] was agreeable to Mary's own wishes. Her inclination from the first had been to avoid a battle, to retire to Dumbarton, a fortress which had been all along kept for her by Lord Fleming, and to regain by degrees her influence over her nobility and her people. In this wise and humane policy she was opposed by the ambition and fierce impatience of the Hamiltons, who, seeing themselves the strongest party, deemed the moment favourable to crush Moray for ever, and to obtain an ascendency over the queen and the government. So far, however, Mary's influence prevailed, that they consented to march from Hamilton to Dumbarton; and Moray, congratulating himself upon their resolution, immediately drew out his little army on the Burghmuir [Green] of Glasgow, resolved to watch their movements, and, if possible, bring them to an engagement. For this purpose Grange had previously examined the ground, and the moment he became aware that the queen's army kept the south side of the river, the regent's camp being on the opposite bank [on Glasgow Green], he mounted a hagbutter behind each of his horsemen, rapidly forded the Clyde, and placed them at the village of Langside, amongst some cottages, hedges, and little yards or gardens which skirted each side of a narrow lane, through which the queen's troops must defile. Whilst this manœuvre was successfully performing, Moray, who led the main battle, and Morton, who commanded the vanguard or advance, crossed the river by a neighbouring bridge, and drew up their men; a movement which was scarcely completed when the queen's vanguard, two thousand strong, and commanded by Lord Claud Hamilton, attempting to carry the lane, was received by a close and deadly fire from the hagbutters in the hedges and cottage gardens. This killed many, drove them back, and threw their ranks into confusion; but, confident in their numbers, they pressed forward up the steep of the hill, so that the men were already exhausted when

they suddenly found themselves encountered by Moray's advance, which was well breathed and in firm order. It was composed of the flower of the Border pikemen. Morton, who led it, with Hume, Ker of Cessford, and the barons of the Merse, all fought on foot; and when the first charge took place, Grange's clear voice was heard above the din of battle, calling to them to keep their pikes shouldered till the enemy had levelled theirs, and then to push on. They obeyed him, and a severe conflict took place. It was here only that there was hard fighting; and Sir James Melvil, who was present, describes the long pikes as so closely crossed and interlaced that, when the soldiers behind discharged their pistols, and threw them or the staves of their shattered weapons in the faces of their enemies, they never reached the ground, but remained lying on the spears. For some time the conflict was doubtful, till Grange, perceiving the right wing of the regent's advance (consisting of the Renfrewshire barons) beginning to give way, galloped to the main battle, and brought Lindsay, Lochleven, Sir James Balfour, and their followers to reinforce the weak point. This they did effectually, and their attack was so furious that it broke the queen's ranks, and threw all into confusion. Moray, who had hitherto stood on the defensive, contenting himself with repulsing the enemy's cavalry, which was far superior in numbers and equipment to his own, now seized the moment to charge with the main battle, and the flight became universal. At this instant, too, the chief of the Macfarlanes, and 200 of his Highlanders, broke in upon the scattered fragments of the army with the leaps and yells peculiar to their mode of fighting; and the pursuit would have been sanguinary, but for the generous exertions of the regent, who called out to save the fugitives, and employed his cavalry, with Grange who commanded them, not as instruments of slaughter but of mercy. This decisive battle lasted only three-quarters of an hour. On the queen's side there were but 300 slain—some accounts say only half that number. On the regent's, only a single soldier fell. Ten pieces of brass cannon were taken, and many prisoners of note. Amongst the rest, the Lords Seton and Ross; the Masters, or eldest sons of the Earls of Eglinton and Cassillis; the Sheriff of Ayr; the Sheriff of Linlithgow, a Hamilton, who bore their standard in the vanguard; the Lairds of Preston, Innerwick, Pitmilly, Balwearie, Boyne, and Trabrown; Robert Melvil and Andrew Melvil; two sons of the Bishop of St. Andrews, and a son of the Abbot of Kilwinning. It was reported that Argyle was made prisoner, but purposely suffered to escape. On the regent's side, Hume, Ochiltree, and Andrew Car of Faudonside, were severely wounded. Previous to the conflict Mary had taken her station upon an eminence half a mile distant, which

commanded a view of the field. She was surrounded by a small suite, and watched the vicissitudes of the fight with breathless eagerness and hope. At last, when the charge of Moray took place, witnessing the total dispersion of her army, she fled in great terror and at full speed in the direction of Dumfries; nor did she venture to draw bridle till she found herself in the Abbey of Dundrennan, sixty miles from the field." The sequel is known.

An interesting incident is recorded by Miss Agnes Strickland in her *Life of Mary, Queen of Scots.* It is of no great importance in itself; but it gives a probable solution of the origin of the name of the village of Crossmyloof, a name which must appear odd to a stranger. This lady puts it on record that Maxwell, Laird of Pollok, one of Mary's adherents, was created a baronet in the course of the eventful day the queen spent in his vicinity, and that this was the last exercise of her power. But speaking of the name of the village, Miss Strickland (*Life of Mary, Queen of Scots*, Bohn's Ed., Vol. II., p. 79) says:— "The little village of Crossmyloof, on the domain of Sir John Maxwell, Bart. of Polloc, adjoining Langside, is said by oral chroniclers to have gained its name from the following incident: Queen Mary, on being assured by the gentlemen about her 'that, in consequence of the position occupied by the rebel force, it would be impossible for her to get to Dumbarton,' placed her crucifix in the palm of her hand, and passionately exclaimed— 'By the cross in my loof, I will be there to-night in spite of yon traitors!' Alas for her! the broad strong waters of the Clyde rolled between her and that stronghold of Scottish loyalty, which she could see in the distance, but was never destined to reach. Well acquainted with the ground, however, she determined to make an effort to cross the stream higher up, from the south bank, by means of a boat. And this, it is said, she might well have done, could she only have reached the river-side, by which there was a short cut through a narrow lane. Unfortunately it was on the Earl of Lennox's estate, and two men, who were mowing in a field, came out and opposed her path by raising their scythes against her and Lord Herries, who rode by her side. Terrified at the sight of such formidable weapons, and the menacing attitude of her unexpected foes, Mary turned her horse's head precipitately, and fled in an opposite direction with her little party."

But not only was the battle of Langside of national importance: it was also important on account of the benefits conferred through it on the citizens of Glasgow. The bakers of the city had been busily employed supplying bread to the regent's army, and this very difficult task they performed so much to the satisfaction of Moray that, on his return from Langside, he

gave the incorporation of that trade permission to build mills on the banks of the Kelvin, at Partick. M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 218) records the incident in these terms:—"Upon the regent and his army defeating the queen's army at the famous battle of Langside, he returned in great pomp to the city, where, after going to church and thanking Almighty God in a solemn manner for the victory, he was entertained by the magistrates and a great many of the town council very splendidly, suitable to his quality, at which time the regent expressed himself very affectionately towards the city and citizens of Glasgow; and for their kind offices and assistance done to him and his army, he promised to grant to the magistrates, or any incorporation in the city, any favour they should reasonably demand; upon the regent's good disposition to the citizens, which was well-known, there were several applications made to him by the respective incorporations; and he accordingly gave several grants in confirmation of their letters of deaconry they had from the town, with several privileges and immunities; at this time there was one Matthew Fauside, foreman or deacon of the baxters of Glasgow, a very judicious projecting man, who had an extraordinary concern for the good and advancement of the incorporations, who, getting himself introduced to my lord regent at a convenient season, represented to his grace the great hardship the baxter trade of this place lay under for want of a wheat mill of their own, being obliged to grind their wheat at the gentlemen's corn-mills upon Kelvin, where the millstones and other utensils of the mills are not fitted and prepared for that use, and where they cannot be timeously served, and were often maltreated and oppressed in their multures, to the great prejudice of the lieges, not being served with sufficient wheat bread, and as they were not thirled to any mill, their erecting a right mill at their own charge, upon a fit place on the river of Kelvin, within two miles of the city, for the use of the incorporation, and applying their own multures for the maintenance of their poor, could tend to no man's prejudice, craving his grace would empower them to build a wheat-mill of their own. My lord regent considering the petition to be very just and reasonable, was graciously pleased to grant the deacon's desire, sought with so much reason and discretion; whereupon his grace immediately caused his clerk and secretary extend a charter in favours of the said Matthew Fauside, present deacon of the baxters in Glasgow, and his successors in office, for the use of the incorporation, for erecting and building a mill upon the river Kelvin for grinding wheat; and accordingly they built their mills thereupon."

CHAPTER XI.

(CIRCA A.D. 1560.)

State of the City after the Reformation—"A Grit Dearth"—Old Vassals of the Archbishops—Decay and Resuscitation of the University—Condition of the Cathedral—Municipal Government and Social Distinctions.

ALTHOUGH the Reformation of religion was in many important and far-reaching respects a most valuable and profitable act, yet its immediate results, from a temporal point of view, were unfortunate and almost disastrous to the ordinary people of Scotland. In a city like Glasgow, hitherto so much dependent upon the presence in it of a princely archbishop, with his numerous attendant clergy and servants, it could scarcely be otherwise than that its common inhabitants should miss from among them their clerical patrons. Besides, the whole country was in a state of complete disorder. Angry discussions on religious matters, often followed by the clash of arms, were everywhere to be heard; men of both sides, agreeing only in their intolerance, forgetful of the first principles of their common Christianity, and seeing only what they deemed one another's errors, scolded, fought, and slew in their zeal for their own form of religion. But such are the main features of all revolutionary movements; and in the sequel the Reformation in Scotland differed little from kindred upheavals elsewhere. With the advent of calmer and more peaceable times, the people discovered that all the temporal benefit, though claimed in their name, was not theirs: that what had been served were the ambition and avarice of a considerable section of the nobility. They were, accordingly, forced to make the best out of the new state of affairs. In this they were heavily handicapped. No doubt they had a fresh start, for their civil liberties were greater; but it could scarcely be said that they had obtained increased religious freedom—the rule of the Roman Episcopacy was scarcely more strict than that of early Scottish Presbyterianism. In addition, they had to support their new ministers, because the temporalities of the ancient church were either held by the nobles, or in part by the nobles and the exiled prelates.

With all these difficulties, in their most aggravated form, the people of Glasgow had to contend. The population of the

city at this time is calculated to have been about 4,500; and in the Convention of Burghs it was then regarded as eleventh among the towns of Scotland. The tax levied by the Convention was ordained by the Town Council, in 1556, to be paid in proportions by the several representative bodies in the community, these being the merchants, smiths, baxters, cordiners, tailors, skinners, weavers, masons, maltmen, coopers, and fleshers. It has been indicated that the Reformation deprived the city of the presence of those upon whom the inhabitants principally depended. But not only did the clergy fly, but the scholars at the university also disappeared, a fact not surprising when it is remembered that the university was at that time essentially an institution of the Church, presided over by the secular clergy. This, combined with the uncertain and confused state of the country, contrived to throw the citizens of Glasgow into a most unfortunate condition; and in the two or three years following 1560, they seem to have been threatened with famine. On the first election of magistrates by the council after the flight of Archbishop Beaton, its members, having protested that the archbishop had been searched for but could not be found, proceeded to appoint the magistracy on their own responsibility. Hitherto the archbishop, as lord of the burgh, was consulted on such matters, and his nominees were elected; but his absence on this occasion dispensed with that interference in civil affairs by the Church. On the 30th September, 1560, it was "statut by magistrates and council yat yair be nane darrer ale sauld nor iiij pennys ye pynt, under ye pane of aucht shilling." "Yat ye four penny laif wee therty twa ounces; and ye twa penny laif saxteen ounces; and yat ye samyn be gud and sufficient stuff." "Yat ye stane of tallowne be na darrer sauld nor aught shilling:" "yat ye punde of candel be na darrer sauld nor sax pennys ye punde:" and "yat ye peck of horse-corn be na darrer sauld, for yis present zeir, nor aught pennys ye peck." An entry in the burgh records of 1563 explains more explicitly the necessity for such enactments, and tells, in brief, a pitiful tale of the state of the community in that year. "There was a grit dearth approaching to a famine; ye bow of quheit gave sax pundis; ye bow of beir sax merks and ane half; ye bow of meill four merks; ye bow of aits fifty shillings; an ox to draw in the pleuch twenty merks; a wodder thertty shillings; so yat all things appertaining to the sustentatioune of man, in tripel and more exceedit yair accoustomed pryces."

But while the council could not find the archbishop, that dignitary was in safety in Paris, with the records of the diocese and college around him; and for ten years subsequent to 1560 he continued to enter new vassals on his roll, and to transact, generally, the temporal business of the diocese. It

will be interesting to reproduce what the learned editors of the Diocesan Rental Book say regarding the relationship between the rentallers and their superior. They state (*Rent. Book Dioc. Glas.*, Vol. I., p. 25) that "a rental right might be acquired —(1.) By original grant from the lord; (2.) by succession; (3.) by purchase of the 'kyndness' from a rentaller; or, (4.) by marrying the daughter of a rentaller. It would also appear that a female rentaller could communicate her right to her husband, who was entered in the rental. But though such rights were not unknown in other parts of Scotland, there existed in 'Sanct Mungo's Freedom' a peculiar privilege or custom known as 'Sanct Mungo's Wedo,' which the editors believe did not obtain elsewhere. Mr. Riddel, citing Chalmers' *Caledonia*, alludes to it thus: 'The widow of a tenant in the bishop's rental was entitled, while she remained single, to hold her husband's lands for life. . . . These tenants were sort of copy-holders, though the right to their lands might be considered absolute.' While the great body of the rentallers were of humble rank, not a few churchmen of note, and persons of noble and gentlemanly blood, did not disdain to accept holdings under the metropolitans of the west. Among the former class are found two rectors of the 'Plebania' of Stobo, Thomas Murheyd, and his successor, Adam Colquhoun; Mr. Robert Maxwell, afterwards Bishop of Orkney, a son of the house of Nether Pollok; Mr. John Spreull, a canon of the Cathedral Church; Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow, a scion of the family of Rosslyn; and others. Among the rentallers of noble rank are found successive generations of the families of Stirling (Gartinkirk), Heriot (Cardarroch), Elphinstone (Blythswood and Gorbals), Forrester of West Niddry and Corstorphine, Maxwell of Nether Pollok, Boyd of Kilmarnock, Colquhoun of the Glen, Stewart of Minto, and Hamilton of Aikenhead. Among surnames afterwards familiar as 'portioners' in the barony of Glasgow will be found as 'rentallers,' Anderson in Stobcross; Bogle, in Bogle's-Hole, Sandyhill, and Shettleston; Corse, in Carmyle; Crawford, in Possil; Forsyth, in Halhill; Gray, in Tollcross, Westthorn, and Chryston; Louke, in Eistthorn; Main, in Lochwood; Rowand, in Meikle Govan; Scott, in Daldowie; and Woddrop, in Carntyne and Dalmarnock. Some of these families still cultivate or own their ancient possessions—such as the Grays of Carntyne (lately extinct in the male line), the Rowands of Meikle Govan, the Scotts of Wester Daldowie, and the Woddrops of Dalmarnock. Other surnames among these ancient rentallers have disappeared, as the Otterburns in Cothystoun, the Folars in Titwood (now part of Nether Pollok estate), the Gilhagies in Kennyhill, the Jargouns in Partick, the Brechins in Bartibeath, the Gaynes in Cowcaddens, the

Lothians in Lumloch, the Durands in Carmyle, the Bargillys in Shettleston, and others." But one of the most interesting entries in this book is one stating that on the 21st January, 1557-8, Thomas Hutcheson, father to the brothers who founded Hutchesons Hospital, acquired the lands of Lambhill.

Passing from the consideration of the temporalities, pure and simple, of the community, to other matters, it will be found that in 1563, the year of the threatened famine, Queen Mary looked in sorrow and commiseration upon the low estate of the University of Glasgow, and she gave it the benefit of some of the confiscated lands of the Church. Her Majesty's deed of gift, dated 13th July, 1563, affords an insight into the condition of the college buildings, regarding which at this time little is known. The endowments she granted were for the especial benefit of five poor children, bursars within the College of Glasgow, "off the quhilk college ane parte of the scholes and chalmeris being biggit, the rest thairof alsweill dwellingis as provisioun for the poore bursours and maisteris to teache, ceassit, swas that the samyne appearis rather to be the decay of ane universitie, nor ony wayis to be reknit ane establischit foundatioun." She gave it "the manss and kirk rowme" of the Dominican or Black Friars, within the city; thirteen acres of land lying in the neighbourhood; ten merks annually, which the said friars were wont to receive from certain tenants within the town; twenty merks of annual rent from the Nether town of Hamilton; ten bolls of meal from certain lands within the bounds of Lennox; and ten merks yearly from the lands and lordship of Avondale.

As nothing has been done towards the completion of the original design of the Cathedral of Glasgow since the Reformation, it may be said that with the exception of the removal of the ungainly consistory house and tower, which seemed to be no part of that design, the church remains now, in its chief features, the same as it did in 1560. It has been customary to believe that the mason work of a great portion of the structure was done by John Murdo, a mason born in Paris of Scottish parents; and this belief is founded upon the following lines inscribed on the wall of the south transept of Melrose Abbey:—

"Iohn murdo sum tym callit
was I, and born in parysse
certainly, and had in keping
al mason werk of santan
droys, ye hye kirk of glas
gu, melros, and paslay, of
nyddysdayll, and of galway:
pray to god and mari baith
and sweet sanct iohn to keep this haly kirk frae skaith."

Possibly, however, it may be a mistake to consider Murdo as

other than a mason whose duty it was to keep in repair the cathedrals and abbey churches mentioned in this list, rather than the original builder of any of them. It will now be proper to describe, with slight detail, the metropolitan Church of Glasgow. The architecture of the Cathedral is allowed by competent authorities to be one of the finest examples of early English undecorated Gothic; and though it may not be compared in size and elaboration with many of the cathedrals of England, these are, in several important respects, much inferior to it. Owing to the non-completion of what was apparently the original design, the transepts, or arms of the cross, are not sufficiently marked to bring out the cruciform shape of the edifice, and the result is that there is a certain bareness of outside appearance. Internally, however, the grandeur of the structure is seen in the fine perspective from the great western door to the large window at the east end of the chancel. Some of the masonry decorations are exceedingly rich. The great height from the floor to the apex of the roof is calculated to impress the beholder, while the boldness of the whole design is admirable in the extreme. The entire length of the building from east to west is 319 feet; there are in it 147 clustered columns, and 159 windows of various dimensions. The nave itself measures 155 feet in length, 60 feet wide, and is 90 feet high. On each side runs a series of clustered columns, of massive thickness, supporting the triforium, over which is a row of clerestory windows. The aisles are lofty and narrow, and the windows are each divided by double mullions. Immediately above the principal entrance is the great western window in four lights, divided by beautifully carved mullions. The windows in the north and south transepts have the same features. The tower and spire rise to the height of 225 feet at the junction of the nave and the choir, and they are supported by four strongly built and elegantly carved piers, which spring into a groined arch, with a circular opening in the centre, made for the purpose of raising bells and building materials. At the top of the flight of steps giving access to the choir from the nave, and underneath the tower, is a richly ornamented screen, or organ gallery, constructed of stone. The choir is 127 feet in length, 60 feet wide, and about 80 feet high. Its principal arches are supported by clustered columns, each having beautifully floriated capitals, allowed to be the finest in the kingdom. At the east end of the choir is the lady chapel, profusely ornamented; and from the northern side of it admission is gained to the chapter-house. This place is 28 feet square, and the roof is supported by a single column in the centre. But it is in respect of its crypts that the Cathedral of St. Mungo can stand favourable comparison with kindred

structures in the kingdom. These are entered by a flight of steps, descending from the nave in the immediate vicinity of the organ screen. Bishop Joceline's Crypt, beneath the choir and lady chapel, is of similar length and breadth to the choir, and is from 20 to a few feet high, owing to the sloping nature of the floor. There is also Blackadder's Crypt, or "ye ile of car fergus," underneath the unfinished southern transept, supported by three richly clustered columns with foliated capitals, and said to exhibit some specimens of the finest architecture in the Cathedral. At the time of the Reformation there was standing against the western gable of the church the consistory house and western tower. This tower was square, stood about 125 feet high, and certain feeble attempts at ornamentation had been made upon it. The consistory house was a large, high, gable tenement, supported, like the rest of the Cathedral, by massive buttresses, and lighted on the south side by square windows. On the groundfloor of this structure the consistory courts were held. This portion of the edifice, however, seemed to be entirely out of harmony with the rest. The erection of the various portions of the church has been recorded under the proper dates, and it is only now necessary to state that it is considered probable that to Bishop Bondington, who occupied the episcopal throne from 1233 to 1258, was due the construction of the consistory house and adjacent tower. Bishop Joceline, from the extent and importance of his work, which occupied twenty-two years of his episcopate, may, notwithstanding the contributions of his predecessors and successors, be looked upon as the principal constructor of the magnificent edifice known as the Cathedral Church of St Mungo.

As an appropriate conclusion to this chapter, it will be fitting to give, in as concise a form as possible, a statement of the municipal government of the city up till this year, and also of the principles upon which that government was founded. From the great diversity of charters granted to the several burghs, royal and otherwise, in Scotland, it is difficult to arrive at even an approximation of the privileges possessed by the inhabitants of each; and especially is this the case in regard to burghs, such as Glasgow, created in favour of spiritual or temporal lords. It has frequently been asserted that the position of the people of Glasgow was similar, in most important respects, to that of the inhabitants of royal burghs "holden of the king." That averment is true only in a certain sense; for while the inhabitants of royal burghs had certain rights conferred upon them by the king, and which they could lawfully claim in virtue of the charter granted, those of burghs in the possession of the lay or clerical nobility, while they may have had similar freedoms, had them only from their feudal superiors, not from

the king. That such was the case will be made clear by a brief historical review of the municipal events in Glasgow up till this time, in so far as these are now known. Cleland (*Rise and Prog. Glas.*, p. 50) says:—"The township of Glasgow, was formed into a Royal Burgh by William the Lyon, some time between the years 1165 and 1214. It does not appear that there is any authentic account of the Burgh, for a considerable period after this. Richard de Dunidovis was Provost in 1268. In 1450, James II. erected the town and the patrimonies of the bishopric into a regality, though the regular succession of magistrates, is not given till 1472. It would appear from the guild and the ancient borough laws, that the right of electing the mayors, bailies, and council of the burghs, was originally vested in the community, as the first Act of the Scotch Parliament on that subject, James III., Parl. XI., cap. 29, 1469, proceeds on the narrative, that as great contention had arisen, in consequence of the multitude, and clamour of simple persons, the mode of election was to be so changed, that the old council should choose the new. It would appear, however, that this mode of choosing did not give satisfaction, as in the year 1487, an Act was passed, James III., Parl. XIV., cap. 108, directing that the council should be chosen from the best and worthiest indwellers in the town, and not by partiality, to the injury of the burghs. In 1503, an Act was passed, James IV., Parl. VI., cap. 80, directing the magistrates to be changed yearly, and none elected but such as did business within the burgh; and, in 1535, an Act was passed, James V., Parl. IV., cap. 26, proceeding on the narrative that the burghs had been brought to poverty because outlandish men had been elected magistrates; and directing that none but indwellers should be elected, and also, that the accounts should be laid open to the lieges for fifteen days, and then submitted to the exchequer. It would appear that the contentions regarding the election of the magistrates of this city had about this time become so great, that the Church assumed the right of nomination; for on 3rd October, 1553, a formal deed was promulgated in favour of Archbishop Beaton, by which he nominated the magistrates. Among other matters, the deed recites that Provost Hamilton, and all the rest of the council, waited on the archbishop in the inner flower garden of his palace, when they produced a paper, containing the names of eight respectable and substantial men of the city, and that his lordship nominated Mr. Hall and John Mure to be Baillies; and the instrument farther recites that in order to take away all farther contention about the nomination or election of magistrates for the city, and for the sake of future times, John Hamilton, Notary, took instruments, in presence of certain prebends of the Cathedral, and then recorded procedure."

It should, however, he noticed that Cleland, in conjunction with a very large proportion of the historians of Glasgow, proceeded upon hypotheses for which there is no foundation in fact. King William the Lion, in his charter erecting Glasgow into a burgh of barony, sets forth, in unmistakable terms, that he "confirmed to God and St. Kentigern, and Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, and all his successors for ever, that they shall hold a burgh at Glasgow." The subsequent charter, obtained by Bishop Joceline from the same monarch, contains similar phraseology. The bishops, as has already been stated in these pages, were feudal superiors of the community, and as such had special favours conferred upon them by various kings, which favours they doled out to their vassals according as it suited their own convenience and interest. They were not, it must be admitted, hard taskmasters, when the times are considered. Then, again, James II., in his charter of 1450, granted on the foundation of the university, conveys to Bishop Turnbull, "for his good deeds and faithful services done to us in time past," certain very extensive privileges, detailed at length. Acting upon these charters, it appears to have been the custom of the bishops to appoint persons of power in the state to attend, on their behalf, to what may be considered the purely civil government of the community. These appointments seem to have been made without consideration of the wishes of the people, who were, indeed, perhaps unworthy of consultation, on account of the prevalent ignorance and superstition. In the quotation from Cleland it is stated that the right of election of magistrates and council was originally vested in the community, but that, owing to the contentions that arose, the mode was changed, and it was enacted that the old council should elect the new. There is no substantial need for controverting that averment, made generally of royal burghs, in so far as Glasgow is concerned. No definite information on the subject is available; but reasonable presumption may go a great length. If the community of Glasgow at any time elected its magistrates and council, the privilege must have been held from the bishops. It is probable, almost certain, that such a privilege had been conferred at some time or another, for there is the absolute certainty that it was withdrawn by Archbishop Beaton in 1553, as the instrument by "John Hamilton, Notary," shows. There is a further very noteworthy and important consideration, that the mode of election was changed in royal burghs by an Act of Parliament passed in 1469, while in Glasgow it was altered by "a formal deed" of Archbishop Beaton in 1553, no less than eighty-four years later. This is additional proof of the fact that Glasgow was not then a royal burgh, and that its inhabitants, though they may have possessed similar freedoms to those of royal

burghs, obtained them in a different manner and from a different source. It was scarcely likely that Archbishop Beaton, on the eve of a revolution, when the tide of affairs had set in against his party, would have attempted a direct infringement upon the rights of the people as granted by royalty—the rights must have been in possession of the high office he held: that they were so is proved by their continuing to be held by the Protestant possessors of the archiepiscopate for fully a century later.

Having endeavoured, from the midst of a mass of contradiction and misapprehension, to show the position of the general community of Glasgow to the bishops and archbishops as feudal superiors, and its material difference from that occupied by the people of royal burghs, it will next be interesting to consider the social status and privileges possessed by the various grades or classes in the city at this time. Speaking generally, the people were divided into two great classes—burgesses or freemen, and serfs or unfreemen. Those included in the latter class were slaves, neither more nor less, and in many instances, even so late as this, were not even in their own possession. They were prevented by penal enactments from overstepping the very narrow limits of their rights as human beings. The burgess class was subdivided into merchants and craftsmen; but the division, from a social point of view, appears to have been more sentimental than real. Admission to the burgess class was only to be obtained by certain payments, considerably beyond the power of the ordinary people. There had thus arisen a marked distinction between them and the lower orders, and for a long period that distinction may fairly be considered as hereditary. The power of making burgesses lay with the Town Council, who, upon the payment of a certain fixed sum, admitted an applicant as a merchant burgess; and this admission conferred upon the individual the right of carrying on business within the burgh. Also, by a fixed payment, less than that in the former case, a tradesman was permitted to exercise his calling in the city, but that only on the conditions that he had served the customary apprenticeship, and that he became a member of the incorporation of the trade to which he belonged. The deacons of these incorporations were assumed to look carefully to the interests of their trades, and to see that their members faithfully fulfilled the statutes made at various times by the Town Council. Such were, in brief, the privileges conferred upon the burgesses; and the restrictive laws and fines, by which these privileges were hedged around, rendered their infringement by an unfreeman a matter of considerable and serious moment. If at any time the Town Council was elected by the "community," these burgesses must have been the electing parties, and their choice was limited to the members of their

own class. Whatever doubt there may be on other questions, there can be none as regards the election at this period of the new council by the retiring one. The old council usually prepared a leet of persons eligible as magistrates, and presented it to the archbishop, who made his selection; and these magistrates, in turn, elected the council.

The magistrates of Glasgow were in possession of a very extensive jurisdiction over the conduct of the citizens, settling their private and public disputes, taking cognisance of breaches of the peace, and, in fact, combining to a great extent the functions of the present police, debts recovery, and sheriff courts. Indeed, many matters came before them that could not now be competently brought under the review of any of the courts mentioned. While, in the primitive days of the city, offenders against the law are believed to have been accommodated in a dungeon attached to the Cathedral, mention is made of a Tolbooth at the north-western corner of the High Street and Trongate, the site of the present Cross Steeple, as early as 1454, and this structure is understood to have remained in existence thirteen or fourteen years after the Reformation. What may have been the appearance of the city prison can only be faintly conjectured—that it would be insignificant and rude to modern eyes may be considered certain, though, at the same time, it may have been an architectural ornament to a city then architecturally poor.

CHAPTER XII.

(A.D. 1568 TO A.D. 1574.)

Appointment of "Tulchan" Archbishops—The Castle of Glasgow again Besieged—Gift by the Magistrates to the University—Extracts from the Burgh Records—Disturbance among the Baxters—Encroachments on the Green—Serious Riot by Burgesses.

UPON the disestablishment of the Roman Catholic Church, the people of Glasgow and the west of Scotland were placed under the spiritual superintendence of John Willocks, one of the most popular of the Reformation preachers. It is said that Sir Alexander Lauder, parson of Glasgow when Archbishop Beaton fled, was allowed to retain his benefice until his death, in 1564; but that could only have been on condition of his subscription

of the Protestant Confession of Faith. In the year mentioned, Archibald Douglas, previously dean of the diocese under the old rule, was appointed Lauder's successor as parish minister; but neither of them were looked upon as true Presbyterians. The "first Presbyterian minister" in Glasgow was David Wemyss, nominated in 1572, and on whose appointment the kirk-session of Glasgow was founded. So strong was the "protesting" feeling of the time, that the venerable Cathedral of Glasgow was thought to be a monument of the "popish idolatry," and as such was shunned, for it was not until 1572 that it was occupied as a place of worship by the adherents of the reformed religion. Nothing is known as to where the people met for religious purposes in the interval of twelve years. There does not seem to have been a complete change from Roman Catholic Episcopacy to Protestant Presbyterianism, for there appears to have been no provisions made for the conveyance of the Church revenues from their old channels. Accordingly, in 1571, John Porterfield was made "tulchan," or titular, Archbishop of Glasgow, in order that he might convey the revenues of the diocese from their former recipients with some appearance in law, but there is no record remaining of his mock prelacy. In 1572, James Boyd of Trochrig was preferred to the see. M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 31) says "he was a younger son of Adam Boyd of Pinkil, brother to Lord Boyd; his mother was a daughter of the house of Cassils; he was, when a very young man, with others of his kindred, at the field of Langside, for which he was obliged to take a remission, which I have seen. After that he entered on the ministry, and was settled at Kirkoswald, in Carrick, and by the Act settling episcopacy by the treaty of Leith, anno 1572, he was preferred to the Archbishopric of Glasgow." For several years the reign of this prelate was quiet and uneventful; and he would appear, in the exercise of the power held of old by the bishops and archbishops, to have appointed his uncle, Lord Boyd, as Provost of Glasgow.

But while the religious, or rather the ecclesiastical element, in Glasgow, had retired more into the background than hitherto, the civil history became more prominent, and at this time it is interesting, and not altogether devoid of stirring incidents. Pagan (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 20) narrates in his vigorous style how, "in 1570, the castle of Glasgow was again besieged by the Hamiltons and other partizans of the exiled Queen—the fortress being held as formerly for the Earl of Lennox, who had been nominated regent upon the murder of the Earl of Moray by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. As the governor was absent, and the garrison weak, the assailants were in high expectation that the castle would have been taken by surprise; but, being disappointed in

this, they made an effort to batter down the walls, and carry the place by storm. Although the garrison numbered only twenty-four men, they defended the castle with the most heroic bravery, and finally succeeded in driving off the besiegers with considerable loss. Within two or three days after they retired, a party of English soldiers, commanded by Sir William Drury, arrived in Glasgow, whence they marched to Hamilton Castle, which they besieged, took, and demolished, in retaliation for the assault made on the castle at Glasgow, and the injury which had been sustained by the inhabitants. In these days, the citizens of Glasgow looked upon the castigation of the Hamiltons with no small satisfaction, for they had not forgotten the grievous ills which the town had suffered from their party at the battle of the 'Butts;' and the remembrance of their slaughtered kinsmen and plundered homes nerved many a stout arm against the party of the Hamiltons and the Queen at the field of Langside." This siege occurred in May, 1570, and Tytler (*Hist. Scot.*, Nimmo's Ed., Vol. III., p. 328), after describing the renewal of hostilities between the two parties on the death of Regent Moray, states that Queen Elizabeth despatched the Earl of Lennox, her intended regent, and Sir William Drury, the Marshal of Berwick, at the head of twelve hundred foot and four hundred horse, to avenge the death of the regent upon the house of Hamilton. Founding upon the *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, he proceeds:—"This he [Lennox] and his colleague, the Marshal of Berwick, performed very effectually; for having advanced to Edinburgh, and formed a junction with Morton and his friends, they dispersed the Queen's faction, who were besieging the castle of Glasgow, and commenced a pitiless devastation of Clydesdale and Linlithgowshire, razing their castles, destroying their villages, and making a desert of the whole territory. In this expedition the palace of Hamilton, belonging to the Duke of Chatelherault, with his castles of Linlithgow and Kinneil, and the estates and houses of his kindred and partizans, were so completely sacked and cast down, that this noble and powerful house was reduced to the very brink of ruin." In the following year, 1571, the Castle of Dumbarton was taken from the queen's followers by Captain Crawford of Jordanhill, afterwards provost of the city, who marched from Glasgow.

At this time John Stuart of Minto was Provost of Glasgow, and he and the other magistrates show themselves to have been watchful of all the interests of the community over which they presided. In 1569, it was "statut and ordainit, be ye magistrats and counsil, yat ye pynt of wyne be sauld na darrer yan eighteen pennys ye pynt." But in addition to such very commonplace enactments, they made others, the subject of which added dignity

to them, and which reflect credit on these rulers of Glasgow. They had observed that the university was, notwithstanding the benefactions conferred on it by Queen Mary, still in a very poverty-stricken and decayed condition. It is stated that, including regents and students, it had only fifteen members, and that its total rental was only £300 Scots [£25 sterling]. To relieve it from this unfortunate condition, the magistrates conferred upon the university certain church lands they had received after the Reformation from Queen Mary. This grant was made on the 8th January, 1571-2, and it was confirmed by an Act of the Scottish Parliament passed on the 26th of the same month.

The burgh records give a most interesting glimpse into the state of the city at this time, and furnish pleasant descriptions of early municipal rule. Extracts from them have been several times published; but the most trustworthy and noteworthy is the volume edited for the Burgh Records Society by Dr. Marwick, the present Town-Clerk of Glasgow, who has brought his learning and large experience of municipal matters to bear upon a most valuable portion of the recorded history of the city. These abstracts embrace from 1573 to 1642, both years inclusive. The first entry narrates that on the 19th of January, 1573-4, at the "Heid Court, efter Yule, of the burght and citie of Glasgw, halden in Tolbuyth thairof, by Robert, Lord Boyd, provost, George Elphinston, Archibald Lyoun, and Thomas Fleming, baillies of the samyn; and James Speir, doomster, . . . James Anderson, millare, hes thre scabbit hors; Johne Gammyll hes ane; Thomas Scott hes ane; and Thomas Will hes ane scabbit hors. Quhilkis persones ar ordainit to be warnit to the nixt court to heir thame decernit to be handillit conforme to the auld statutis maid anent scab and fairsay, and to be sichtit be Archibald Muir and Thomas Waterston." The cases to be next quoted throw some light upon the plague, which, in 1563, is said to have visited the city, and to have caused great devastation among the inhabitants. Four "personnes ar dilatit as lepir, and ordainit to be viseit, and gif thai be fund sua, to be secludit of the toun to the hospitall at the Brigend." This hospital would be the one founded by Lady Lochow during the episcopate of Bishop Rae. Passing on it will be found that on "the quhilk daye, Margaret Andro, spous to Johne Andersoune, cordiner, is fund in the wrang and amerchiament of court, for turblance done be hir to Jonet Tailyour dochtir to James Tailyour, in striking of hir and rugging furth of hir hair, vpone the heigate of Glasgw, vpon Sundaye the viij daye of Januare instant, within the tyme callit of auld the proclamatioun of Yule girtht, and now of abstinence, and dwme [doom or sentence] gevin thairupone; and thairfor is decernit to mak the said Jonet ane amendis, be the sicht of tua nychtbouris; and

William Andersoune, maltman, is becumin cautioner for makyng the said amendis." At the same court "Johne Birll, chepman," pursued "Patrik Spreull for turblance done be him vpon the xi of Januare instant, within the tyme of the proclamatioun of feriat tyme and abstinence, in invadyng of him, and strykying of him with ane quhinger, and schutyng on the wallis, throuch the quhilk the said Johnes neis wes voundit to the effusioun of his blude."

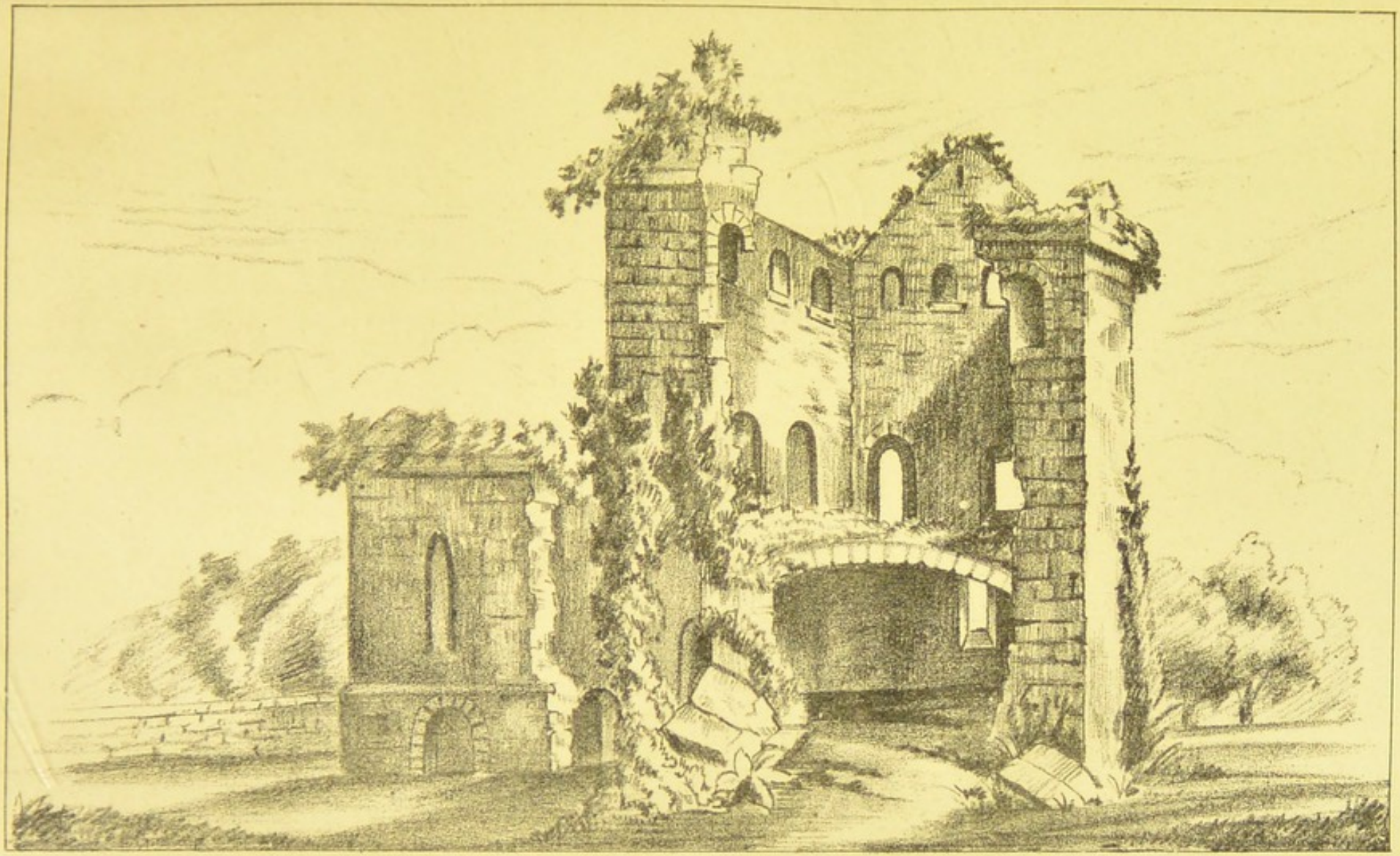
At the court held on the 26th January, 1573-4, the authority then possessed by the deacon of an incorporation over the members of his trade is exhibited, and an amusing "baxters' battle" is described. It is stated that "Alexander Scott, baxter, is fund in the wrang and amerchiament of court for stopping George Young, dekyn, fra entering in his buyth to exerce the statute anentis the weying of his breid; and als William Neilsoun is fund in the wrang in likmaner for iniuryng of the said George his dekyn; and the said George is fund in the wrang for stryking of the said Williame Neilsoun; and als Williame Andersone and Thomas Glen ar fund in the wrang for baiking and haveing insufficient breid, contrar the statutis of the toune; and dwme gevin heirupon." But this did not end the dispute, which must have caused considerable stir in the city at the time, for on the 29th January, "Alexander Scott, baxtare, is fund in the wrang and amerchiament of court for turblance done be him to George Young, baxtare, in settyng of the quheit mylne thrys, and nocht suffering the said George to grynd, he haveand his stuff thairon and licence thairto, and dwme gevin thairon." The inference is that because of the previous case, Scott subjected his deacon to some annoyance in the grinding of his wheat. The following will also illustrate a custom of the city:—On the 16th March, 1574, "Johne Roger, fischer, is fund in the wrang and amerchiament of court, for contrauenyng of the statutis, in nocht presentyng of his salmond to the mercat and sellyng the samyn in houssis, nocht beyng presentit to the mercat." Alexander Rankene and Patrik Graynger were also "fund in the wrang" for buying the salmon not in open market. "Johne Blakwood" was found in the wrong at the same diet of court for "delvyng doun of the erd besyde St. Tenaw's Woll, quhilk is commoun, purposyng to appropriat the samyn to himself." This well was situated near the West Port. Again, on the 26th March, two important appointments are made:—"Johne Wilsoun is maid nethir towne hird for this present yeir, and Thomas Arscoun is maid overtoun hird in lykmaner, to be equall in proffett;" while the responsibility of their office is shown by the necessity of their finding security "for thair gude seruice." A week later, on the 2nd of April, "Thomas Craig, cordiner, is fund in the wrang for non-compearance; and

als for the transportyng of the gallows at his awin hand furtht of the auld accustomat place sa neir hand the towne; and is ordainit to repone the samyn agane." The gallows, then a most useful preserver of the peace, was placed on the Gallow Muir, at the east end of the Gallowgate; and, for whatever purpose Thomas Craig removed it, the loss of such an instrument must have given great alarm to the magistrates. But besides keeping their self-willed and unruly citizens in order, the magistrates took into consideration many matters affecting the appearance of the city. They were canny and pawky withal, and as their revenues were limited they sought to effect the greatest possible improvement at the least possible outlay. On the 24th April, 1574, it was "statute, thocht gude and ordainit, be the prouest, baillies and counsale, that the westir ruinous gavill of the Blackfreir Kirk and the stanes thairof be tane doun, and be the skellat precedyng rowpit and sauld to the maist avale, and the price thairof conuertit and applyt to the mendyng of the wyndois and ministeris sait in the said Kirk." Probably, in addition to the desertion of the Blackfriars monastery on the Reformation, some injury had been done to the church in connection with it by turbulent bands during the period of civil strife which followed.

Encroachments on the Green are shown by these Burgh Records to be no new thing, for as far back as 1574 the magistrates required to be reminded of their duty in that respect. It would appear as if they had been apportioning the handsome gift of King James II. among certain favoured individuals, and their conduct then, as since on similar occasions, caused a great commotion among the towns-people. The opposition becomes apparent, so far as the records are concerned, on the 1st May, 1574, when at the meeting of Council there "compearit William Maxuell, merchand, in name of the merchandis, and sax dekynnis of craftis in name of the haill craftis and haill communitie, and disassentit fra the geving furth or delyng of ony pairt of the commone muris to James Boyde, or to ony utheris mair nor is ellis [already] delt, and protestit that the partis thairof ellis [already] delt and gevin furtht, by thair consentis in tymes bigane, suld nocht prejuge tham, bot that thai may have tym and place for recallyng and remeid thairof." Possibly the James Boyd mentioned in the extract may have been some relation of the archbishop, who, during his occupancy of the see, showed a liberality towards his relatives quite consistent with the times. That the Green had been encroached upon previously is evident upon the face of the protest urged by the deputation, as they seek that the gifts of other times should not prejudge their case, and establish a precedent. It was not for some years later that the matter was settled, the

magistrates being either unwilling or unable, from reasons not now known, to give effect to the protest of the people.

The magistrates already mentioned as sitting at the Yule Court, and who presided on the subsequent days, held "a court of perambulatioun of the merchis of the burght and citie of Glasgw," in June, 1574, and put to rights a number of overturned and displaced stones, &c. At the ordinary court, on the 4th of the same month, a case of disturbance was brought up which must have been of the dimensions of a riot, and created the greatest sensation in the community. The record proceeds:—"The quhilk daye [4th June, 1574], Johne Pollok of that ilk being persewit be James Andersoun, officer, for turblans done be him vpone Monandaye the last daye of Maij last wes, in presentyng and offering to have schot him with ane pistolat, manassyng [menacing] and doing that in him laye to have slane and schot him; and also Andro Steward being accusit for turblance done be him to the haill tounschip, prouest, baillies, and communitie, thai exerceing thair office in brynging the said Johne to the hous of justice, schutand, strykand, and turbland all maner of persones being in that company to that effect; the saidis Johne and Andro bayth personalie present become in the said prouest and baillies willis for the premissis, and Johne Wilsoun, pewderar, is becumin cautioner for the said Johne, and Gavine Grhame cautioner for the said Andro Steward, that thai respective sall fulfill and vnderly the said prouest and baillies willis, and the saidis Johne and Andro ar becuming actit to releve thair saidis securities respective of the premissis." But the matter did not end here, for on the 11th June following, "Johne Pollok, cowper, Eduard Pollok, skynner, and Hectour Dunlop, wrycht, burgessis of Glasgw, ar fund be probatioun of famous witnes in the wrang for cuming in armes contrar to the prouest, baillies, and haill tovnschip, vsand the executione of thair office, comand aganis thair aithis [oaths] maid be thame the tyme thai wes maid burgessis, concurrand with Johne Pollok of that ilk, rebelland contrar the tovn, doand that in thame lay (quhilk wes nathing to be reknyt) to stop him fra cuming or brynging him to the tolbuyth for trublance of the toun; and thairfor the baillies and counsale ordainis the saidis persones fredomes to be cryit doun be ane officiar vpone ane mercate daye on the cors; and als ar ordanit to be retenit in firmance in the heych tolbuyth, aye and quhill thai fynd cautioune to mak amendis and repentance to the kirk for breking of thair aithis, and to fulfill sick iniunctiounes as the kirk will devys for the samyn." Such is the record of what seems to have been a serious disturbance. The city, however, does not appear in the most tranquil condition, for the magistrates, on the 6th July of the same year, thought it necessary to ordain "everilk



RUINS OF ARCHBISHOP'S CASTLE ABOUT 1750.

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buytht halder [booth-holder] to have in reddines within the buytht ane halbert, jak and steil bonet, for eschewyng of sick inconuenientis that may happin, conforme to the auld statute maid thairanent, vnder the panes contenit in the samyn."

Among sundry enactments by the magistrates on the 21st August, 1574, there were these items:—"The prouest, baillies, and counsale, at my Lord of Glasgwis requeist, hes supersedit the small custum of the brig, and dischargit the samyn to be tane fra the baronie men of Glasgw beyond the brig, quhile thai be ferther avysit. Item, for kepyng of the Sondaye, it is statute and ordanit that ilk Sondaye befoir none ane of the baillies, with ane officer, and sum vther honest men, pass throuch the toun to vise tavernis and flesche mercat, and incais ony flesche be fund selland eftir nyne houris the samyn to be eschetit and disponit to the pure, and the keparis of tavernis dischargit [license withdrawn]; and gif thai contempne, to be punist at the sicht of the prouest, baillies, and counsale."

CHAPTER XIII.

(A.D. 1574 TO A.D. 1575.)

The Cathedral Repaired by the Citizens—Mode of Election of Magistrates and Council—The Burgh Statutes—"Taisting the Aill"—Precautions against the Pest—The Privacy of the Council Meetings—Markets Arrangements.

ON the 25th of August, 1574, the Cathedral was considered to be in such a dilapidated state, as to stand in great need of repair. It had been injured by the riotous conduct of the populace at the time of the Reformation in 1560, who, with the following licence from the Lords of the Congregation, had treated the Church of St. Mungo with scant respect:—"Traist friendis, after maist hearty commendacion, we pray ye fail not to pass incontinent to the Kirk [of Glasgow, or any other] and tak doun the haill images thereof, and bring furth to the kirkzyard, and burn thaym openly. And sicklyke cast doun the alteris, and purge the kirk of all kynd of monuments of idolatrye. And this ze fail not to do, as ze will do us singular emplesur; and so committis you to the protection of God.—(Signed) Ar. Argyle: James Stuart: Ruthven. From Edinburgh, the xii. of August, 1560. Fail not, bot ze tak guid heyd that neither the dasks,

windocks, nor durris, be ony ways hurt or broke, either glassin wark or iron wark."

In regard to Glasgow Cathedral, however, the people seem to have gone beyond their instructions. It has been stated that the tumult was led by the Duke of Chatelherault, and in the course of the confusion, among other things, the magnificent tomb of Archbishop Dunbar was destroyed. When the angry feelings of the Reformation times had to a certain extent died away, better thoughts towards the venerable Church of Glasgow arose in the minds of the citizens, who could scarcely avoid having a pride in their elegant Cathedral. Accordingly, under date of 21st August, 1574, the Burgh Records bear that "the prouest, baillies, and counsale, with the dekynnis of the craftis and diuers wtheris honest men of the toun, convenand in the counsalhous, and haveand respect and consideratio unto the greit dekaye and ruyne that the hie Kirk of Glasgw is cum to, throuch taking awaye of the leid, sclait, and wther grayth [material] thairof, in this trublus tyme bygane, sua that sich ane greit monument will alluterlie fall doun and dekey without it be remedit; and becaus the helping thairof is sa greit and will extend to mair nor thai may spair, and that thai ar nocht addettit to the vphaldyng and reparyng thairof be the law, yet of thair awin fre willis vncompellit, and for the zele thai beir to the kirk, of meir almous and liberalitie, sua that induce na practik nor preparative in tymes cuming, conforme to ane writting to be maid thairanent, all in ane voce hes consentit to ane taxt and impositioun of twa hundredtht pundis money [Scots, £16, 13s. 4d. sterling] to be taxt and payit be the townschip and fremen thairof for helping to repair the said kirk and haldyng of it wattirfast." A committee of prominent citizens was appointed to carry out the work.

Passing again to consider the municipal government of the city at this time, most important light is thrown upon the election of magistrates and council by an entry in the Burgh Records, dated 5th October, 1574. It is as follows:—

"The court of the burght and citie of Glasgw, for creatioun and presenting of lytis [leets] for the baillies and prouest, [held] be ane nobill lord Robert lord Boyd, George Elphinstoun, Archibald Lioun, and James Flemyng, auld baillies, haldin in the tolbuytht thairof, the fyft daye of October the yeir of God j^{m} v^{c} lx fourtene yeris.

"The quhilk day, the auld baillies and counsale ordainit ane commissioun to be maid and selit to ane noble lord Robert lord Boyd, of the office of provestrie of the said burght and citie for this yeir to cum quhill Michaelmes nixtocum, conforme to vse and wont, and that according to my lord archibischop of Glasgwis nominatione of him, contenit in ane writting subscriuit be his

hand, quhilk the said lord Boyd producit and desyrit to be registrat in thir buikis, of the quhilk lettir the tenour followis:—We, James, be the mercie of God, archibischop of Glasgw, vnderstandyng the habilite and qualification of ane noble lord Robert lord Boyd, baillie of oure barone of Glasgw, in ministratioun of justice wrychtlie to all persounes, and that the office of prouestre of the burcht and cietie of Glasgw hes newir or seyndill bene separatit in sindry persounes handis fra the baillierie of oure baronie foirsaid, thairfore, and for sindry considerationes moving ws, we have nominat and presentit, as be the tenoure heirof nominatis and presentis the said noble lorde Robert lorde Boyd prouest of our said burght and cietie of Glasgw for this instant yeir tocum, and siclyk yeirlie in all tymes cumyng heireftir following, incaise it plese him to accept the samyn on him, during all the dayis of our lyftime, wissing and desyring the baillies counsale and communite of oure said cietie, present and to cum, to geve, seill, and to deliuer to him thair commissione of the said office of prouestrie, conforme to vse and wont, for this instant yeir, and siclik yeirlie at Michaelmes in tymes cumyng duryng oure livetyme, gif he will accept the samyn as said is; and this our present nominatioun, irreuocablie to be obseruit be ws; to all and sindry quhome effeiris we mak knawin be thir presentis subscrywit with oure hand, at Glasgw, the fyft daye of October, the yeir of God j^{m} v^{c} threscoir fourtene yeiris, befoir thir witnes, maister Andro Haye, persoune of Renfrew, maister Williame Scott, and maister Henry Gibsoune, etc. The prouest hes resauit the originale heirof in presens of the baillies and hail counsale.

"The quhilk daye, my lord prouest requeistit the auld baillies and counsale to suffer certane dekynnis of craftis to be admittit to cum in the counsalhous to stand and heir the lytis of the baillies chosin and nominat this yeir, but [without] preiudice of the priuileges, liberteis, or vse in votyng, owther of craftis or merchandis, in ony yeir thereftir; at quhais requeist the said baillies and auld counsale hes permittit thre dekynnis of craftis to be present in the counsalhous, to stand by, heir, and see the said lytis nominat this yeir onelie, sua that induce na practik in tymes thereftir.

"Lytis lytit be the prouest, baillies, and auld counsale, to be presentit to my lord archibischop of Glasgw for nemmyng [naming] of twa or thre of thame in baillies for this instant yeir to cum, requeisting allwayis to my lord to nominat thre in respect of the multitude of the peple and trubles in office:—George Elphinstoun, Archibald Lyoun, James Flemyng, auld baillies; maister Adame Wallace, William Conyghame, Johne Flemyng, merchand, Johne Wilsoun, pewderar, James Braidwood, cordiner. Quhilkis lytis being presentit that samyn instant

daye to my lord archibischop of Glasgw, and the requeist foirsaid maid to him, he nominat baillies for this instant yeir, George Elphinstoun, Archibald Lyoun, maister Adame Wallace."

On the following day, the 6th October, 1574, there was another meeting, at which "the foirsaidis prouest and baillies ressauit thair commissiones, acceptit the samyn on thame, and gaif thair aithe for leill and trew administratione in thair offices duryng the tyme thairof, and thaireftir thai, accumpaneit with the auld baillies, chesit the counsale for the yeir to cum, suorne thairto.

"Consilium pro presenti anno [council for the present year]:—James Flemyng, David Lyone, Williame Conyghame, Andro Baillie, Robert Steward, William Rowat, tailyour, Andro Riche, thesaurare, David Lyndsaye, elder, George Herbertsoun, Johne Flemyng, Johne Wilsoun, pewderar, Johne Gilmour, cordiner, George Young, baxtare, William Watt, maister of work.

"Lynaris [liners] for this present yeir:—Williame Watt, Robert Mure, merchand, Johne Arbukle, Johne Flemyng, Mathow Wilsoun.

"Lytis for the officiaris:—James Andersoun, Robert Lettrik, Johne Stobo, Johne Fowlare, John Watsoun, youngar, Thomas Robesoun. Officiaris for this present yeir:—James Andersoun, Robert Lettrik, Johne Stobo, John Watsoun, youngar.

"Wattir baillie for this present yeir:—Maister Williame Logane.

"Commone procuratour for this present yeir:—James Flemyng, commissionare.

"The keiparis of the keyis for this present yeir:—Johne Arbukle, the key of the south lok of the mekle schryne [the chest containing the burgh documents]; Robert Mure, the key of the north lok thairof; James Flemyng, the hyngand lokis [padlock] key of the samyn; David Lindsaye, ane of the keyis of the litle kist within the schryne; Johne Flemyng, wther key thairof; David Lyone, the key of the box quhairin the commone seill is."

As part of the same entry are given the statutes for the year 1574, which were each year passed immediately after the election, with such emendations as altered circumstances or maturer experience rendered necessary. Statutes of a similar nature have already been quoted; but, instead of a selection, those for 1574 are all given, and they supply interesting information regarding the social condition of the people.

"Statuta pro presenti anno septuagesimo quarto [statutes for the present year '74]:—

"Item, it is statute and ordanit be the baillies and counsale of Glasgw, that thair be na derare aill sauld nor sax penneis [halfpenny sterling] the pynt, and that the samyn be kingis aill

and werraye guid vnder the pane of viijs [eightpence sterling] for the first falt, the secund falt delyng of the brewing, the third falt breking of the lwmes; and that nane brew except fremen, or the relictis of fremen, under pane of delyng of thair brewing and breking of the lwmes.

"Item, it is statute and ordanit that the foure pennie laif wey xiiij vnce, guid and sufficient stuff, weill baikin breid, and that ilk baxter have ane prent on thair breid sua that the samyn maye be knawin, vnder the pane of viijs.; and that the deikin of the craft visie [examine] the breid and exerce this statute scherplie, and gif he be fundin negligent he to be poneist be the baillies and counsale as repugnant to the commoun wealtht.

"Item, it is statute and ordanit that thir be na myddynnis [middens] laid vpone the foirgate, nor yit on the greyn, and that na fleschouris teyme thair vschawis [refuse] vpon the foirgate, vnder the pane of viiijs. ilk falt, vnforgewin, and that na stanes nor tymmer ly on the gate langir nor yeir and daye, vnder the pane of escheting of thame.

"Item, it is statute and ordanit that thair be na blawin muttoun, nor breding of flesche, vnder the pane of viijs.; that na tallowne [tallow] be sauld of greit quantitie to pas af the toun quhill Faustrenis ewin, vnder the pane of eschetyng thairof; and that na fleschouris by talloun nor deid flesche to sell agane, vnder the pane of escheting of the samyn; and that baytht fleschouris and fischeris present thair haill flesche and fische that thai bring to the toune all at anis to the mercat, vnder the pane of eschetyng of samekle as beis fund hid in houssis, and siclik all kynd of fischeis be presentit to the mercat togidder.

"Item, it is statute and ordanit that thair be na tallowne derare sauld nor xvijs. [1s. 5d. sterling] the stane, and that nane be sauld to outtintownes men, vnder the pane of eschetyng of the samyne, and that na fleschouris by tallowne in preiudice of the towne vnder the pane of viijs. ilk falt.

"Item, it is statute that the pund of candill be sauld for tuelf penneis [1d. sterling] the pund, and that the samyn be small wickett and weill tallownit, vnder the pane of viijs.; and that na vnfre [unfree] persounes mak candellis to sell agane, vnder the pane foirsaid.

"Item, it is statute and ordanit that na hukstaris in haye, straye, nor corne to top or sell quhidder thai be fre or vnfre, without thai haue stabillyng, vnder the pane of viijs.; and that na corne remane in the mercat quhill x houris of the daye, vnder the said pane to be tane of the byar and alsmuckle of the seller.

"Item, it is statute and ordanit that gif ony maltman sellis

his malt to vnfre persones within the burght he sall nocht have to persew the samyn befoir nowther prouest nor baillies.

"Item, it is statute and ordanit that na maltman by beir in the mercat and send awaye the malt thairof to wther placeis downe the watter of Clyde, bot that he present the samyn to the mercat of Glasgw, ilk falt viijs., vnforgewin.

"Item, the prouest, baillies, and counsale, vnderstandand the name of God to be blasphemit, and the comand thairanent to be maist oppinlie brokin, but [without] pwnischment in this toun, thairfoir it is statute and ordanit that na maner of persoun or persounes blaspheme Goddis name, owther be bannyng or suering, in tymes cumyng, vnder the pane of wnlawis contenit in the actis of parliament; and ordanis thair officiaris to pas throw the towne daylie and tak tryall and pvneiss the samyn, conforme to the actis of parliament.

"Item, it is statute and ordanit that thair be na muttoun scoirit on the bak nor na pairt thairof, nor yit battin doun befoir, bot ane scoir owder befoir or behynd, wnder the pane of viijs. ilk falt; and that na martes be bowbredit nor lattin doun, vnder the said pane; and that the hydis and skynnis, with tallone, nocht tarladerit, be brocht witht the bouikis togiddir to the mercat, vnder the said pane.

"Item, anent the viseying [visiting] of the mele mercat, ordanis ane of the counsale, with ane officer awaytand on him, ilk Monondaye and Frydaye ouklie [weekly] about, se, cers, awayit and atend on the said mercat, vnder the pane of viijs. incais of refuse; and that the baillies visie the rest of the mercatis.

"Visitouris of the corne mercate:—Johne Sproule, Johne Wyse.

"Item, it is statute and ordanit that thir persones vnderwrittin, euery within the gaytis quhair yai duell, pas owklie [weekly] throcht the samyn, and taist the aill brewin within the boundis limitat to thame, to se gif the samyn be sufficient, accordyng to the price taxt thairupon, and quha borewis that ar unfre, and to reporte the samyn owklie to the baillies. For the Rattonraw and Drygate, Johne Dalrumpill, Johne Spreull; fra the Wyndheid to the Blakfreris, Cuthbert Herbertsoun, Williame Rowat; fra the Blakfreris to the Croce, Archibald Mure, Johne Tailyour; for the Gallogate and Troyngate, John Woddrop, Johne Bell; fra the Corss to the Nethir Barasyett, Matthow Wilsoun, James Craig; fra the Barasyett to the Brig and Stokuell, Johne Arbuckill, Johne Gilmour, Gilbert Newlands.

"Item, it is statute that all owtintownes burgessis, nocht duelland within the toune, sall pay custumes vsit and wont of auld in the towne, except in tyme of fayris.

"Item, the baillies, counsale and dekynnis consentis to ane statute to be maid be the minister and kirk [session] for the downeputting and dischargeing of ryotus bancatyng at brydalles, baptisyng of barnes, or vpsitting, as thai sall devise thairanent."

Such are the Burgh Statutes of 1574, and they discover a curious aspect of affairs. The difference of the state of burgesses and unfreemen is very distinctly brought out. In the "item" third from the end the extent of the city is shown; and a smile will be raised at the thought of the worthy burgesses, in couples, "taisting the aill" within their district. Possibly the home-coming after their labours may have been somewhat undignified for such important municipal officers. Then it is to be seen from these and other quotations from the records, that the police system was in an infantile stage, and that the "officers" were merely attendants of the bailies, who themselves acted as constables and market inspectors.

In this same year the "prouest, baillies and counsale" were greatly exercised as to a report that the "contagious seiknes callit the pest" had arisen in the realm; and at a meeting on the 29th October they took such precautions as seemed necessary to prevent their towns-people catching contagion. Persons from Leith, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, and Burntisland, all suffering from the pest, were not to be allowed to enter the city; and the inhabitants of Glasgow were forbidden to visit or have any traffic with these places "vnder the pane of deid." Again, as the disease was believed to have infected a portion of Edinburgh, it was ordained that no inhabitants of Glasgow were to go to Edinburgh without a testimonial; and on their return they were to produce another testimonial from one of the Edinburgh bailies, that they had not had traffic with suspected persons. Those who failed to do all this were "to suffer the deid, and thair guidis to fall in eschete alsua [also]." Strangers and travellers were not to be allowed lodging within the city unless on the production of the necessary "testimonials;" and all beggars, pipers, minstrels, and vagabonds were to be sent out of the town during the time of the pest, with the exception of such as were natives of the "burght or parochin." It was also penal for the master of a house failing to report the sickness of any person under his care. For the execution of these enactments a large number of persons was appointed searchers in the several districts of the city, and punishment followed on any obstruction to them in the course of their duty. In addition, it was ordained that the four principal gates of the city—the Stable Green, Gallowgate, Trongate, and South Port, or "Nethir Barrasyett"—were to be "kepit continewalie, and at ewin the portaris [were] to deliuer the keyes to ane of the baillies;" and the Rottenrow, Drygate, and Grayfriar ports were to be locked,

the keys being given to one of the bailies, and no one was to be allowed to pass through them without special licence from the magistrates. To finish all, the "Sculehouss Wynd and all the wennellis [vennels] to be simpliciter condampnit and skekit up." This state of siege seems to have saved the city from a visitation of the plague, from which it had so frequently and severely suffered in former times.

Some information as to the law of debtor and creditor at this period may be gained from the following entry, dated 4th March, 1574-5:—"Anent the supplicatione gevin in be Matho Flemyng, bering that he hes bene haldin in the hiecht tolbuytht in ward be the space of four wlkis [weeks] bipast for nonfulfilling of ane rolment [order, or decree of court] at the instans of Alexander Rynd, for ane hogheid hering, price xij merkis [13s. 4d. sterling], and hes nathing to sustene him vpon nor had bot the almous in the toun sen his inputting, and offerit to sueir him bair that he hes na kynd of guddis wortht vs. [5d. sterling] nor may get ony to pay the dett, and thairfore desyrit releif, the baillies, eftir the hering of the said complaynt, causit the said desyre to be publist be John Watsone, officer, publicklie vpoun the mercat croce, warnand all and sindry haveand entres [interest] thairto; and becaus nane comperit to ganesay the samyn and that the said Matho instantlie gaif his aytht suerand [swearing] him bayr as sayd is, and nane wald sustene him in ward, thai leit him stand in the tolbuytht."

On the 25th March, 1575, decree was given, at the instance of Andrew Melville and Peter Blackburn, regents of the University, against several parties, who were ordained to remove from certain lands in "Brwmelaw, Langcroft, Crapint, Mutland Croft, Dowhill," "the vicar of queiris yardis," &c., "pertening to the said vniuersite be the gift gevin to thame be the toun." Passing to the 10th May of the same year, "Johne Gilmour, cordiner," was before the court for "trublans done be him to William Brys, in stryking of him on the haffet with his neifis on the hie gait, vpone the viij of Maij instant; and the said William is decernit in the wrang for invadying of the said Johne with ane drawin quhinger, vpoun the brig of Glasgw, lang thaireftir, the said daye; and als Robert Crauford is fund in the wrang for turblans done be the said Robert to the said Williame in taking of him be the thropill and wesand and castyng of him to the erd, trampyng and dumpyng him with his feit cruellie, the said daye; and dwme gevin thairvpoun." An entry on May 27 shows that "George Esdale, sclater, is maid burges and frieman . . . quhais fynes wes remittit to him be the prouest baillies and counsale for his lauboris done be him to the Hie Kirk." A number of "unfreemen" were warned, on the 31st May, for overstepping their bounds by purchasing some skins in the

burgh. On the 22nd September several statutes were passed by the council, one of them being that a new common well in the Gallowgate was to be "oppinit daylie in the mornyng and lockit at ewin;" another, that all salt was to be presented at the market under a penalty of 8d. sterling for the first offence, 1s. 4d. sterling for the second, and confiscation for the third.

The 4th October, 1575, was the day of the selection of a leet of magistrates for the approval of the archbishop, and Lord Boyd, in virtue of the commission already recorded, was formally re-appointed chief magistrate. The archbishop made his selection on the 10th, and at the meeting of council immediately following, it was enacted that "gif ony persone of the counsale happinis to revele ony thing spokin or tretit in counsale as counsale, salbe removit of the counsale and neuir in tymes cuming to be admittit vpon the counsale agane bot haldin [in] infame and thair fredomes callit doun." Some one must have been "telling tales out of school," and given annoyance to the authorities, who would seem to have conducted their business in the strictest privacy. The statutes as to the markets were renewed, and the prices of various articles fixed. All hides and skins were to be brought to the market, under a fine of 8d. sterling in default; and the meal market was appointed to open at ten o'clock, while any one forestalling it laid himself under the pain of the usual fine. All "crames" with woollen cloth were to stand above the Cross, and those with linen beneath the Cross, under the statutory penalty, except in the case of freemen who had booths or shops, and whose "crames" might stand opposite their own doors. The bailies were also appointed to visit the markets for "butter, cheis, mele, beir, and wtheris," to see that the statutes were observed.

At the "heid court eftir Michaelmes," held on the 11th October, 1575, "James Rankene is fund in the wrang and amerciament of court for the taking downe at his awne hand of ane greit croce liand in the Rattounraw pertenying to the toun, and thairfore is becumin in the prouest and baillies will; and dwme gevin thairupone." Again, "Johne Wilsoune and James Andersoun, fleschouris, burgessis of Glasgw, ar fund in amerciamentis and vnlawis for absentyng thame fra the generall wapynschawing haldin on the Greyne, the x daye of October instant, thai being within the toun the said daye, and contemptuslie abydand thairfra; and dwme gevin thairupone."

CHAPTER XIV.

(A.D. 1575 TO A.D. 1577.)

Murder of a Glasgow Burgess and Strange Law of Compound —Encroachment on the Liberties of Glasgow and Dumbarton —Sunday Fishing—Settlement of "The Green" Dispute— The First Clockmaker in Glasgow—The Town Mill in Decay —Grant by the Council to a Surgeon—The Town Mills.

THERE is an entry in the records, of date 29th November, 1575, which discloses to view a strange law or custom, of which this must be among the latest examples; and which, at the same time, makes known the fact that a burgess of Glasgow lost his life at the hand of a fellow-citizen and freeman. In every respect the entry is interesting, for the names of some of the most prominent inhabitants of the city are mentioned in it; and the deed of which it indirectly tells the story must have caused no little sensation in such a community.

The record states that "the quhilk daye, in presens of Williame Conyghame, ane of the baillies of Glasgw, comperit the parteis vnderwrittin, witht thair cautionaris eftir-specifeit, and producit this contract vnderwrittin maid betwix thame subscriuit witht thair handis as follows, and desirit the samyn to be insert in the burro court buikis of Glasgw to haif the strentht of ane decreit of the prouest and baillies thairof, thair authoritie to be interponit thairinto, witht executoriales to pas thairupone in forme as efferis, quhilke desyre the baillie thocht ressonable and resauit the said contract and ordanit the samyn to be registrat in the said buikis and decernit the samyn to have the strentht of ane decreit of the said court, interponit his authoritie thairto, witht executoriales to pas thairupone in forme as efferis; off the quhilk contract the tenour followis: At Glasgw, the penult daye of November, the yeir of God j^{m} v^{c} lxxv yeiris, it is appoyntit, aggreit, and finalie endit betuix thir parties vnderwritten, thai ar to saye, Margaret Carnys, relict of vmquhile Niniane McLitster, burges of Glasgw, and William McLitster, his sone and aire, for thame selfis and takand the burding on thame for the remanent barneis, kyn, freyndis and allya of the said vmquhile Niniane McLitster, on that ane part, and Dauid Syare, sone and apperand aire to Niniane Syare, siclik burges of Glasgw, takand the burding on him for the said Niniane his father, on that wther

parte, in maner, forme, and effect as eftir followis, that is to saye, forsamekle as the said Margaret Carnys and Williame McLitster, his sone, for thameselfis, as nerrest of kyn to the said vmquhile Niniane, and takand the burding on thame for the said vmquhile Ninianes remanent barnes and wtheris, his kyn, freyndis; and allya, and partakerris quhatsumeuir, hes remittet and forgevin, as be the tenour heirof remittis and forgevis the said Niniane Syare the malice and hantrent [hatred] of thair hartis for the slauchter of the said vmquhile Niniane McLitster, committit and done be the said Niniane Syare, with quhatsumeuir actioun criminale or wtherwys that thai had, hes, or maye have thairfor aganis the said Niniane Syare, or ony wther his kyn, freyndis, allya, assisteris, or partakaris, and sall hald thame as freyndis but [without] rancour of myndis, siclik as thai were befoir the committing of the said slauchter, likas the samyn had neuer bene done or committit, to be put furtht of thair myndis and memories in all tymes cumyng, and sall continew in freyndschip and amite witht the said Niniane Syare, Dauid his sone, thair kyn, freyndis, allya, assisteris and partakeris siclik in tyme cuming; and farther, saidis Margaret and Williame to that effect and performance thairof, sall seill, subscriue, and deliuer to the said Niniane Syare ane sufficient Lettir of Slayanes, in dew and competent forme, for the said vmquhile Ninianes slauchter of his brancheis, conforme to vse in sick caissis betuix and the first daye of Februare nixt and immediatlie following the daye and dait heirof. For the quhilkis premissis to be done and done in maner foirsaid respectiue, the said Dauid, takand the burding on him for his father, sall caus the said Niniane his father to compere in the Hie Kirk of Glasgw the xi daye of December nixtocum and thair mak the homage and repentence for the said slauchter, witht sick circumstances and cerymonies as salbe ordanit and devysit be Colene Campbell and Robert Steward, burgessis of Glasgw, chosin and admittit be baytht the parteis to that effect; and forther, the said Dauid, takand the burding as said is, as principall, and Johne Schakschaw, Dauid Hall and James Wilsoun, merchand burgessis of Glasgw, ilk ane of the thre for the third part of the said sowme vnderwrittin, diuism, oblissis thame, thair airis, executoris and assignayis, to content and paye to the said Margaret and Williame McLitster, for thameselfis and in thair name of the said vmquhile Niniane McLitsteris remanent barnes, the sowme of thre hundreth merkis money [£16, 13s. 4d. sterling] in name of kynbute for the said slauchter, at the terms following, viz., the equall half thairof at Vitsondaye nixt eftir the dait heirof, and the rest and remanent of the said haill sowme at Vitsondaye thaireftir in the lx sewintene ['77] yeiris; and George Elphinstoun of Blythisuod, oblissis him,

his airis and assignayis, to releue the said James Wilsoun and his foirsaidis of his part of the said sowme and cautioun foirsaid; and Johne Stewarde of Bowhous oblissis him, his airis and assignayis, to releve the said Johne Schakschaw and Dauid Hall and thair foirsaidis of thair partis of the said sowme and cautioun cumyng abouewrittin, at the said Margaret and Williameis handis; and the saidis Niniane and Dauid Syare his sone, oblissis thame, thair airis, executoris and assignayis, to releif and keip skaythles all the cautioneris afoir written of the said sowme, at the said Margaret and Williameis handis. And for fulfilling heirof, the saidis parteis foirsaidis ar content that this present contract be insert in the burro court buikis of Glasgw, to have the strentht of ane decreit of thair court of the prouest and baillies thairof, witht executoriales to pas thairupone in forme as efferis. In witnes heirof," etc.

It would appear from the document quoted that the persons concerned held a position of some influence in Glasgow; but no mention is made of the circumstances under which the "slauchter" was committed. Probably, however, it may have been by misadventure, and that idea is supported by the statement that the parties most interested would remain friends "siclik as thai were befoir the committing of the said slauchter, likas the samyn had neuir bene done or committit." It does seem strange that such a serious offence, intentional or by accident, should have been allowed to be compounded in the face, and with the sanction of the authorities; but it was a mode of procedure not uncommon.

Professor Innes (*Scot. in the Middle Ages*, p. 180) gives an explanation of the custom as follows:—"The system of the estimation of the value of persons according to their class, and, in connection with it, the adoption of pecuniary penalties and the compensation for crimes, prevailed with us as with the other northern nations. We find the price or value set down every one according to his degree, and diverse kinds of injury taxed with minute and affected precision. In a fragment which I conceive to be the oldest written portion of the laws of Scotland, and which was known and proscribed as barbarous by Edward I., in 1305, we have some details of this system. The chapter is called '*The Laws of the Brets and Scots.*' Unfortunately, our earliest version of it is in Norman-French. The system of compensation prescribed in it commences at the top of society. The estimation, or appraising, as we should say in vulgar parlance, of a King of Scots was a thousand cows, or three thousand of the coin called ores, one of which was equal to sixteen pennies. A king's son, or an earl, was estimated at seven score cows and ten. An earl's son, or a thane, at a hundred cows. The nephew of a thane, or a ogettheyrn, was estimated

at forty-four cows, and 21⅔d., and, says the law, all lower in the parentage are to be considered as 'villeins,' translated in the Latin version, 'rustici,' and in the Scottish, 'carlis;' the estimation of a villein was sixteen cows. The estimation of a married woman is less by one-third part than that of her husband. If unmarried, it is equal to that of her brother. The compensation prescribed for drawing blood is graduated with equal minuteness:—'The blude of the hede of ane erl or of a kingis sone is ix ky. Item the blude of the sone of ane erl or of a thayn is vi. ky. Item the blude of the sone of a thayn is iii. ky. Item the blude of the nevo of a thayn is twa ky and twapert of a kow. Item the blude of a carl, a kow.' . . . . While, as I mentioned, a value was set upon every man, and by that rule, a fine could be imposed for injury done to his person, and much more for his slaughter, at the same time, undoubtedly the legal and strict punishment of murder was death. We cannot discover from the imperfect relics of our ancient code of customary law, how this seeming inconsistency was reconciled. It is at least exceedingly probable that it lay with the kindred and friends of the murdered man to abstain from prosecuting to the utmost those accused of his death, while their feelings of indignation and vengeance should be solaced with a pecuniary compensation. The law did not yet pervade all society; and public justice was scarcely separated in men's minds from private vengeance. It was not the estimation of the person alone, that by these old laws ruled the amount of the penalty for slaughter. That indeed, was the assythment paid to the kindred of the slaughtered man, but another penalty was due if the peace of the king or other lord had been violated by the shedding of his blood. A person guilty of the slaughter of a man within a place where the king's peace was proclaimed, forfeited nine score of cows. The manslayer within the peace of an earl or king's son, incurred a forfeit of four score and ten cows; and so progressively in the lower degrees of rank."

The jurisdiction over the Clyde in these days would seem to have been joint, for on the 4th January, 1575-6, in presence of Lord Boyd, Provost of Glasgow, William Conyghame, one of the bailies of the city, and James Smollat, "ane of the baillies of Dunbartane," three burgesses of Ayr, masters and owners of a ship called the Elisabeth of Ayr, then lying at Newark, were charged with interfering with the liberties of Glasgow and Dumbarton by "breking bowk" of the salt with which their vessel was laden. So serious an outrage was this considered on the liberties of these two places, that an armed officer had boarded the ship. However, nothing very eventful resulted from the infringement of the rights of the burghs, for the offenders, having confessed their fault and found caution for

their future good behaviour, were admonished and discharged. Also relating to the Clyde was the order of Town Council, issued on the 3rd March, 1575-6, to the effect that "na salmond be tane, nor salmond cobles be lauborit nor vsit for taking thairof vpone the Sondayis in tyme cumyng, within the fredome of the toun, or be the inhabitantis thairof." The necessity for such an enactment points to a disregard of the Mosaic law on the part of the people of Glasgow; and it also invites the inference that salmon fishing in the city must have been at the time a most important industry. But there is another decree which discovers to a still greater extent the beginnings of commerce in "St. Mungo's Freedom," and which is interesting in view of the large proportions now attained by the special branch of trade to which reference is made. On the 4th May, 1576, Robert Galbraith, from Edinburgh, was accused before the Burgh Court of Glasgow of a contravention of the local statutes in "foirstalling and regrating of the mercat, passand to Govane and metand ane Heland boit [boat] cumand to the toun and byand fra thame, being vnfremen, vij daker hydis, staple guddis," and for this offence he came under "the baillies will." At this time there was some traffic in sheep and timber between the Highlands and Glasgow, and though it was not great, it would doubtless be considered of no small importance at that period. The "Heland boit" would be a small flat-bottomed craft of primitive build, necessarily so on account of the extreme shallowness of the river. Of course there was no quay at the Broomielaw for fully half a century later, but there was no difficulty in taking the goods ashore.

The magistrates had a very summary method of dealing with persons of whom it was desirable the town should be free. On the 17th May, 1576, they found, after probation, that a certain William Ross was "ane vagabund and idle begger," for "cuming to maister Andro Hayeis hous, on Mounondaye at ewin last," when none but that gentleman's wife and nurse were in possession, and for striking the nurse with a knife. As punishment they ordered him to leave the burgh and barony, and he was informed that if he were again found within their jurisdiction, without licence from the provost and bailies, he would be hung without trial. So much for William Ross's special benefit; but in order to make his case an example to would-be evil-doers, he was also ordained to be scourged through the town at ten o'clock the following day. "Johne Kar" was, on the 29th of the same month, found guilty of striking "Katerane Hart" on the mouth with a "salmont fische," but the records are silent upon the nature of his punishment.

The protest lodged in 1574 against the magistrates and council playing fast and loose with the Green had its effect in

putting a stop to the encroachments upon the city property; but judging from the time that elapsed between the protest and the settlement, all the parties concerned must have taken care to mature their judgment before taking action in the matter. The Burgh Records relate that on the 21st June, 1576, fully two years after the commencement of the popular clamour, "in ane conventioun haldin in the Blakfreir Kirk of Glasgw, the xxi daye of Junii, the yeir of God j^{m} v^{c} lx saxtene yeiris, be ane noble and potent lorde, Robert lorde Boyde, prouest of Glasgw, Williame Conynghame, and Andro Baillie, bailyeis, haill counsale, deakynnis of craftis, and maist part of the haill communitie thairof, thair wes presentit ane bill and supplicatioun of the tenour following:—My Lord prouest, baillies and counsale of this gud towne, wnto your lordschip and wisdomes rycht humelie menis and schawis we the haill deaconis and communitie of this gud toun, that quhair be the space of aucht yeiris last bipast, or thairby, the haill communite of the towne wes, eftir lang adwysement, condescendit be thair commone consent to set to ane pairt of oure commoun muris amangis ourselfis, ilk ane proportionalie half ane aker, and of sik grund that wes unprofitable for pasturing of our gudis, quhilk wes nocht attemptat nor tane on hand but [without] the consent of the haill toune at the Symmerhill conwenand as wes the gud ordour tane thairupone; bot sansyne, allace, we lament that sindrye sewerall peces of oure communitie, quhilk wes nocht to be sparit for halding of our guddis and the pure [poor] of the towne, ar gevin and set furth to sum particularis [persons] be your lordschip prouest and baillies and certane of counsale, but [without] foir advysement or yit consent of the communitie and deaconis quha hes thair wottis [votes], to the greit damnage of ws, the haill toune, and our eftircummaris; and yit daylie mair and mair throw particulare suttis [requests] of syndre perswadand your lordschip and wysdomes we se the samyn to continew, and ye anis condiscendand that oure deaconis wotis ar socht seuerallie in private houssis, quhair the haill suld be callit to geve our consentis togeddir, and sum throw ignorance or perswasioun may consent by oure myndis, quhilk is far by the ordour or mynd of ony townschip that hes ee to the commoun weill, and yit in lykmaner fearis that the lyk be socht be syndry particularis of sum partis of our communitie, quhilk we altogidder disassentis fra and protestis befoir God that syne yowr lordschip and wisdomes will nocht stay nor hauld abak your hand fra settyng ony forther that it be in your wytte, that we and our successouris that we want the pasturing of guddis for the sustening of our babies; thairfore we desyre ws that is deaconis to be amendit to for nocht awaysing withe ws and suffering our counsale and ressonyng

in tymes bigane, and prayis for the luf ye beir to God and the commoun weill of our toune and our successouris that your lordschip haif better attendance thairto and suffer nocht our haill communitie to becum proper and taine fra us, bot to mak sic sufficient actis thairfore as your lordschip and wisdomes sall think maist expedient for the keiping of gud ordoure in tymes cuming; and your lordschip and wisdomes ansuer rycht humelie we beseik, etc. Eftir the reding quhairof and ressonyng wpone the contentis thairof, be digest, avysement and mature deliberatioun, it wes condiscendit, aggreit, and statute and ordanit be the saidis provest, baillies, counsale, deaconis of the haill craftis, and maist pairt of the communitie of the said towne being present, in respect that thair commoune muris yit left wndelt and set furthe will scarslie serue the touneschip for halding of thair guddis and furnesing fewall [fuel] necessour and that ane grit pairt thairof is ellis set furth in particular, that na mair pairt nor portioun of thair said commoun muris sal be in na tymes cuming set or gevin in few to ony persoun or persones, bot to ly still in communitie to the weill of the haill tounschip, secludand and suspendand thame and thair successouris fra contrawersing heirof and of this statut breking in tymes cuming, declarand in cais the samyn heireftir be nocht obseruit, that the fewing, setting, and doing incontrare this statute to be of nane awaill, strenthe, nor effect, bot null in the self for ewir." Such was the happy issue of what was evidently a bitter dispute. The intensity of feeling which must have characterised the movement is apparent from the alternate entreaties and scarcely disguised threats in the petition to the authorities. The interests at stake are shown to have been more than sentimental, for not only did the inhabitants of the city obtain on the Green grazing for their cows, or "guddis," as they are termed, but from it they also had supplies of fuel. That the magistrates should have given such emphatic effect to the protest put before them, especially after their own actions had called forth that protest, is in itself a proof of the force of the popular commotion.

In the year 1576, the attention of the council was called to the great number of influx of strangers who sought to be made burgesses of the city, and as such a movement was considered to be injurious to those who were natives of Glasgow, inquiries were made as to the usage in similar circumstances in the other towns of Scotland. As a result of that inquiry, the fine to be paid by a stranger desiring to be put on the freemen's roll was fixed at twenty merks Scots (£1, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling). All burgesses' sons and sons-in-law were to be admitted on payment of £5 Scots (8s. 4d. sterling). It was also enacted a month or two later, as condition of being made a burgess, that the

applicant should promise to have his corn ground at the town mills. However, it was found that by May, 1577, the number of strangers entering as burgesses was still increasing too rapidly, and in order to remedy this state of affairs the fine was increased to £20 Scots (£1, 13s. 4d. sterling); not a large sum from a modern point of view, but in these times it would be sufficient to prevent many from attaining the coveted position.

As a matter of special arrangement, two important personages were retained to the city by the council. According to a minute of 17th October, 1576, "Dauid Kay, in Carraill," promised to come to Glasgow "how sone he be requeyrit be the prouest, baillies, and counsalle thairof, wpone the expenssis of the said townschip of Glasgw, and thair to set wp and repair or mend the twa knokkis, the ane maid be himself and the wther auld knok mendit be him, how oft he beis requirit thairto be thaim or ony in thair name, and that wpone the tounes rationable expenssis to be payit and done be him thairfoir." The other person retained is referred to in the following entry, under date of 17th May, 1577:—"The prouest, baillies, and counsale, wndertandand the supplicatioun gewin in be Allexander Hay, chirurgiane, quhairby he is myndit to remane in the towne, being in redynes for serwing of the towne in his craft and art, thairfoir for his support thai haif grantit, as be thir presentis grantis, ane yeirlie pensioun to him of ten merkis money [11s. 1⅓d. sterling] yeirlie, to be payit be the thesaurare of the towne for the tyme in tymes cuming, during thair willis and his guid serwice and bering, begynnand the first payment fra the thesaurar in the threscoir seventene ['77] yeris; and attour the said Allexander, for serwice bigane, is maid burges and freman of the burght and citie of Glasgw, and hes gewen his aitht of fidelitie to the towne, and for obserwing of the statutis thairof, and sall paye na maner of taxt in time cuming, conforme to the preuilege haid be vmquhile James Abernethie, his maister."

The magistrates and council seemed always busy with some important work, and a matter which caused them much concern was the state of the town mills, situated on the Molendinar. It has already been stated that for the purpose of "bringing grist to the mill" all burgesses were required to promise that they should have their corn ground at the mills belonging to the city. At the meeting which made this enactment it was further ordained that for the profit of the mills all brewers and makers of "aquauite" within the town were to take their malt to this establishment, under the penalty of being "discharged" of brewing and making aquavitæ. A few days after this, the mills were let by the council at a rent, till the Whitsunday following, of 115 merks (£6, 7s. 9⅓d. sterling). On the 14th

May following the mills were found to be in a ruinous condition, and they were ordered to be taken down, while the materials necessary for their re-erection were provided. At the same time, the mills belonging to Archibald Lyon, on the banks of the Kelvin, were taken over by the city. Fourteen days later, 28th May, 1577, the old town mill was let for 160 merks Scots (£8, 17s. 9⅓d. sterling); and the new mill "coft fra Archibald Lyoun" was let for thirty bolls of malt, and twenty bolls of meal, "with the cheriteis."

CHAPTER XV.

(A.D. 1577.)

The University in Decay—King James VI. grants a New Erection and Foundation—Summarised Translation of the Nova Erectio—*Regulations of the University.*

WHILE the grants made by Queen Mary and by the Town Council of Glasgow helped to sustain the university in the low estate into which it had fallen subsequent to the Reformation, they were not sufficient, nor were the times propitious, to enable it to retrieve its former position. The whole of the members of the university, including professors and other officers, numbered only fifteen persons; and owing to the annual rental, amounting only to about £300 Scots (£25 sterling), it was found necessary even to reduce that number. The energy of the reformer Melville, who was appointed Principal in 1574, and who was the first Protestant to hold that position, imparted new life to it; but the absence of funds was a serious impediment in the way of progress. On the advice of Regent Morton, King James VI., then in his minority, in 1577 granted a charter, which has been justly termed the *Magna Charta* of the university of Glasgow. It successfully revived the institution, and still, to a large extent, forms the basis of its constitution.

The original of this charter is in the university archives. The seal of the deed, which for a long time was supposed to be lost, is now exhibited in the Hunterian Museum. In the *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* (Vol. I., pp. 103-114), published in 1854 by the Maitland Club, it is given *in extenso* in Latin; but as it is too lengthy for reproduction in these pages, a summarised translation, containing its salient points, may be given.

"James, King of Scots, and his most faithful cousin James, Earl of Morton, Lord of Dalkeith, Regent of the kingdom,

understanding that the annual revenues of the College or Pedagogy of Glasgow are insufficient for the support of the Principal, Regents, Bursars, and necessary officials, and for the upkeep of the building, give, grant, dispone, incorporate, and by perpetual mortification confirm to the said College or Pedagogy, and to the Principal, Regents, &c., and their successors, free of all taxes whatever, the rectory and vicarage of the parish church of Govan, with the tithes and other revenues, the manse, glebe, and church lands of the same, all vacant by the death of Stephen Betoun, the last rector and possessor thereof. The king, further, of new, confirms all other annual revenues, all and sundry tenements, houses, buildings, chapels, gardens, orchards, crofts, and all incomes attached to chapels previously gifted. The *Reddendo* specifies—1st, The prayers of the Principal, Regents, Bursars, servants, and officers of the college for the prosperity of the king and his successors; 2nd, The teaching of literature and languages, and other necessary professions, and the enforcement of good order and discipline within the college. The education of youth is to be arranged according to the tenor of the present deed of erection and foundation, which throughout contemplates the combating the errors of Papacy, and the training of young men for the church. There are to be 'twelve ordinary persons' resident in the college—viz., a Principal, three Regents, a Steward, four poor students, the principal's servant, a cook, and a janitor. Out of the twenty-four chalders of Govan rental, twenty-one are assigned for the food and drink of these twelve, this being enough to provide for them without luxury and profusion, so that they may be incited to the more serious heed of their studies by a frugal mode of life. The balance, if any, is to be applied, with consent of the visitors, to pious uses, and the upkeep of the building. The Principal (*Gymnasiarcham*) is to be a pious and good man, having jurisdiction over every one in the College; he is to be well instructed in the Scriptures, and competent to explain them; he is to be professor of Hebrew and Syriac, and to lecture daily for an hour alternately on Hebrew and Theology, except on Sundays, when he is to preach at Govan, for it is right that they who minister temporal things should reap spiritual; he is, further, to exercise pastoral supervision over the people; he is to reside in College, and not to travel without the consent of the Rector, Dean of Faculty, and other Regents, which is to be given if the occasion is important or to the manifest convenience of the College. Three nights' absence without leave is to be virtual demission of office. As regards the election of Principal: the Regents are to report the vacancy to the king or his successors, in whom the right of presentation perpetually rests, and who may name a successor, presentation following within

thirty days after the report of the vacancy. If the Crown does not exercise its right, the Archbishop of Glasgow, as Chancellor of the University, the Rector, Dean of Faculty, the ministers of Glasgow, Hamilton, Cadder, Monkland, and Renfrew, and others whom the Crown will associate with them, shall examine, elect, and present a Principal within thirty days. St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and other academies which may exist are to be informed of the vacancy, so that suitable candidates may present themselves. The election is to be within forty days of the vacancy; but if this term is exceeded the right devolves on the Crown, unless it presents one who on examination is found unfit. The Principal is to get 200 merks [£11, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling] out of the £300 Scots [£25 sterling] to which the previous revenues of the College amount; and for his Govan work he (the Provost) is to get three chalders reserved to his use, as above, from the common tithe. If the Principal (Prefect) is negligent, he is to be admonished three times by the Rector, Dean of Faculty, and Regents, or a majority of them, and thereafter removed by those to whom the election was entrusted. Three Regents are to aid the Principal (Provost). The first is to teach Rhetoric and Greek, and to exercise his pupils in writing and speaking, so that they may have equal command of both languages. The next is to expound Dialectic and Logic, Cicero, Plato, and Aristotle being the text-books; and he is further to teach the elements of Arithmetic and Geometry. Each of these two is to receive fifty merks [£2, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling] annually out of the College revenues. The third is to teach all Physiology and Natural Science, Geography, Astrology, and General Chronography. As this Regent is the climax of the course, who should lead graduates to higher studies, and as he is to take the provost's place when he is absent or occupied with his parochial duties, he is to get £50 Scots [£4, 3s. 4d. sterling] annually. These Regents were not, as in other academies, to change their subjects annually, a plan not conducive to special proficiency on the part of the teachers, unless by order of the Principal and for the good of the University (Gymnasium). These Regents are to be appointed by the Rector, Dean of Faculty, and Principal, the latter having the right to censure and punish them, and, after three warnings, to dismiss them, with the approval of the Rector and Dean of Faculty. Four poor students are added as bursars, to be fed at the common table out of the Govan revenues; and these are to be chosen on the ground of their friends' poverty, and of their own ability and grammatical attainments. They are to be presented by the Earl of Morton and his successors male, whom failing by his heirs as defined by a recent deed of infeofment. The Principal, who admits them, is to see that rich men do not get in, and that drones do not eat

up the hive; and he and the Regents are to have the power of punishing them, and of expelling them if contumacious. The session is to commence on 1st October, and the bursars are to remain for three years and a half, to be succeeded, on their laureation, by others. The Steward is to be 'rather helpful of College interests than of his own.' He is to find security on taking office; he is to collect the revenues; fix days of settlement; attend courts on behalf of the College; and do other legitimate work. He is to look after College supplies under authority of the precepts given him; to render his accounts daily to the Principal and Regents present. He and the Regents are to account quarterly, on 1st October, February, May, and August, to the Rector, Dean of Faculty, and Minister of Glasgow, who are to sign the accounts, which shall then be authentic records. The balance of funds under the old and new foundations is to be divided between necessary College purposes, the upkeep of the building, and the choir of Govan. The Steward, in respect of his manifold duties, is to get £20 Scots [£1, 13s. 4d. sterling], and his expenses in collecting the revenues. He is to feed at the common table, out of the Govan funds, so as the better to secure his diligence. The Principal (Prefect) is to have a servant at the common table, chargeable to the Govan revenues; there is to be, also, a cook and janitor, all to be chosen and dismissed by the Principal, and to have their keep and six merks [6s. 8d. sterling] annually. The students, who, it is hoped, may flock to the College, are to live peaceably, to offend the citizens neither in word nor deed, to obey the Rector, Principal, and Regents, and to study diligently, to the honour of their parents, the benefit of the Church, and the adornment of the commonwealth. They were further to emit, at least once a year, a profession of faith set forth and published by the King. All previous immunities and privileges are confirmed to the College. The Archbishop, or, in his absence, any minister of the diocese, was to convey to the College, Principal, Masters, Regents, and officers on the foundation, the rectory and vicarage of Govan, at the Parish Church of Govan. The witnesses to this deed are—Adam, Bishop of Orkney, Commendator of Holyrood Abbey; William Earl Marischal, Lord Keith; John, Lord Glammis, Chancellor; Robert, Commendator of the Monastery of Dunfermline, Secretary; Master George Buchanan, pensioner of Corsragwell, Keeper of the Privy Seal; Master James Makgill of Rankeilour Nethir, Keeper of the Rolls and Clerk of the Council; Master Ludovic Bellendene of Auchnoull, Clerk of Justiciary; and Master Alexander Hay, Director of Chancery. At Dalkeith, 13th July, 1577; 10th year of our reign."

Such is the *Nova Erectio* of King James VI. to the university

of Glasgow, "clipped of its quaintness and pithy piety, but retaining, in one or two instances, inimitable phrases of simplicity." The seisin of the college in the rectory and vicarage of Govan is written on the back of the original charter by James, Archbishop of Glasgow, and is in favour of Master Peter Blackburne, one of the Regents. It is witnessed by Master David Wemyss, minister of Glasgow; Master Patrick Scharp, preceptor of the Grammar School; Andrew Chalmers and David Chalmers, brothers; Master Robert Fullertoune; James Gibsoun, vicar pensionar of Govan; John M'Knair, scribe.—Archibald Eglyngtoune, Notary Public. 6th September, 1577.

The Rector of the college at this time, it may be mentioned, was Andrew Hay, parson of Renfrew, and superintendent of the West of Scotland. The regulations of the university, framed about this time, were to the effect that students were to rise at five o'clock in the morning, and be in bed by a quarter past nine in the evening; golf, archery, dramatic representations, and the like were sanctioned, but carding, dicing, billiards, and bathing were prohibited; and Latin was to be the colloquial language of the students. Altogether the *Nova Erectio* was a most beneficial grant to the University of Glasgow; and though its prosperity was slow in returning, it must be traced to a very great extent to the considerate conduct of him who afterwards was, perhaps, the greatest pedant that ever sat upon the throne of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XVI.

(A.D. 1577 TO A.D. 1588.)

The Archbishop of Glasgow in Conflict with the General Assembly—Attempted Destruction of the Cathedral and its Prevention by the Craftsmen—Tumult in the Cathedral—An Early Glasgow Coal-owner—Dispute between the Merchants and Craftsmen at the Fair.

THE "Tulchan" Archbishops of Glasgow have been mentioned in the three previous chapters very much as a matter of course; but in view of the occurrences of the period now to be dealt with, it may be advisable to explain the position of such dignitaries in a professedly Presbyterian Church. Archbishop Spottiswoode (*Hist. of Ch. and State Scot.*, 4th Ed., p. 275) records that at the General Assembly of 1575, Andrew Melvil, lately come from Geneva, instigated John Drury, one of the ministers of Edin-

burgh, to introduce the question of the lawfulness of bishops. Melvil himself on that occasion contended that no mention was made in Scripture of such an office; and the assembly appointed a committee of six of its members to consider the matter. The committee could not agree to any definite conclusions, and they gave in a report which left the question practically in the same position as when they took it up. In the following year, 1576, the inquiry was again raised, and Archbishop Boyd of Glasgow was urged by the Assembly to take upon himself the charge of a particular flock; but the prelate declined to do so, lest such action on his part might be considered a violation of his oath of office. He, however, promised to teach in whatever places in his diocese he might at any time happen to be resident in. There was next presented to the Scottish Parliament, in 1578, a form of church polity, by which a blow was aimed at the position of the bishops, and, of course, the prime mover in the affair was Melvil. Spottiswoode (*Hist. Ch. and State Scot.*, 4th Ed., p. 302) thus describes the results of that action:—"And beginning with Mr. James Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow, whom they hoped to find most tractable, he was desired to submit himself to the Assembly, and to suffer the corruptions of the episcopal estate to be reformed in his person. After long reasoning kept with him by the moderator, David Ferguson, and some others, he presented his answer in writing:—'I understand the name, office, and reverence given to a bishop to be lawful and allowable by the Scripture of God; and being elected by the church and king to be bishop of Glasgow, I esteem my calling and office lawful, and shall endeavour with all my power to perform the duties required, submitting myself to the judgment of the church, if I shall be tried to offend, so as nothing be required of me but the performance of those duties the apostle prescribeth. As to the rent, living, and privileges granted to me and my successors, I think I may lawfully, and with a good conscience, enjoy the same. And for assisting the king with my best service in council and Parliament, as my subjection ties me thereto, so I esteem it no hurt, rather a benefit to the church, that some of their number should be always present on the making of laws and statutes; wherein for myself I neither intend, nor by the grace of God shall ever do anything but that which I believe may stand with the authority of the Word of God, and the good of the church and country.'" This answer was not considered satisfactory by the Assembly, and as the archbishop did not obey a citation to attend before them, they appointed a commission, including the indefatigable Melvil, to confer with him. The proceedings then adopted at least prevented the prelate of Glasgow exercising his ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Andrew Melvil had been, as stated elsewhere, in 1574, appointed the first principal of the university after the Reformation; and whatever benefit he may have conferred upon the Reformed Church of Scotland in matters of general policy, there can be no doubt that in Glasgow, on one important occasion, his zeal outran his prudence. Spottiswoode (*Hist. Ch. and State Scot.*, 4th Ed., p. 304) relates that "in Glasgow the next spring [1579], there happened a little disturbance by this occasion. The magistrates of the city, by the earnest dealing of Mr. Andrew Melvil and other ministers, had condescended to demolish the Cathedral, and build with the materials thereof some little churches in other parts, for the ease of the citizens. Divers reasons were given for it, such as the resort of superstitious people to do their devotions in that place; the huge vastness of the church, and that the voice of a preacher could not be heard by the multitudes convened to sermon; the more commodious service of the people; and the removing of that idolatrous monument (so they called it) which was, of all the Cathedrals in the country, only left unruined, and in a possibility to be repaired. To do this work, a number of quarriers, masons, and other workmen were conduced, and a day assigned when it should take beginning. Intimation being given thereof, and the workmen, by sound of drum, warned to go into their work, the crafts of the city in a tumult took arms, swearing with many oaths that he who would cast down the first stone should be buried under it. Neither could they be pacified till the workmen were discharged by the magistrates. A complaint was therefore made, and the principals cited before the [Privy] Council for insurrection, when the king, not then thirteen years of age, taking the protection of the crafts, did allow the opposition they had made, and inhibited the ministers (for they were the complainers) to meddle any more in that business, saying 'that too many churches had been already destroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuses of that kind.'" Sir Walter Scott makes Andrew Fairservice (*Rob Roy*, Black's 1871 Ed., p. 230) tell this story in the following manner:—"Ah! it's a braw kirk—nane o' your whigmalieries, and curliwurlies, and open-steek hems about it—a' solid, weel-jointed mason-wark, that will stand as lang as the world, keep hands and gunpowther aff it. It had amaist a douncome langsyne at the Reformation, when they pu'd doun the kirks of St. Andrews and Perth, and thereawa', to cleanse them o' papery, and idolatry, and image worship, and surplices, and siclike rags o' the muckle hure that sitteth on seven hills, as if ane wasna braid eneugh for her auld hinder end. Sae the commons o' Renfrew, and of the Barony, and the Gorbals, and a' about, they behoved to come into Glasgow, ae fair morning, to try their hand in purging the High

Kirk of Popish nick-nackets. But the townsmen of Glasgow, they were feared their auld edifice might slip the girths in gaun through siccan rough physic, sae they rang the common bell, and assembled the train-bands wi' took o' drum. By good luck, the worthy James Rabat was Dean o' Guild that year (and a guid mason he was himsell, made him the keener to keep up the auld biggin'); and the trades assembled, and offered downright battle to the commons, rather than their kirk should coup the crans, as others had done elsewhere. It wasna for love o' Papery—na, na—nane could ever say that o' the trades o' Glasgow. Sae they sune came to an agreement to tak' a' the idolatrous statues o' saints (sorrow be on them) out o' their neuks. And sae the bits o' stane idols were broken in pieces by Scripture warrant, and flung into the Molendinar Burn, and the auld kirk stood as crouse as a cat when the flaes are kaimed aff her, and a' body was alike pleased." It is in Spottiswoode's account distinctly stated that the magistrates gave their approval to the proposed vandalism of Melvil, but there is no mention of the occurrence in the Burgh Records; and surely, if the municipal dignitaries could protest over and over again that while they granted money for the repairing of the Cathedral they did so of their good grace, and not because of legal responsibility, they had no right to sanction its wanton destruction. Possibly they only gave a tacit consent to the proposals made by the reforming Principal. It should perhaps be added that Sir Walter Scott, in his reference to this incident, takes for granted, what was not the fact, that there was a Dean of Guild in the city at this time. Fully twenty years after this elapsed before there was such an official in Glasgow.

In 1581 Archbishop Boyd died, and it is recorded that the closing days of his life were affected by a deep melancholy, on account of Melvil's conduct towards him, especially as he himself had been the means of bringing the reformer to Glasgow, and had appointed him Principal of the University.

But the troubles of the Kirk in relation to Glasgow were not ended by the death of Archbishop Boyd. In the month of April, 1581, a general synod was held in the city, and the position of the prelates formed again the theme of debate. Robert Montgomery, one of the ministers of Stirling, was anxious that the Assembly should censure those occupying, or desirous of occupying, the episcopal office. However, only a short time elapsed before the same minister was persuaded by the Duke of Lennox, whose influence over the king was exceedingly great, to accept the vacant archbishopric of Glasgow, the conditions being that Montgomery should pay yearly to his patron the sum of £1,000 Scots (£83, 6s. 8d. sterling) out of the revenues of the see, together with some horse-corn and poultry.

The leaders of the church could not concur in such simony, and they raised objections to Montgomery, as one of their members, carrying out the bargain. Further, an accusation was prepared against his life and conduct. The libel contained some very curious charges and expressions. Among other things laid to Montgomery's charge was that he had said "ministers were captious and men of curious brains;" that he had asked in what school Peter and Paul graduated; that in order to prove the lawfulness of bishops he had instanced the examples of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine; that he had said it was sufficient to baptize in the name of any one of the three Persons in the Trinity, as the three were "one God;" and that he had charged the ministry with sedition, pasquils, lying, backbiting, &c. Accordingly, in 1582, the archbishop-elect was suspended by the presbytery of Stirling. To the General Assembly, held in the same year, he gave in his submission; but as he found himself by that act under the frowns of the king and the Duke of Lennox, he came to Glasgow.

Montgomery's arrival in Glasgow was the occasion of one of the most extraordinary and disgraceful tumults that ever took place within the walls of a Christian church. It was his intention to preach in the Cathedral on the Sunday following—probably about the month of March, 1582. The poor man, however, was only entering upon his most serious difficulties, for the students of the college, ardent in the example shown them by their enthusiastic Principal, took possession of the Cathedral late on the Saturday night. The dissatisfied presbyters of the district determined to oppose the entry of the archbishop into the church, and they appointed John Howieson, minister of Cambuslang, to occupy the pulpit. As the Cathedral was in the possession of the collegians, this was in itself no difficult matter to accomplish; but while the reverend gentleman was in the midst of what was probably a thoroughly reformation discourse, he was brought to an abrupt conclusion by the archbishop coming in, accompanied by Sir Mathew Stuart of Minto, the provost of the city, and a number of burgesses. These ordered him out of the pulpit. Howieson refused to accede to the demands of the civil and ecclesiastical powers. But the provost had received the injunction of the king to obtain the presentee possession of his church, and he promptly caused his followers to make a movement, resisted to some extent by the Presbyterian party, towards the pulpit. Howieson had the misfortune to have a very long beard, by which one of his opponents pulled him from the pulpit, and in the course of the ensuing struggle he had the further misfortune to have several of his teeth knocked out. He and a number of his sympathisers were cast into the Tolbooth. The disturbance

seems to have spread throughout the city, and it did not end without considerable bloodshed. M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 64) solemnly relates that the minister of Cambuslang denounced God's judgment upon Sir Mathew Stuart, the provost, and his family, and he also states that in seventy years later that family was reduced to penury, little short of beggary; adding, as an "application," that he thought this observation might be of some use, "that people may be cautious, upon whatever pretence, to use the servants of God, who bear His commission, any way undecently, far less roughly, since they are under the peculiar care of the Almighty, who has said, 'Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.'" According to Calderwood (*Hist. Ch. Scot.*) a great conflict occurred between the collegians and the towns-people. "The scholars of Glasgow," he says, "were invaded, and their blood cruelly shed by the bailiffes and the commonaltie, gathered by the sound of common bell and beating of drumme, and by certain seditious men inflamed to have slaine all, and to have burnt the college; and yet nothing done or said to the authors of that sedition." However, the General Assembly called the laird of Minto before them, and as he submitted himself he was referred to the discretion of the presbytery of Glasgow; but his accomplices were excommunicated, probably because they were less influential men. The most noteworthy of these so-called accomplices were Colin Campbell, William Haygate, and Archibald Haygate, all of them councillors of the city. The ministers themselves were summoned to appear before James VI. and the Privy Council at Stirling, on the 13th April, 1582; and they vigorously defended the action they had taken in resisting Montgomery, at the same time declining the interference of the king in a purely spiritual matter. They were warned to receive the archbishop, but Durie of Edinburgh told the king that if he pressed the question further his *protégé* would be immediately excommunicated. Montgomery again submitted to the Assembly.

It may here be explained that Sir Mathew Stuart, the then provost, was, like Montgomery, a nominee of the Duke of Lennox; and his action in this matter, and that of the burgesses with him, finds some explanation, if not extenuation, if that be necessary, by an entry in the Burgh Records, under date of 3rd October, 1581. There the statement is made that William Montgomery, writer, produced a letter from the king, desiring the provost, bailies, council, and community of the burgh and city of Glasgow, to acknowledge and recognise "his hienes trustie and well beloued Robert," not only in presenting the magisterial leets to him, but also in their obedience to him in other directions. William Hegate, the procurator of the council—

probably the person of that name mentioned by Calderwood—on behalf of the magistrates, council, and community, replied to the messenger that they accepted the duty laid upon them in all points.

Montgomery continued under the hands of Lennox, and he was in the course of the same year excommunicated by the Kirk. Tytler (*Hist. Scot.*, Nimmo's Ed., Vol. IV., p. 47) relates that in the beginning of July, 1582, Montgomery—having been reinstated in the bishopric of Glasgow by the royal command, and the sentence of excommunication pronounced upon him by the Kirk reversed, and declared null—confiding in his restored honours, ventured from his seclusion at Dalkeith, where he had resided with his patron, Lennox, and once more showed himself in Edinburgh. Lawson, one of the leading ministers, recognised him, and in a tumult which followed the archbishop was twice driven from the capital, even though he had a royal proclamation commanding the people to accept him as a true Christian and good subject. So little sympathy did he meet with from the king, that, when the story reached the court at Perth, James threw himself down upon the Inch, and, calling him a seditious loon, fell into convulsions of laughter. Montgomery fared no better within the bounds of his own diocese, for, in 1584, he was "attacked in the streets of Ayr by a mob of women and boys, who with difficulty were restrained from stoning him, and kept pouring out the vilest abuse, calling him atheist dog, schismatic excommunicate beast, unworthy to breathe or bear life." (Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*, Nimmo's Ed., Vol. IV., p. 92). However, in the following year, Montgomery was reduced to the necessity of resigning the office to which he had so tenaciously clung. He retired to Ayrshire, where he obtained the pastorate of a parish, and where he afterwards died in abject poverty.

William Erskine, a friend of the Earl of Mar, succeeded Montgomery. Erskine had never been in orders, but the presbytery of Glasgow agreed to his appointment. For this they were called in question by the next Assembly, and they excused themselves on the ground, "that since churchmen were not permitted to enjoy the bishopric, they esteemed it better he should be in the title of it than any other." He was disqualified, in 1588, by an Act of Parliament being passed restoring the temporalities of the see of Glasgow to Archbishop Beaton, who from 1560 had been resident in Paris, and had acted throughout these troublous times as Scotch ambassador at the French court.

But while these, in many respects, nationally important events were in progress, the purely domestic history of the city was within the same time not unchequered by occurrences calculated to produce great local commotion. At the

"Heid Court" held on the 1st October, 1577, Lord Boyd, the provost, presented a document from the archbishop, in which it was stated that that nobleman had demitted the office of "prouestrie," but further stating that if he should desire to be again in the position he should be appointed "siclyk and als frelie as he had newir dimittit the samyn in our handis." At the same court a servitor from the archbishop gave in a writing in favour of Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill as provost. Among the many statutes passed at this meeting was one ordaining that no market was to be held in the city on Sundays, and another fixing the locality of the fruit market between the "cors gutter and the gibbet." On the 19th of November following an important purchase was made, for "the quhilk day the provest, baillies, and counsall, with dekeins, coft [bought] fra John Mr. sone to vmquhile James Mr., and Andro Laing, ye auld bell that gaid throw the towne of auld at ye buriall of ye deid, for ye soume of ten pundis money [16s. 8d. sterling] quhilk thai ordanit Patrick Glen thair thesaurare to pay to thaim and als grantit ye said Andro to be maid burges gratis; quhilk bell thai ordanit in all tymes to remane as comone bell to gang for ye buriall of ye deid and to be gevin yearlie to sic persoun as thai appoynt anys in ye yeir, takand caution for keping and delyvering thairof the yeiris end. And the said Andro Laing, as sone to umquhile Mr. Robert Laing, is maid instantlie burges, as ane burges sone, gratis, for ye said cause of ye bell." It was resolved, on the 19th November, 1577, that as there was nothing available from the common good—a fund created and kept in existence by the payment of burgess fees, &c.—for the purpose of making "calsayis," and as two years' arrangements had been made with a "calsay" maker, the community would require to be taxed for £200 Scots (£16, 13s. 4d. sterling). The manner of dealing with recalcitrant women in these days is shown by the case of Margaret Miller, who, on the 25th February, 1577-8, was found guilty of "steiking of her durris, and nocht suffering of the provest, baillies, nor officiaris entir thairunto for weying of her candell, and blasphemyng of the officiaris." She was sentenced to a trial of the "goifs," or jugs. The troublous nature of the times is shown by an order of the Town Council, passed on the 10th March, 1577-8, to the effect that the act made anent "hagbuttis," or muskets, was to be renewed, and that every citizen was to provide himself with a "hagbut" and the necessary appurtenants, together with a long spear, a steel-bonnet, and a sword and buckler. It was ordained, on the 21st of March of the same year, that every one who absented himself from the wappenshaw should pay a fine of 20s. Scots (1s. 8d. sterling), and these fines were to be applied towards defraying the expense of the "calsay making."

There is interesting light thrown by the Burgh Records upon the beginnings of what is now one of the most important industries in connection with Glasgow. A contract was brought under the notice of the burgh court on the 19th August, 1578, from which it appears that Fergus Kennedy, son of David Kennedy of Knokdaw, being tenant of the "coilheuchts and colis" within the barony of Glasgow, to the archbishop for three years from that date, had accepted Mathew Boyd, a burgess of the city, as his sub-tenant. As Fergus Kennedy was the name of the archbishop's servitor, it is probable that he was the person mentioned in the contract. Kennedy's agreement with his superior was for the annual payment of £40 Scots (£3, 6s. 8d. sterling), with the delivery of "thirteen scoir and ten laidis of colis." Under the contract of sub-tenancy Mathew Boyd undertook to fulfil the terms of Kennedy's "tak" from the archbishop, and in addition he was to pay the tenant the sum of £20 Scots (£1, 13s. 4d. sterling), and "thirty laidis of coilis yeirlie." They seem to have been able to drive hard bargains in Glasgow in 1578, as well as in the present year of grace. Probably these "coilheuchts" would be in the vicinity of Gorbals.

At the meeting of the Town Council on the 30th September, 1578, a municipal crisis occurred. The Earl of Lennox was made a burgess of the city, and at the conclusion of the ceremony he presented a letter from the archbishop nominating him as provost. Archbishop Boyd was himself present on this occasion, and he made a personal nomination of Lennox, in addition to that contained in the document. The council, as in duty bound, gave effect to the nomination; but Crawford of Jordanhill, the superseded provost, feeling that an indignity had been put upon him, protested "that the auld libertie and priuilege of the toun be obseruit and keepit." The irregularity seems also to have extended to the election of the council, for at a meeting on the 2nd October following, Crawford again appeared, and "allegit that he wes put of the counsale but [without] ony falt and vncallit thairfore, and protestit for remeid of law, and that the nemyng and chesing of the counsall, but [without] his or the auld baillies consent, preiuge nocht his rycht, and that the libertie of the toun be nocht hurt thairby." The ultimate result of this strong protest, if it had any effect at all, is not made known.

In the following year, 1579, the Earl of Lennox was again made provost. Sir Mathew Stuart of Minto presented to the council, on the 4th October, 1580, a writing from Lennox, together with one from the archbishop, for the third time nominating the earl to the provostship; and Sir Mathew was made a member of the council. Fifteen days later he again appeared

at the municipal board with an act of Privy Council bearing that three of the bailies of the city had retired from office at the king's request, and in their room three other burgesses were appointed. It would have been interesting to have known for what offence the bailies were suspended.

"The Second Book of Discipline," in 1581 passed by the General Assembly, was in that year signed by 2,250 of the inhabitants of Glasgow, the subscription papers being taken from house to house by the elders. From these papers it appeared that the population was found chiefly in the High Street, Gallowgate, Trongate, Saltmarket, Bridgegate, and Stockwell. On the 3rd of June of this year the council received a letter from the Earl of Lennox, their provost, regarding "ane hurtfull and pretendit statute," which enacted that all burgesses should take oath to have their corn ground in the town mills, and which has already been referred to in these pages. His lordship desired the abrogation of the statute, and the council, at a subsequent meeting, repealed it, reasoning that there certainly was hardship to the burgesses by such an enactment, because of the insufficiency of water-driving power for the mills in the summer months! The 6th July of 1581 commenced the annual Fair of Glasgow, and in the morning the peace of the Fair was proclaimed in name of the king, the Earl of Lennox, and the bailies, and those frequenting it were enjoined to forget "auld dett or new dett, auld feid or new feid." A statute passed in this year was to the effect that no hides or skins were to be washed in the Molendinar under certain penalties. Profanity must have been a vice of considerable dimensions among the inhabitants of the city, for in 1582 efforts were made to put down banning and swearing, and investigators were appointed for various districts.

The question of precedence in municipal and social matters had begun to agitate the members of the merchants and crafts classes of burgesses throughout the whole of Scotland, and the ill feelings engendered frequently led to serious disturbances. Glasgow was no exception to the rule, for, on the 7th July, 1583, the deacons of the hammermen, tailors, cordiners, fleshers, bakers, skinners, and weavers, were brought before the magistrates of the burgh in relation to a disturbance caused, on the Fair even, by the members of the crafts under them. The bailies required that every one of the deacons should be sureties, until the 16th July, that no "turblance" would be caused by their craftsmen. A friendly conference as to the preservation of the peace took place between the parties, and the bailies, "with the consent and aduice of the deacons," decided that whatever member of the respective trades should cause a tumult during the Fair time should pay to the provost and bailies the sum of £100

Scots (£8, 6s. 8d. sterling), and be banished from the town. As a further precaution, the citizens were ordered to put off their accustomed armour during that season. The merchants, also, were put under pains and penalties in the event of a breach of the public peace on their part. On the 16th of July it was agreed that some arrangement should be immediately come to for settling the differences between the merchants and craftsmen; but the records are silent on the matter, and it is to be presumed that they arrived at no arrangement.

According to the Kirk Session Records elders and deacons were prohibited, in 1583, from being present at banquets, under pain of a fine of 18d. Scots (1½d. sterling); and it was also ordained, under a similar penalty, that there be no superfluous gatherings at marriages, while the price of a dinner or supper was to be no more than 18d. Scots, the persons being married to find caution to that effect. On the 28th November, 1583, the Session ordained "that the booth doors of merchants and traffickers be steaked on Wednesdays and Fridays in the hour of sermon, and that masters of booths keep the hour of preaching, under the penalty of £20 [£1, 13s. 4d. sterling], without lawful cause admitted by the Session." The fleshers were also prohibited from killing during the hours of preaching on the week days. At the Christmas-tide of 1583 several persons were appointed to make public repentance for keeping the superstitious day called Zuil; and the bakers were to be examined for the purpose of ascertaining for whom they baked Zuil bread.

Passing again to municipal concerns, it may be stated that on the 10th October, 1584, another statute was passed to prevent the secrets of the council-house being made public, it being specially mentioned that the way a member voted upon any question was not to be disclosed.

The Kirk Session punishments for immorality were severe, and were probably salutary in consequence. On the 20th October, 1586, it was ordained that the pulpit stones in the Cathedral be laid in rows on the floor for women to sit upon, and the presumption naturally is that previous to that time pews were unknown in the Glasgow churches. The law of divorce was very simple, for Sir Bernard Peebles, vicar of Inchinnan, on the 13th of May, 1586, divorced an ill-matched couple by putting the man out of one door of a church, and the woman out of another.

That the citizens suffered pecuniarily from the immediate effects of the Reformation is shown by the fact that, in 1587, a petition was presented to Parliament, "be ye fremen and vyeris induellaris of ye citie of glasg aboue ye gray frier wynde yrof, makand mention that qr yt pt of ye said citie yt afoir ye

reformatioun of ye religioun wes intertynent and vphaldin be ye resort of ye bischop, personis, vicaris, and vtheris of clergie, for ye tyme, is now becum ruinous and for the maist pairt altogeddir decayit, and ye heritouris and possessouris yrof greitly depauperit, wanting ye moyame [money] not onlie to vphald the samin, bot of the intertenement of yame selfis yr wiffis bairnis and famelie . . . and seeing yat prt of ye said citie aboue the gray frier wynde is ye onlie ornament and decoratioun yrof be ressone of ye grite and sumptuous buildingis of grite antiquitie; varie proper and meit for ye ressauit of his hienes and nobilitie at such tymes as yai sall repair yrto." The petitioners further complained of the "grite confusioun and multitude of mercattis togidder in ane place about ye croce." Commissioners were appointed to "tak order for relief of ye said necessitie," and the markets were ordered farther up the High Street for the benefit of the petitioners. It is supposed that the meal market was on the west side of the street, opposite the college buildings.

CHAPTER XVII.

(A.D. 1588 TO A.D. 1604.)

State of the City—Precautions against the Plague—"The Hungrie Toun of Glasgw"—Reparation of the Cathedral—Glasgow Shipping in 1597*—The Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons—Proposed Encroachments on the Burgh Lands—Distinguished Visitors in Glasgow—Fire in the City—"The Deid Bellman"—Breach of Promise and Witchcraft Cases before the Presbytery.*

THE history of Glasgow from 1588 to 1604 presents no feature of striking moment, but, while that is so, much of interest occurred in, and in connection with, the city during that period. It was then recovering from the vicissitudes of the Reformation times; or, to be more accurate, in view of subsequent events, it was in the transition state from being merely a burgh in possession of an ecclesiastical nobleman to that of a free burgh, laying for itself slowly and carefully the firm foundations of future mercantile greatness. Its population, of course, was small, but its people, though not free from the many semi-barbarities characteristic of these extraordinary times, were "canny" and enterprising. With such qualities, and under

such circumstances, it was only to be expected that the city should gradually work its way towards the occupation of a higher position among the burghs of Scotland. At the commencement of the period to be dealt with in this chapter there was only one minister in the community, David Wemyss, who was appointed in 1572, and who is stated to have taken up his residence in a manse, formerly tenanted by the rector of Carstairs, situated in the Rottenrow. The work of the charge became, however, too heavy for one man to overtake, and in 1588 John Cooper, from Edinburgh, was appointed his assistant. As for the so-called archbishopric, it had practically fallen into desuetude through the grant by the king of the temporalities of the see to Archbishop Beaton; but Walter Stuart, a layman, Commendator of Blantyre, having been appointed by Archbishop Erskine in 1587, shortly previous to his disqualification, to feu out the church lands, that individual continued to exercise within the burgh much of that power held in previous times by the prelates of Glasgow. In the year of his appointment he had feued out the lands of the barony of Glasgow, chiefly to the old rentallers, and he converted the real rents into feu duties, a valuable part being applied to the king's use. The topography of the city had changed little for many years, the only alteration being a slight extension of the Trongate and Gallowgate, and, probably, a filling up, by inhabitants, of the Saltmarket.

It is to be regretted that there are so many breaks in the Burgh Records as there unfortunately are; but the explanation of these is not far to seek when the troubles and difficulties of their preservation amid the many civil disturbances of the country are taken into consideration. There is a hiatus in these records from the 27th April, 1586, to the 22nd October, 1588. The entry under the latter date has reference to the annual nomination of the provost and magistrates. Sir Mathew Stuart of Minto continued provost; James Fleming, Robert Rowatt, and James Stewart, were bailies; and there were twenty-one councillors. The deliberations of that body were for a time principally directed towards preventing the plague, then raging at Paisley and Kilmalcolm, spreading to their own city. On the 23rd October, 1588, it was ordained, in consideration of the apparent danger of the pest coming towards the city, that no person within the town was to go to the markets of Paisley or Kilmalcolm under penalty of £5 Scots (8s. 4d. sterling). Three days later they appointed "twa honest men of the Briggait" to keep the Bridge Port. These men were to be warned to their duties by the town's officers, and if they failed to perform them they came under a fine of 20s. Scots (1s. 8d. sterling). Again, on the 31st of the

same month, the council "being maist cairfull to see the samyn [the pest] preventit," ordered that all the ordinary gates of the town be kept by "twa honest men," the ports mentioned being the Briggate Port, the Stockwell Port, and the Stablegreen and Castle Ports. Lindsaye's Port, the stinking Vennall, and the Greyfriars Wynd were to be blocked up; the wicket of the Greyfriars Port was to be kept by those resident in the immediate vicinity; the Rottenrow Port was to be locked night and day; and, in addition, showing that while the city had gates it had no walls, the householders on the outskirts of the town were "to hauld clois thair yaird endis and bak sydis, swa that nain may repair thairthrow to the toun bot be the commoun portis, vnder the pain of five pundis to be taikin of ilk persone quha contrawenis the samyn." No inhabitant of the burgh was to receive a stranger into his house without the knowledge and permission of the quartermasters appointed by the council for dealing with these matters. These precautions seem to have had the desired effect, for there is no record or indication of the plague having been actually present in the city on this occasion. In the absence of regular taxation the town's charges gradually exceeded its income, and through the expenses incurred in the work of prevention, together with the necessity for important repairs being made on the town mill on the Kelvin, purchased a few years previously from Archibald Lyon, the council was forced to obtain a loan of £600 Scots (£50 sterling). To free themselves from their embarrassments they proposed to rent some of the common lands of the city, and a committee was appointed to consider what portions of these lands would be of "maist avale." It was agreed that certain pieces of land in the vicinity of the Stockwell and the Greenhead should be feued, with restrictions as to the erection of houses, at 6⅔d. sterling per acre. Having put that matter to rights, the council called "to mind how necessar, profitable, and cumlie it wilbe to the decoratioun of the toun to transport the West Port, presentlie ruinous and to be repairit of new, to the Stokwalheid, and to includ the haill rew and houssis betwix and thairwith the toun." This was decided on the 28th December, 1588. On the 12th April, 1589, the council met to consider a missive from the king, desiring them to furnish him with three-score "hagbutteris" to wait upon his service in the north, he being then engaged in putting down the revolutionary intrigues of the Earls of Huntly and Erroll. The council, taking the condition of the public purse into account, came to the conclusion that they could only support the charges of forty men. This was done, and to defray the expenses so incurred it was proposed to levy a tax of £500 Scots (£41, 13s. 4d. sterling) upon the community. But while the local legislators were doing

their utmost for the good of the city, their labours were traduced by no less a person than the town surgeon; for, on the 3rd June, 1589, "Thomas Mylne, chirurgene," was accused of slandering the rulers of the burgh, and of speaking of the city itself as "the hungrie toun of Glasgw." What reason he had for such language does not transpire. At any rate, the magistrates and councillors, considering his "odious and grit offence," ordered him to make confession of it in the presence of the people; his pension for the year was to be applied to the "calsay making;" and he was warned that if he repeated his calumnies, he would be deprived of his pension, or allowance from the city, be degraded from the position of a burgess, and be required to pay the sum of £40 Scots (£3, 6s. 8d. sterling) to the common works of the town.

In 1588 the Kirk Session had had the necessity for repairing the Cathedral under their consideration; and as their first measure of improvement they ordered some of the trees in the High Kirk yard to be cut down for the purpose of making seats in the church. The session had complained to the Town Council of the unseemly condition of the choir, and on the 26th July, 1589, the magistrates and their colleagues took the matter up. There appears to have been, as usual, a monetary difficulty, for "James Flemyng, Robert Rowat, and James Stewart, baillies, being present, offerit to the reparatioun thairoff the haill taxatioun maid of fyvetene hundreth markis [£83, 6s. 8d. sterling] for thair awin pairtis sex hundreth merkis [£33, 6s. 8d. sterling], that the samyn saldbe reddy for the helping and repairing of the said kirk; and forder offerit that gif the persone [parson] and intromettouris with the fruittes of the personage and perichionaris without burgh will mak sufficient securitie to the prouest, baillies, and counsale of Glasgw for the payment of the said nyne hundreth markis [£50 sterling] to pay to thame within sex monethis efter the begynnyng of the werk, the saidis baillies, in name of the haill toun, sall begin farther furth and perfyte the said werk, and find sourtie to the persone and perrichionaris for that effect, and compt and reknyng to be maid as efferis." The provost, bailies, council, and deacons present bound and obliged themselves and their successors for the performance of that act in name of the town. To improve the aspect of affairs, the Commendator of Blantyre, now practically the feudal superior of the city, appeared at the same meeting and freely offered the sum of 400 merks (£22, 4s. 5⅓d. sterling) for the furtherance of the same good object.

On the 30th September, 1589, the Commendator of Blantyre, as feuar of the "lordship and regality of Glasgw," named Sir Mathew Stuart of Minto again as provost; and the leet of bailies was submitted to him. That some members of the

council had been contumacious may reasonably be presumed from the following enactment passed on the 4th October of the same year:—"It is statute for keiping of a dew gravitie and amitie in counsale, and reuerence to be borne to the prouest, baillies, and honourabill counsale of the toun, that quhatsumeuir be he that injuris ane vther in counsalhous be word or deid, salbe depryvit immediatlie of the counsale, and sall nocht be admittit for the space of thrie yeiris thairefter of the number of the counsall, besyd vther punischment that the counsall sall think meit to injoyne to thame for the tyme." Another tax comes in view in the entry of the 11th December, 1589, which relates that Archibald Faullis, merchant, was to be granted a burgess-fine of his own choosing in acknowledgment of the trouble taken by him in collecting the city's portion of the tax of £20,000 Scots (£1,666, 13s. 4d. sterling) levied on the Scottish burghs to defray the expense of the king's marriage with Princess Anne of Denmark.

In 1593 a portion of the university buildings is said to have been erected, but no particulars are given regarding the matter.

The following act of Parliament, passed in 1594, in relation to the Glasgow markets, shows that the concerns of the city were looked upon as of considerable importance, and it also affords some interesting information as to the location of several of the markets in that year:—

"Oure soverane lord and estatis of this pnt parliament vnderstanding be supplicatioun gevin in to thame of befoir be ye inhabitantis fremen induellaris abone the gray friar wynd of the citie of Glasgow, anent ye establisching of ane mercat at the wynd heid yrof, for ye support and relief of yame thair wyffis famelies and barnis, and vphalding of thair houssis & landis the samyn being the maist comodious and cheif pairt of the said citie for recept of his hienes and his court quhen occasioun offeris of yr repairing in ye cuntrie, now altogidder becum rwinous & almaist decayed, be ressone of the removeng of the clergie, sen the reformatioun of religioun, that sustenit and vpheld the samyn of befoir, And als the haill mercattis aucht nocht to be placit at ane port of the said citie, bot suld be sett at dyvers partis yrof for the comoun comoditie of the haill inhabitantis yrof—sen at all occasionis of stentis taxationis and vtheris impositionis thay beir equall burding. Comissioun wes gevin and grantit to vmqle robert lord boyid, walter prior of blantire the provest & baillies of the said citie, for the maist pairt thairof for establisching of the beir mercat or salt mercat aboue the wynd heid. Quha theiraftir placit the salt mercat thair, qlk wes altogidder incomodious be reasone the same wes far distant fra the brig and watir of the said citie, quhair the salt is maist vsit and pat the merchandis and fischaris quha

bocht the samen to greit expensis of cariage and transporting thairof fra the said wynd heid to the brig, qr the same wes sauld of befoir, and the saidis commissionrs wer myndit to haue placit the beir & malt mercat aboue the said wynd heid in place of the said salt mercat, gif be the deceis of the said vmqle robert lord boyd, the said comissioun had nocht expyrit. For Remeid yrof Oure soverane lord wt auise of his saidis estatis, be thir pntis [presents] gevis & grantis full pouer & commission to his trustie councillor walter prior of blantire lord privie seill, Robert Boyd of badinhaith, dauid foirsyth of dykes, the ordiner ministers of Glasgow, the prouest and baillies yrof, or the maist pt of thame to raiss and lift the beir & malt mercat, and establische the same aboue the wynd heid of the said citie, To the effect aboue writtin, at ony pairt or place thairof maist comodious, as thai sall think expedient, and to remoue the said salt mercat to the auld statioun qr it stude, for the comoun benefite of the haill inhabitantis, And generallie all and sindrie thingis to do that to the execution of this present comissioun apertenis, fferme and stable," &c.

In 1595 the council is to be found charging the inhabitants of the burgh to bring to the Tolbooth their various "stoippis" and measures, for the purpose of having them tested and marked. The utensils mentioned are "quartis, pyntis, choipines, and mutskines;" and the people particularly convened were sellers of "corne, meill, salt, quheit, flour, and wtheris." All beggars who had not a residence of five years in the city were to leave within forty-eight hours after the enactment of a statute on the 6th December, 1595, under pain of being scourged through the town and of being burned on the cheek.

Of great importance is what appears in the records under the date of 28th April, 1597, as it gives the beginning of the shipping of Glasgow. The paragraph bears that "James Temple gef wp his bark callit the James of Glasgw, and enterit tuenty thrie twne, how to pas wyne, and the said James become cautioner for payement of the impost thairfor within ten dayes nixt." There are also similarly entered under the same day:— "The schip callit the Diana of Pettinweym of the birth of thriescoir twnes; the small bark callit the Grace of God of Glasgw with the birth of xxxviij twnes; the schip callit the Pelican of Glasgw of the birth of fyftie twnes; the schip callit the Lyone of Glasgw of the birth of fourtie thrie twnes; the schip callit the Marie Gawane of Glasgw of the birth of fyftie twnes; the schip callit the Phenix of Dundy of the birth of thre scoir fyve twnes." On the 2nd May following there was entered "ane schip callit the Marie and Johne of Pettynweime of the birth of xlviij twnes;" and on the 22nd May, "the schip callit the Antelop of Glasgw of the birth of foirscoir tuelf

twnes." Such are the entries, and from them it will be seen that at that time Glasgow possessed at least six vessels, with an aggregate measurement of 296 tons. The name of one of these vessels—"The Grace of God"—is somewhat peculiar, but the names of the others are quite in accordance with the shipping nomenclature of the present time. Probably, as wine is mentioned, the "James" would trade to France, bringing to the city wines in return for cured salmon; but it is likely they were all engaged either in that trade or in the trade to the Highlands, whence timber and wool were brought. There was at this time no harbour at the Broomielaw, the vessels being simply moored in midstream, and discharged by the primitive method of men wading ashore with the goods on their shoulders. While on this subject, a slight anticipation may be allowed, by the reproduction of a minute of a council meeting held on the 6th June, 1601, in which it is stated that "the prouest, baillies, and counsale hes ordanit ane lytill custome hous to be biggit vpoun the Brigend of [*blank*] lengthe, and that be sicht of Thomas Glen, Thomas Muir, Archibald Faullis, and maister of wark, with sum of the baillies and certane of the deikines, and ordanit the tounes officeris to assist Thomas Pettigrew, taxman this yeir, in ingaddering the same, ilk tua of thame thair tyme about; and the copey of the A B C to be put on the syde of the hous." This new departure must have been gone about with great circumspection, as is shown by the arrangements made by the council; and these arrangements further speak of a noteworthy increase of the traffic on the river.

A division of the single parish of the city and barony of Glasgow took place on the 21st July, 1599; for, according to the records, a deputation from the ministers of the presbytery and the members of the general session appeared before the Town Council, and desired a division of the existing parish into two parishes, so "that the ministers may acknawledge thair awin flok." After mature deliberation, the council, with the approval of the deacons of the crafts, agreed to the proposal on the express condition that the town should not be burdened with the building of kirks or the furnishing of more ministers than they already had. This exceedingly judicious agreement was confirmed by a subsequent meeting of council. In September, 1595, the synod had appointed the parish of Glasgow without the town to have a minister and a kirk of its own. The crypt below the Cathedral was adapted for the purposes of public worship, and Alexander Rowat was made the first minister of the parish.

A charter of erection was granted by King James VI., on the 29th November, 1599, in favour of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. The charter proceeds on

the argument that "understanding the greit abuses which have been committit in time bygone, and yet daily continue, by ignorant, unskilled, and unlearned persons, who, under colour of chirurgeons, abuses the people to their pleasure, passing away, but [without] trial, or punishment, and thereby destroys infinite numbers of our subjects, wherewith no order hath been taken, in tyme bygone, especially within the burgh and barony of Glasgow, Renfrew, Dumbritaine, and our sheriffdoms of Clydesdale, Renfrew, Lanark, Kyle, Carrick, Ayr, and Cunninghame;" to obviate such inconvenience and abuses the charter statute and ordained "Mr. Peter Low, our chirurgeon and chief chirurgeon to our dearest son the prince," with the assistance of Mr. Robert Hamilton, professor of medicine, and their successors, residents in Glasgow, to have full power to call before them within the places specified all persons professing and using the art of chirurgery, to examine them upon their literature, knowledge, and practice, and if they be found worthy to admit them to practise within these bounds. The charter further provided,—(1.) That all such candidates for medical honours should produce testimonials from the ministers and elders, or the magistrates, of the parishes in which they dwelt, as to their life and conversation; (2.) that the visitors of the faculty—Messrs. Low and Hamilton, in the first instance—were to visit every hurt, murdered, or poisoned person, or any person taken away extraordinarily, and to report to the magistrates the facts as they found them; (3.) that these visitors should make, with the consent of their brethren of the faculty, such statutes as were necessary for the good of the art; (4.) that it would not be lawful for any person to exercise and practise medicine within the specified bounds without testimonials from some famous university, or from the king's chief medicioners; (5.) that no person should sell drugs in the city of Glasgow without the permission of the visitors and of Mr. William Spang, apothecary, the penalty for contravention being confiscation of the drugs; (6.) that none should sell rats' poison, such as arsenic or sublimat, under pain of 100 merks (£5, 11s. 1⅓d. sterling), except under the same authority; (7.) that the visitors and their brethren convene every month to give the "poor diseased folks" the benefit of their counsel gratis; and lastly, that the brethren of the faculty be exempt from military service, and from service in the law courts, except in giving their advice in matters pertaining to their art. That charter was duly ratified by the Town Council, and the faculty began its labours.

It appears from the records of the Kirk Session that a census of the population of Glasgow was taken in 1600, and that it was then found to number 7,000. On the 24th of February

SPECIMEN OF OLD GLASGOW WOODEN HOUSES, ABOUT 1600.

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this year, the wrights, formerly incorporated with the masons, were granted by the Town Council a separate letter of deaconry. The question of the appropriation of the burgh lands again emerged on the 12th April, 1600. The magistrates and council foreseeing, as they alleged, the danger and inconvenience which might arise to them by the requests of great men for gifts of portions of the common lands of the burgh, "for that can nocht weill be refusit," considered that a part of these lands should be disposed of, subject to the town's rights to coal, limestone, and moss. A veto was, however, put upon these proceedings by the appearance before them, on the 3rd May following, of the deacons of the crafts, protesting against any of the common lands being given away or let to any person, "conforme to the act set doun in Lord Boyds tyme."

Sir George Elphinstone of Blythswood became provost of the city on the 30th September, 1600, on the presentation of the Duke of Lennox. In December a visit from the duke was expected, for seats were ordered to be fitted up in the Cathedral for the accommodation of the duke and duchess. He either remained for a considerable time, or else he did not arrive so early as was anticipated, for it was not until the 23rd of May, 1601, that a banquet was given in his honour. He had been appointed Scottish Ambassador to the French court, and the citizens of Glasgow, being to a great extent under his feudal control, gave him their best attendance, forty of their number riding with him to Edinburgh and remaining there for a day, probably as a guard of honour. Before leaving he gave authority to the provost and bailies to remain in office until his homecoming. King James himself would appear to have been in Glasgow or its vicinity in the latter part of 1601, for on the 1st September of that year forty-three of his servants were made burgesses of the city gratis. Details of this visit are not available. Spottiswoode states that in 1592, after the murder of the Earl of Moray, a descendant of the great regent, by Gordon of Buckie, the king's name was so freely used as authorising the atrocity that the populace of Edinburgh seemed inclined to rebel, and he found it advisable to retire with his council to Glasgow, where he remained nine days, until the storm blew over. Neither of these references support each other, and it is difficult to say if either be a mistake, or if they refer to separate royal visits.

Among the events of 1600 was a great fire. It took place in the month of June, and a considerable part of the town was destroyed. The fire had commenced in the smithy of James Leischeman, and after investigation the council declared that the fire had occurred in the providence of God, and that Leischeman and his servants were witless of it. They there-

fore ordered the inhabitants of the town not to trouble these parties, either by word or by deed. There is again a break in the continuity of the records, extending from 27th October, 1601, to 13th June, 1605.

The civil history of the community of Glasgow during this period having been traced, it will be interesting to turn to the ecclesiastical affairs of the city within the same time. In 1588, the Kirk Session consisted of two ministers, thirty-eight elders, and twenty-six deacons; and the elders and deacons were sworn not to reveal anything that should be voted upon in the session, or how the members had voted. The stipend of the minister of the first charge was in this year 500 merks Scots (£27, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling): and that of the minister of the second charge 300 merks (£16, 13s. 4d. sterling). Two years afterwards, however, the Town Council, in consideration of their special favour to John Cooper, the occupant of the second charge, granted him the additional sum of 50 merks (£2, 15s. 6⅔d. steg.), together with four dozen loads of coals, and £20 (£1, 13s. 4d. sterling) for house rent. On the 20th February, 1588, the session ordered the masters of the College to repair the Blackfriars Kirk; and on the 10th July, 1589, they ordained that no woman was to sit upon the forms set aside for the men in the Cathedral—they were either to sit "laigh," or bring stools with them. The communion seems to have been celebrated in the autumn of 1589, for the Commendator of Blantyre, as "taxman of the teens" of the parsonage of Glasgow, was required to provide a hogshead of wine for that purpose. In the January of 1590, the session fixed the Sabbath to be respected from sun to sun. No one, according to a decree of 20th December, 1591, was to be proclaimed for marriage without the consent of his or her parents; and those desirous of entering the conjugal estate had to repeat the ten commandments, the articles of faith, and the Lord's prayer. If they could not pass that ordeal they were declared unworthy of being joined in matrimony, and they were liable to censure. Indeed, on the 26th December of that year, a marriage was prohibited by the session until the man had learned the required task. Ten merks (11s. 1⅓d. sterling) had to be paid before proclamation was made; and because of the inconvenience of the custom then prevalent of celebrating marriages on Sunday forenoons, the session enacted that they should take place in the afternoons. In 1592, St. Mary's, or the Tron Church, which had been in ruins for a number of years, was ordered to be repaired for public worship, and in the same year John Bell was appointed the first minister.

The session records bear that on the 25th January, 1593, the minister gave a merk (1s. 1⅓d. sterling) to buy a book in

which to write the names of those who died. The "deid bellman" was to give the minister the names of the dead, and their age at the time of death; and he was further ordered not to ring the bell after sunset or before sunrise, without special warrant from some of the ministers. He was not to go through town in the hours of preaching, nor was he to go round twice for the same person. The "deid bellman" was an official of no small importance in these days. Rae (*Itinerary through Scotland*) gives the following as the usual form of a bellman's account of the death of any one:—"Beloued broothrin and susters, I lat you to wot that thir is an fauthful broothir lautlie departed awt of this present warld, awt thi plesuir of almoughti Good; his naum is Volli Voodcok, third son to Jimmoy Voodcok a cordinger; he ligs awt thi sext door vithin the nord gawt, close on thi nawthuer rawnd, and I wod ya gang to hus burying on Thursdau before twa a cloak," &c. On the 7th February, 1593, the Glasgow Session instructed the bellman to leave out the word "fauthful;" but the reason for such an abstraction from the honours of the dead is not even indicated.

Christmas was a day the celebration of which exercised greatly the feelings of the session. In December, 1593, they ordered that the keepers of Yule be punished by the magistrates; and those who did so were to lose all the privileges of the Kirk, including marriage. Marcus Knox, a Glasgow merchant, placed a bell in the steeple of the consistory house in 1594, an action which would admit him most readily into the good graces of those worthy presbyters and members of session who prohibited the playing of bagpipes in the streets during canonical hours. Mention has been made of the recovery of the "deid bell" by the council, and the appointment by that authority of a bellman; but their jurisdiction in such a matter was questioned by the following minute of Presbytery, dated 5th November, 1594:—"Quhilk day the presbyterie declairis the office of the ringing of the bell to the buriall of the deid to be ecclesiastical and that the electioun of the persone to the ringing of the said bell belongis to the Kirk, according to the ancient canons and discipline of the reformit Kirk." Rutherglen would appear to have been an especially wicked place in these days, for the weakly citizens of Glasgow were forbidden to go near the contaminating influences of its Sunday playhouses.

An important enactment was made by the session on the 3rd July, 1595, by which the first poor's-rate was appointed to be levied on the people of Glasgow; and a committee was then constituted to consider the roll of those who were able to contribute for the relief of the poor.

Breach of promise cases are generally believed to be incidental

only to modern times; but that that is not so is shown by the account of a case which came before the Glasgow Presbytery as far back as 7th September, 1596. Hellen Bull acknowledged to the reverend court that she was guilty of "refusing to marie Johne Miller wt quhome sho hes bein proclaimit twyse, now being of mind to marie Patrik Bryce." Her boldness was met by the Presbytery ordering her "to mak hir repentance in hir paroche kirk of Leinzae, for hir inconstancie, and forder to pay penaltie to the thesaure of hir kirk the nixt Sondaye afore sho entir to hir repentance."

Witchcraft was supposed to be very prevalent at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, and several cases came within the cognisance of the Glasgow Presbytery. Tytler says that witches and sorcerers were thought to be swarming in thousands in the kingdom. He relates (*Hist. Scot.*, Nimmo's Ed., Vol. IV., p. 266) that "an unhappy wretch, named Aitken, was seized on suspicion, put to torture, and in her agony confessed herself guilty, named some associates, and offered to purge the country of the whole crew, if she were promised her life. It was granted her, and she declared that she knew witches at once by a secret mark in their eyes which could not possibly be mistaken. The tale was swallowed. She was carried for months from town to town throughout the country, and in this diabolical circuit accused many innocent women, who, on little more than the evidence of a look, were tried and burnt. At last suspicion was roused. A woman whom she had convicted of having the devil's eyemark, was disguised, and, after an interval, again brought before her; she acquitted her. The experiment was repeated with like success; and the miserable creature, falling on her knees, confessed that torture had made her a liar, both against herself and others." Brown (*Hist. Glas.*, Vol. I., p. 39) states that this woman was brought to Glasgow, and that here she accused several innocent women, who, through the credulity of John Cooper, one of the ministers of the city, were condemned and put to death. There were two cases of witchcraft before the Presbytery of Glasgow, but the issues involved were not so serious and atrocious as those in the case above-mentioned. Before the court "Sibill Dowe grantit yat sho said wordes to hir fellow servant woman touching ye houlat hart [owl's heart] to be rubbit to ane manis shuldir, to cause a man to luif ane woman; but scho usit not the thing in any sort." No punishment is recorded as having been inflicted in this case. At a meeting of the Presbytery on the 9th December, 1601, there "comperit Johne Robeson in Lenzie paroche, and grantis yt at ye comand of margret prestik spous to Johne braid, Christiane braid his dochteir past to Kate hopkin to desyr hir to cum down and turne

ye riddell upone yame yat had tane away his cleithes; ye said Kate came, ye said Johne braid being afield, ye said Kate turnit ye riddell for his cleithes yt he wantit." The Presbytery considered this a "greit and heynous sin," and Robeson and Kate Hopkins were sentenced to make repentance at the pillars of two parish kirks. Mr. Macgeorge (*Old Glas.*, p. 208) relates that the practice was to put the riddle on a pair of tongs, which were held out, and if the riddle trembled when a supposedly guilty person's name was mentioned, suspicion was deepened into a certainty. Lenzie seems to have been a peculiar place in its way, for on the 26th March, 1602, "William grinla in ye parochin of Leinzae" appeared before the Glasgow Presbytery, "and grantit yat William baird in Balloche gart him gang wt him to Annie forsyithe and thai baith besocht ye said Annie for godis saik to cause ye mylne [mill] gang to grind ye said William bairdis meill, and yt ye said William baird opened his sek, and ye said Annie pat hir hand in ye sek, and efter yat ye said mylne geid." Annie had kept out of the way, but the two men had to repent for six Sundays in sackcloth.

Among the other enactments of the Kirk Session was one instructing the deacons of the crafts to see that their craftsmen attended the kirk. Women were not allowed to go into church or listen to the sermon with their shawls over their heads, for it was gravely suspected that they took advantage of these articles to sleep should the minister be dull. The beadle had authority to take the shawls off their heads if they did not do so themselves. No one was to speak ill of the dead, or to "cast up" their demerits to their surviving relatives. In order to give accommodation to their own delinquents, the session had the Blackfriars Kirk steeple set aside as a prison, and the keeper was forbidden to allow any of those who had been "steepled" to have other than prison fare—bread and water. That education was advancing is shown by a complaint of the presbytery in 1604. The number of schools in the city had been increasing, but the reverend court thought that the school taught by John Buchanan, and the Grammar School, were quite sufficient for the wants of the community.

CHAPTER XVIII.

(A.D. 1604-5.)

The Trades Incorporations—The Merchants—Settlement of the Disputes between Merchants and Craftsmen—The Letter of Guildry and Set of the Burgh.

NATURALLY it would have been expected that after the lapse of two and a half centuries all partisanship in the disputes which disturbed the city of Glasgow previous to 1604 would have disappeared with their settlement. Crawfurd, however (*Sketch Rise Prog. of Trades Ho. Glas.*, p. viii.), inveighs severely against the merchant class as it existed at the time of the drafting of the Letter of Guildry. Occasionally he denies the existence of such a class; while now and again he stultifies that position by asserting that the disputes alleged to have taken place arose not from any question as to precedency, or from the desire of either party to have an undue share of municipal government, but because the question at issue was really one between the friends of the reformed doctrines and those of popery and prelacy. On the other side are the opinions of the editors of the *View of the Merchants House*, who, while patting Crawfurd quietly on the back for his valuable history, venture to suggest that though it may have been that the merchants were tinged with the errors of Rome, and though the craftsmen were the exponents of the Reformation, it was more than likely that there may have existed a feeling of jealousy between the two classes. These gentlemen (*View Mer. Ho.*, p. 8) say:—"The formation of these confraternities [trades incorporations] of artisan burgesses or craftsmen into separate and rival guilds or associations, and their tendencies to factious combination, appears to have been anxiously deprecated by the higher and more opulent class of burgesses, constituting the merchant rank, and who as such were naturally possessed of greater influence or power in the government of all considerable burghs, and may be presumed to have been anxious to secure and perpetuate their domination; while, on the other hand, the very want of that proper influence in the administration of the burgh affairs would assuredly rouse the jealousy of the craftsmen, then rising to greater wealth and consideration, and would naturally incite them to form these very combinations for the purpose, amongst others, of obtaining a more equal representation,

and a consequent increased political importance." Probably the most correct way of putting the whole matter would be to say that, generally speaking, the view adopted in the above quotation is the correct one, but that instead of "factious combinations," the combinations made were such as were perfectly lawful and thoroughly praiseworthy in the desire for an equal share in local government. It is out of the question to say that there were no merchants; but they would be in a minority as compared with the craftsmen, who, greater in numbers, may have been as wealthy as the former class. Having in the aggregate an equal share in the taxation, they were justified in the demand they made; and there is no necessity for seeking out any other probable cause for the disputes. It should be mentioned that a number of those in the merchant class could not under ordinary circumstances be termed "merchants." Many were noblemen, ministers, and members of the other learned professions; and the mere fact that Wemyss, the Presbyterian occupant of the first charge in Glasgow, was a member of the merchant rank while the disputes were at their height, militates against the strength of Crawfurd's "popish and prelatical" argument.

Before proceeding further, it will be necessary to give a short account of the various incorporations of trades existent in Glasgow at the time of the introduction of the Letter of Guildry. In regard to this, Crawfurd (*Sketch Trades Ho.*, p. 23) says that there sprang up "among the craftsmen within the royal burghs a desire to be associated under rules enacted by the magistrates and town council, who were in these days supposed to have the powers to regulate trades and incorporate tradesmen and guilds. The regulations issued by the magistrates were styled letters of deaconry—latterly seals of cause—and regulated the manner of conducting trades within the burgh, and of providing funds for the support of the decayed brethren of the crafts, and their widows and children. Before the Reformation, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, as the superior of the burgh and regality, had enacted or had confirmed regulations made by the magistrates and town council, associating several classes of the craftsmen of Glasgow, with the right to elect deacons, collectors, and masters; and, after the Reformation, charters were granted by the Crown, and seals of cause by the magistrates and councillors of Glasgow, incorporating other classes of craftsmen." He then proceeds to give short historical paragraphs concerning the various incorporations, and from these the following information has been taken:—

The incorporation of hammermen, comprehending the goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, and saddlers, was incorporated by a seal of cause granted by the Town Council,

with the concurrence of Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow, dated 11th October, 1536.

The tailors had a seal of cause granted them by the Town Council, with the concurrence of Archbishop Dunbar, in 1546.

It is believed that the cordiners and barkers were incorporated in Glasgow prior to 1460, as their regulations were confirmed by the Town Council on the 27th June of that year.

The weavers were incorporated by a gift from the magistrates, of course with the concurrence of the archbishop, on the 4th June, 1528.

The date when the bakers became first an incorporate body is not now known, but an act of the Town Council was passed in their favour in 1556. A reference to Chapter X. will show that they were influential and important in 1568.

Regulations for the skinners and furriers were confirmed by a seal of cause granted by the magistrates and council of Glasgow on the 28th May, 1516.

The wrights were originally incorporated with the masons and coopers. The coopers sought separation, and were disjoined under separate letters in 1567. The wrights obtained disjunction from the masons on the 3rd May, 1600, according to Crawfurd; but the burgh records bear that this was done on the 24th of February of that year. The incorporation of wrights comprehends wrights, glazing-wrights, boat-wrights, painters, bowyers, and sawyers.

The fleshers were incorporated by a seal of cause granted by the Town Council on the 26th September, 1580.

The masons are said to have been incorporated by royal charter from King Malcolm III., of date 5th October, 1057. It is stated that the charter was discovered among the archives of the Glasgow Lodge of St. John, in a state of wonderful preservation, in the beginning of this century, and that by it the lodge claims precedence of all others in the country, next to the Grand Lodge. Without entering into the controversy on the authenticity of the document, it is only fair to remark that it has been questioned, not only by antiquarians, but also by masons.

The barbers, Crawfurd says, were incorporated along with the physicians and surgeons under the charter of King James on 30th November, 1559. This idea is, however, resented by Dr. Weir, late president of the Faculty, who, in his short *History of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons*, contends that the amalgamation was not constituted until 1656. The combination continued until 1722. He points out that not the slightest reference is made to the barbers in the charter, and further, that it is granted in favour of two medical men.

The dyers and bonnet-makers were incorporated under a

seal of cause granted by the magistrates and council on the 29th October, 1597.

Such were the various incorporations as they existed in 1604. At that time there were 213 burgesses of the merchant rank, and 361 burgesses of the trades rank. The latter class was apportioned among the incorporations as follow:—27 hammermen; 27 bakers; 65 tailors; 50 cordiners; 30 weavers; 17 fleshers; 7 bonnet-makers; 5 dyers; 21 skinners; 2 surgeons; 23 coopers; 11 masons; 21 wrights; and 55 maltmen. The maltmen, however, were only incorporated by the Letter of Guildry.

With this information the whole matter will be better understood. In November, 1604, the merchants and craftsmen appointed representatives from their own classes to confer as to the preparation of a letter of guildry; and after several meetings a messenger was sent to Edinburgh to obtain a copy of the "set" of that burgh. Ultimately, David Wemyss, minister of the first charge, and John Bell, minister of the Tron, together with two Edinburgh craftsmen, were selected as oversmen or judges in any controversy that might arise in the settlement of the claims of both ranks. As an example of the state of education at the time, it may be pointed out that some of the commissioners could not sign the minutes of their meetings, and their hand had to be "led by the notar."

As a result of the deliberation of the commissioners and their assessors, a letter of guildry was drawn up, and agreed to on the 6th February, 1605. This document is of the most voluminous character, and contains no fewer than fifty-four clauses. The preamble narrates:—

"Forasmuch as the whole inhabitants within this burgh and city of Glasgow, burgesses and freemen thereof, as well merchants as craftsmen, having duly considered and deeply weighed the great hurt, interest, damage, loss, and skaith which their haill common-well, these many years bygone, have sustained by strangers and unfreemen, using and usurping the privileges and ancient liberties of this burgh, as freely as the freemen and burgesses indwellers within the same, and partly by some mutual controversies and civil discords arising amongst the said freemen and burgesses anent their privileges, places, ranks, and prerogatives, by the which occasions not only their trade, traffick and handling has been usurped by strangers and unfreemen, as said is, to the great depauperating of the haill inhabitants within this town; but also all policy and care of the liberties of this burgh has 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 causes thereof to be for the want of the solid and settled order amongst

themselves; therefore, and for remead thereof in time coming, and for conforming of themselves the said burgh and city, to other well reformed burghs within this realm, and for the common-well, and particular profit of the haill inhabitants thereof, in their own rank and posterity in all time coming, and especially to the advancing of God's glory, and better ability to serve our sovereign lord the king's majesty, and for settling of peace, concord and amity amongst themselves as faithful Christians and loving citizens, and their assistants of both the ranks, and whole body of this town, after many meetings and conventions, long disputation and reasoning concerning their quietness and standing thereof, having nominate and chosen now William Anderson and Thomas Muir baillies, Matthew Turnbull, Robert Adam, James Bell, John Dickson, William Stirling, Archibald Faulls, James Inglis, James Fleming, George Muir and Thomas Brown, for the haill merchant rank and their assistants, John Anderson baillie, Robert Ruat, Mr. Peter Low, Duncan Semple, James Braidwood, John Scott deacon, John Muir skipper, Mr. Robert Hamilton, William Muir flesher, and James Fisher maltman, for the haill craftsmen and their assistants, and the right honourable Sir George Elphinston of Blythswood knight provost, Mr. David Weems parson of Glasgow, Mr. John Bell and Mr. Robert Scott ministers thereof, as oversmen and oddsmen, mutually chosen betwixt the said merchants and crafts in case of variance, the saids persons having accepted the said matter in, and upon them, being several times conveened to treat and reason upon the said matters concerning the common-well of the said burgh, after long reasoning had thereintill, for the better advancement of the said common-well, and settling any controversies that may fall out thereafter betwixt any of the saids ranks of merchants and craftsmen, and their assistants and successors, and the better enlarging of both their liberties, freedom and privileges, whereby they may live in time coming in the fear of God, obedience to his majesty, and in good love peaceable, amity and concord among themselves, so as both states may flourish afterwards. After great pains, long travelling, and mature deliberation, heard, seen and considered, and ripely advised by both the states of the saids merchants and craftsmen and their assistants, has concluded that there shall be in all time coming a dean of guild and a deacon-conveener, with one visitor of the maltmen, whose elections, statutes and privileges follows."

It is unnecessary to reproduce the prolix and wordy paragraphs or clauses of the letter of guildry; but as this document is the foundation of the burgh system, it may be advisable to give a brief summary of each of them. They may be given as

follows:—1st. That the Dean of Guild should always be a merchant, and a merchant sailor and merchant adventurer, and that he should be chosen yearly by the provost, bailies, council, and deacons of the burgh, there being an equal number of merchants and craftsmen at his election. 2nd. That the dean should not be in office more than two years, and that the retiring dean, with the advice of twenty-four of the merchant rank, should nominate two of the merchant rank to be in a leet with himself, the names to be presented to the authorities already mentioned for the selection of a person to occupy the position, who was to be sworn in their presence for the faithful discharge of his duties. 3rd. The dean's council was to be composed of four merchants, including the ex-dean, and four craftsmen, "men of good fame, knowledge, experience, care and zeal to the commonwell, the most worthy men of both ranks." 4th. The dean and his council were to meet every Thursday forenoon at ten o'clock, or oftener if necessary. 5th. In the absence of the dean, the ex-dean or any of the merchant councillors might be elected his substitute. 6th. The dean was always to be an ordinary councillor of the great council of the town, and he was to have a principal key of the town's charter chest in keeping. 7th. The dean and his council had power to decern in all matters committed to their charge, and had liberty to elect a clerk. 8th. No lawyer was to be allowed to speak for any one before the dean and his council, but parties were to do so themselves. 9th. The dean and his council had power to judge in all actions betwixt merchant and merchant in matters of merchandise, and such like causes, and any one refusing to submit to their judgment was liable to be fined. 10th. The dean and his council, with the master of work, were to deal with all questions of neighbourhood and lining within the burgh. 11th. The dean and his council had power to punish and fine all unfreemen who used the liberty of freemen within the burgh. 12th. The dean and his council were to look after all the weights and measures used within the burgh. 13th. The dean and his council had power to raise a tax on the guild brethren for the help of decayed brethren and their wives, children, and servants; and the tax being uplifted it was to be distributed at the discretion of the dean, his council, and the deacon-convener. 14th. Every resident burgess was to pass guild-brother on the payment of a merk (1s. 1⅓d. sterling) at his entry to the Dean of Guild, together with forty pennies (3⅓d. sterling) to the hospital of his calling, and should have liberty to use any trade that was lawful. 15th. That every guild-brother's son who was, as a merchant, worth 500 merks (£27, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling), or, as a craftsman, worth 250 merks (£13, 17s. 9⅓d. sterling), would be admitted a guild-brother on payment of twenty shillings (1s. 8d. sterling),

with five shillings (5d. sterling) to the hospital of his calling. 16th. By this clause a guild-brother's son-in-law was put on the same footing as a son. 17th. The same benefit was extended to the children of burgesses dead within the ten years previous to the letter of guildry. 18th. All burgesses' wives during their widowhood were to enjoy the same privileges as if their husbands were alive, on the payment of a small fee. 19th. No apprentice was to be made a burgess in right of his apprenticeship without having served two years, and he could not be made a guild-brother until he had been four years a burgess. 20th. Every stranger, whether merchant or craftsman, applying to be made a freeman of this burgh, was to be examined first by the Dean of Guild and his council. 21st. Whoever should hereafter be made a burgess gratis should pay £40 Scots (£3, 6s. 8d. sterling) for his guildry, with forty shillings (3s. 4d. sterling) to the hospital of his calling. 22nd. That the guildry fees from merchants and craftsmen be divided for the benefit of the hospitals and decayed brethren of each rank. 23rd. That it should not be lawful for any guild-brother, not then a burgess, but who might afterwards become so, "to tapp tan, ayl, butter, or to tapp eggs, green [fresh ?] herring, pears, apples, corn, candle, onions, kail, straw, bread (except bakers, who may sell bread at all licit times as their pleasure), milk, and such like small things which is not agreeable to the honour of the calling of a guild-brother." 24th. "It shall not be leasome to a single burgess, who enters hereafter to be a burgess, and becomes not a guild-brother, to tapp any silk or silk-work, spices or sugars, drugs nor confections, wet or dry, no launs or camricks, nor stuffs above twenty shillings per ell, no foreign hats, nor hats with velvet or taffety that comes out of France, Flanders, England, or other foreign parts, nor to tapp hemp, lint or iron, brass, copper or ache, neither to tapp wine in pint or quart, great salt, wax, waid, grain, indego, nor any other kind of litt, neither to buy nor sell in great, within the liberties of this burgh, salt-beeff, salmond, herring, nor yet to salt any of them to sell over again, but for their own use allenarly [only], neither to buy plaiding or cloth in great, to sell again within this liberty, nor to buy tallow above two stones together, except only candlemakers to serve the town, or any honest man for his own use, nor to buy any sheep-skins to dry and sell over again, or hides to salt and sell again, nor any wild skins within this liberty, as tods skins above five together, otters not above three together, and other like skins. And sicklike not to sell any kind of woolen cloth above thirty-three shillings and four pennies [2s. 9⅓d. sterling] per ell, linen cloth not above thirteen and four pennies [1s. 1⅓d. sterling] per ell, except such cloth as is made in their house, which they shall have liberty to sell as they can best, neither

buy wooll to sell over again within this liberty, nor to buy any linen yarn to sell over again, or to transport out of the town, either in great or small parcels, excepting the weavers of the burgh, who buy yarn to make cloth, and sell the same at pleasure." 25th. That stall-keepers should only be allowed to set up their stalls in the High Street on Wednesdays and fair days, and that they were to sell no wares but such as were permitted a single burgess. 26th. That "it shall not be licenced to any single burgess or gild-brother to buy with other men's money, under colour and pretence that it is their own, any wares within the liberty of this burgh," under a penalty of £20 Scots (£1, 13s. 4d. sterling), and having their freedom cried down, "and that in respect of the great hurt and damage that the freemen of this burgh hath sustained by such doings heretofor." 27th. That it should not be lawful for any person holding shops at any time to have stands upon the High Street, but only such as sold Scotch cloth, bonnets, shoes, iron work, "and such-like handywork used by craftsmen." 28th. That unfreemen should only sell, from their stands in the High Street, anything pertaining to the crafts, from eight in the morning and two o'clock in the afternoon, "providing that tappers of linen and woolen cloth be suffered from morning at their pleasure to sell." 29th. All burgesses hereafter to be made were to pay five merks Scots (5s. 6⅔d. sterling) to the hospitals of their calling. 30th. No burgesses were to be entered hereafter unless they were worth a hundred pounds Scots (£8, 6s. 8d. sterling) as merchants, or twenty pounds Scots (£1, 13s. 4d. sterling) as craftsmen. 31st. The dean and his council were to have power to make laws and penalties, and to use them according to the circumstances of each case. 32nd. The proceeds of fines were to be applied, one-half to the dean and his council, and the other half to "any good and pious work" the dean and his council and the deacon-convener should think fit. 33rd. That the dean and his council should yearly elect one of their own number as their treasurer. 34th. That the dean and his council should yearly choose an officer for poinding and for putting into execution the decrees of the court. 35th. That the dean should have full power to convene the merchants at any time necessary, to consider the affairs of their hospital, &c. 36th. That the annuals of "the back alms-house pertaining to the town, behind the bishop's hospital," should in the future be equally divided between the merchants and crafts hospitals. 37th. That the dean and his council should yearly appoint a common measurer of woollen cloth sold within the burgh, his fee of two shillings Scots (2d. sterling) per hundred ells, to be paid by the seller. 38th. That the dean and his council must have the ratification of the provost, bailies, and council of the city, to any statutes they

might afterwards make. 39th. That the first Dean of Guild should be Matthew Turnbull, merchant. 40th. That yearly in all time coming there should be a deacon-convener, of the crafts rank, whose mode of election, and whose power among the crafts, were to be similar to those of the Dean of Guild among the merchants. 41st. That all apprentices should pay certain fees. 42nd. That the deacon-convener, with the advice of the deacons and their assistants, should have power to elect a collector for gathering in the rents, annuals, and dues pertaining to their hospital; and that the deacon-convener's statute book should be ratified by the provost, bailies, and council. 43rd. That Duncan Semple, skipper, should be the first deacon-convener. 44th. That a visitor of the maltmen and mealmen should be chosen yearly by the Town Council from a leet of four of the worthiest men of the rank. 45th. That the visitor of the maltmen was to have the same control over his craftsmen as the several conveners had over the members of their respective incorporations. 46th. That maltmen and others were not to be allowed to buy malt, meal, or "bear" within the town, either before or in time of market, to sell over again. 47th. That no one was to purchase any stuff brought into the town until it was presented to the market, except it had been spoken for. 48th. That all who were then burgesses should have liberty to make malt for their own use, or to sell; but all who became so afterwards were to make a pecuniary acknowledgment to the visitor of the maltmen, to be bestowed on decayed brethren. Clauses 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, and 54 contain regulations for the incorporation of maltmen.

This lengthy and not uninteresting document, was signed by the commissioners for the merchants and crafts, and also by the oversmen. On the 9th of February, 1605, the commissioners went with it to the Town Council, and the "letter being read, and considered by the said provest, baillies, and council aforesaid, and being therewith ripely advised, understanding the same first to redound to the honour of God, common-well of this burgh, and well of both the saids ranks of merchants and craftsmen, and to their mutual amity, concord and agreement hereafter, thought the foresaid petition and desire most lawful and reasonable, and therefore accepted, received, and admitted the said letter, and in token of their consent subscribed the same, and ordain'd the saids commissions respective, and letter in form of a submission, and that of dean of gildrie, deacon-conveener, and visiter of maltmen and mealmen, proceeding and following thereupon, to be insert, and registrated in the burrow-court books, and their authority to be interponed thereto." On the 16th of the same month, the provost, bailies, and council being desirous that the mutual bond should "take

happy effect," ordained "that in all musters, weapons showing, and other lawful assemblies, that there shall be no question, strife or debate betwixt merchants and craftsmen for prerogative or priority, but that they, and every one of them, as ane body of the common-well, shall rank and place themselves together, but distinction, as they shall happen to fall in rank, and otherways as shall be thought expedient by the provost and baillies for the time, declaring by these presents, that whatever he be either merchant or craftsman who makes question, mutiny or tumult for their rank by prerogative or property, and repines at the will & discretion of the provost, shall be judged & reputed as a seditious person, and furder, punished on syght."

In view of the reiterated statements in the Letter of Guildry, and the kindred documents, it is unnecessary to offer any further remark upon Crawfurd's contention. As the hospitals of the two ranks of burgesses are mentioned in certain clauses of the letter, it may be well to mention that the Trades Hospital was in Kirk Street, the prebendal manse of the Rector of Morebattle having been adapted for that purpose after the Reformation; while the Merchants Hospital was in the Bridgegate, having been in existence as early as 1601.

CHAPTER XIX.

(A.D. 1605-7.)

The Liberties of the Burgh—King James VI. grants the Town Council the Privilege of Electing their own Magistrates—The Consequent Disturbances—Withdrawal of the Privilege.

While the adoption of the Letter of Guildry was certainly an important step in the direction of municipal reform in Glasgow, it still failed to satisfy some of the parties to the agreement, and many disputes of a more or less serious nature took place—a very common occurrence being that parties were punished for speaking disrespectfully of the Dean of Guild and his council. But events of much greater moment were happening. On the death of Archbishop Beaton, resident in France from 1560, who had been in possession of the temporalities of the see for a number of years, the archbishopric became vacant; and as Episcopacy had been re-established by King James VI., he presented John Spottiswoode, parson of Mid-Calder, who is said to have favoured his ecclesiastical schemes.

Before proceeding further, it may be well to take a slight retrospect of some of the parliamentary enactments relating to Glasgow. By an act passed on the 29th July, 1587, the lands of the barony were annexed to the Crown; and by a charter of date 3rd November of the same year, King James VI. erected the whole of the lands into a temporal lordship in favour of Walter, Commendator of Blantyre, to be held by him on the annual payment to the Crown of £500 Scots (£41, 13s. 4d. sterling). In 1600, the king, by a charter dated the 17th November, granted to Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, the castle of Glasgow, and the heritable right of electing the magistrates of the city as freely in all respects as the archbishops held the same. This charter also constituted the duke and his successors heritable bailies and justiciaries over the whole lands belonging to the temporalities of the archbishop. These privileges were held of the king in feu on payment of 20s. Scots (1s. 8d. sterling) yearly. By an act of 1606 the temporalities were restored to the Church.

All these movements, together with the desire for increased burghal freedom, seem to have suggested to the magistrates and leading men of Glasgow the propriety of making an effort for the erection of the city into something approaching a royal burgh. Between 1601 and 1605, the exact date is not now known, owing to a hiatus in the Burgh Records, they obtained from King James VI. the liberty of electing their own magistrates. Upon this privilege they appear to have acted; and their whole efforts were directed towards obtaining from his majesty and Parliament a ratification of the grant. In this, however, they were unsuccessful, partly owing to external opposition, but to a very great extent because of division among themselves. Frequent disturbances occurred within the city, and ultimately matters came to such a pass that, in 1606, the king sent a letter to the Town Council ordering them to elect three parties, whom he named, as bailies for the next year. This order the council endeavoured to shirk, and they postponed acting upon it as long as they could. Archbishop Spottiswoode, whose zeal for the king was undoubted, brought such pressure to bear upon the municipal rulers of Glasgow, so that they, after a delay of three months, gave effect to the royal decree. They were, then, fain to shift the responsibility of the election of magistrates off their own shoulders; and by a resolution come to on the 19th September, 1607, they formally handed back to the archbishop the ancient right possessed by the holders of his office of appointing the provost and selecting the bailies of the burgh. In this way ended a most unfortunate episode in the local government of Glasgow. Possibly the Town Council and the inhabitants of the city may have been

to blame for their inability to carry the "full cup" of greater privileges; but it may be shrewdly suspected that the able and ambitious archbishop, working upon a king whose leanings to episcopal order were becoming yearly more pronounced, had more to do with the withdrawal of the right than any fault committed by the people or their authorities.

As this important matter has hitherto been overlooked, some details regarding it cannot fail to prove interesting and instructive. It is unfortunate that the preliminary steps in the affair are not now known; but that is owing, as already indicated, to the loss of the portion of the Burgh Records from 27th October, 1601, to 13th June, 1605. The first notice of the movement in the existent records is under date of 4th July, 1605, when the following appears:—"Deliuerit be the balleis and counsale to Mathow Trumble, deane of gild, his Majestes lettre direct to this burgh for erecting of the samin in ane frie burgh regall." This entry is somewhat equivocal, and at first sight it would seem to refer to a letter of erection of the city into a king's burgh, which would have been an advancement for Glasgow. Subsequent entries show, however, that such was not the case; but there are frequent references to privileges granted the burgh by the king as to the election of magistrates. On the 3rd of August following, the magistrates and council appointed William Anderson, bailie, Matthew Turnbull, dean of guild, and four others to accompany the provost to Edinburgh, to obtain confirmation of the liberty to elect their own magistrates. Nothing appears to have come of this, for, on the 27th of the same month, the magistrates and council requested Sir George Elphinstone of Blythswood, then provost, to ride to London to the king on the same purpose. His expenses were ordained to be paid him out of a thousand merks (£55, 11s. 1⅓d. sterling) borrowed in Edinburgh. No result is given as from this visit to London, but an idea of the nature of the privilege conferred by the king upon the corporation may be gained from an entry of 2nd October, 1605. There it is stated that the council had, "all in ane woice," elected Sir George Elphinstone as provost; and out of a leet of nine names, including those of the three old bailies, "the remanent of the counsale, be pluralitie of woitis," chose William Anderson, Matthew Turnbull, and Robert Rowat as bailies for the year.

These quotations indicate a most important concession to the council in the election of their magistrates. A ratification of the privilege seems to have been desired: probably the ambition of the council extended towards royalty, which, as already shown, is at least suggested by the wording of the minute of 4th July, 1605. However that may be, it is recorded that on the 28th December of the same year, "the proveist, baillies,

counsall and deikinis of counsall, aftir declaratioune maid be Williame Andersoune, baillie, and master John Ros, of his Majesties guidwill and affectioune in perfyting and performing the Liberties of this burgh, according to his Majesties first lettere, and that the doing and performing thairof is committit to George erll of Dumbar, Lord Hume of Berwick, thesaurer, etc., and that his lordschip be wntrew reportis of the enemies of this commoun weill, quha intendis to withstand the libertie of this burgh and bring the samin in perpetuall miserie and slaifrie, informis not onlie his Majestie bot lykwayis my Lord Duik of Lennox and his lordship, that it is the will and desyre of the communitie of this burgh and honest rank thairof to haue thair liberties grantit vnto thame conforme to his Majesties guid will and lettre direct to thame, thairfoir with ane voice and consent hes concludit that, with heart and hand, thai will maist heartilie concurr, with bodie and guidis, maist humblie to suit the perfyting of thair liberties conforme to his Majesties grant as ane mater not onlie profitabill for thame and thair posteritie and ane liberatioune from all slaifrie, bot also maist expedient for the suirtie and advancement of his Majesties service, and to that effect the proveist, baillies, and counsall foirsaid, all in ane voice hes condiscendit to ryd to Edinburgh in thair awin persounes for obtening thairof. The samin day, the proveist, baillies, and counsall hes concludit and ordanit ilk manir of persoune burges and frieman of this burgh, quha rydis not, to be taxt according to thair powar and habilitie for supplieing the chargis and expensis of thes quha rydis, seing the same is ane commoune caus." This large deputation may be presumed to have effected nothing by their visit to Edinburgh—probably because the king was absent from the capital, or perhaps owing to an opposition which seems to have sprung up in some quarters—because on the 10th January, 1606, the all-pervading subject was again under consideration without any apparent change of circumstance. On that day the bailies, council, and deacons waited on the provost, Sir George Elphinstone, at his "duelling hows, and with all thair heartis earnestlie requeistit him to vndertak the jurnay to his Majestie," to obtain confirmation of "his Majesties first lettere." Whether or not Sir George, whose position of Lord Justice-Clerk was peculiarly favourable to the furtherance of the object in view, succeeded in advancing the interests of the burgh at court, does not transpire. At least he seems to have persuaded the king to address another letter to the magistrates and council of Glasgow on the subject, for on the 6th March, 1606, it was "concludit and ordanit that ane lettir of hartlie thankis be sent to his Majestie, and that eftir reding of his Majesteis lettir." In all likelihood this epistle would contain a renewal of the promises as to increased

privileges—that it was not a confirmation of them is evident from subsequent entries.

But not only was the "perfyting of the liberties" of Glasgow opposed by outsiders, but also by many in the city, and even in the council itself, who, for some reason or other, were desirous that the city should remain in "perpetuall miserie and slaifrie." On the 28th June, 1606, "the balleis and counsale, eftir reading of ane lettir direct [sent] be the provist to thame, ordanis ane ansuer be writtin be the clerk that na manir of commissionoris direct fra thame to the parliament, and gif ony beis, altogiddir by [without] thair knawledge, to exoirt [exhort] his lordschip to continow cairfull in perfyting of the wark of thair libertie in the parliament, and ordanis the clerk to subscryve the same in thair names." The nature of the communication from Sir George Elphinstone is shown by a minute of 19th July, three weeks later. It had been found that John Ros, James Braidwood, and Niniane Andersoune had gone to Perth, "with ane supplicatioune subscryvit be thame and certane vtheris of thair evill disposit myndis, and certane vthir simple persons, and thairby doand quhat in thame lay to hurt the liberteis of this bruch granted be his Majestie, quhairvpone the ratificatioune thairof in parliament is delayit." All who subscribed to such a document were to have their freedom cried down; and "the provist, balleis, and counsale hes concludit that thai, with all thair hertis, with the haisyaird [hazard] of thair bodyis, guidis, and geir, will fortifie, mantene, and defend thair liberteis grantit to thame anent the electioune of thair magistratis be our Soverane Lord." Ros was expelled the council for the "seditius doing against his aithe of fidelitie," and a day was fixed "for accusing of James Braidwood and Niniane Andirsoun." The nature of the grant and the station of the non-contents is further shown by an entry of 21st July, 1606. There appeared before the magistrates and council, on that day, "William Neisbit, deakin of the tailzouris, John Scot, deakin of the smythis, Archibald Reid, deakin of the wrichtis, and John Walace, deakin of the measonis; forsamickle as thai being informeit that certane deakins of this towne, with certane vthir seditius personis, evill affectit towardis the liberteis of this bruch grantit be our Soverane Lord in the frie electioune of thair magistratis of this towne," had caused delay in the ratification, "off the quhilk thair doing and vnlachfull proceedingis, thai [the above-named deacons] being altogeddir ignorent, be this present act declairis that thai and everie ane of thame will fortifie, manteine, and defend the foirsaidis liberteis with thair bodyis, gudis, and geir, concurr and assist with thair magistratis to that effect, and passis fra all exemptioune procurit be the foirsaidis seditius personis." The name of the deacon-convener

at this time was James Braidwood, and possibly he is the person mentioned in conjunction with John Ros. No minute is given of how he and Niniane Andersoun were dealt with, and it may be presumed that proceedings were withheld against them. Whether or not the deacon-convener was one of the guilty parties, it is at least certain that a large proportion of the trades opposed the "liberteis of the bruch," but for what reason it is difficult to surmise.

Whatever may have been at the foundation of the opposition, the action of the magistrates in regard to Ros and his colleagues resulted in riots in the city. As much may be gathered from several minutes. On the 6th of August, 1606, the provost, magistrates, and council appointed that "twa commissioneris, with ane of the balleis, be direct [sent] to the [Privy] counsal to be haldin in Sanct Jhonstoune [Perth] this nixt Thursday the sevint of August, to meane to the [Privy] counsale of the lait truble and seditioune fallin furth in this towne, and insorectioune maid against the magistratis, and to procuir of the counsale that ane daye of tryell of the said insorectioune may be appointit in this towne." This commission seems to have been successful in their application to the Privy Council, for, on the 30th of the same month, there was presented to the Town Council a petition from Adam Neil and Samuel Liston, "wairdit in Linlythgow for the last vproir done in this towne," confessing their fault, and desiring that steps be taken towards their release. John Boyd was made a burgess, and his fines were remitted him, on the 20th of September following, for the service he had done to the town, in assisting to quell a disturbance which had arisen when the magistrates and council were in Linlithgow. At the same time "Mathew Calmerowne," one of the officers of the city, was similarly honoured for his good services "that nicht the provist, balleis, and counsale wes persewit be the laird of Mynto, elder and younger."

The time for the annual election of the provost and magistrates came round, and, accordingly, on the 30th September, 1606, a meeting of the magistrates and council was convened for that purpose. A letter had, however, been received from the king, declaring that it was his majesty's will and pleasure that the election should be postponed until the 3rd of November. This the council agreed to do, protesting that it should not prejudice their privilege of electing their magistrates at the ordinary time in the future. On the 1st October, 1606, the council received this epistle from the king:—

"JAMES, R. Trustye and weilbeloued, we greit you hairtlye weill. Quhairas the laite bygane disordour and ryotte within that our citye hes gevin ws most iust caus of offence to sie the commownes of the same without any respect of thair dewtifull

obedience vnto ws, to be this distractit in factionis and pairteis amang themeselfis; and we, vnderstanding that one of the greitest causis of the same hes bein the stryfe and competencye betuix sum personis for the plaice of the provestrie of that your citye, the ordinarye tyme of the electioun of your magistrattis for this yeir being now past, we haif thoght meitt for keiping of that our citye in goode rewlle and ordour, and for taking awaye any suche lyke occasion of misdemeanour heirefter, to will and requyre yow to make particular choice and to elect Mathow Turnebull, Thomas Mwire and Robert Rowatt to be your bailleis for this yeir ensewing, being men (as we vnderstand) very indifferent, and weill disposed to sie our peace keiped, and desyreis to haif the citye floorische, vnto quhais electioune also the archbischope of Glasgow hes gevin his consent. And we intend to appoynte no provest presentlye quhill vpoun farder advyse we signifie our pleasure thairanent. In the meantyme, willing yow to conforme yourselfis in all obedience to these your magistratts, we bid you fairweill. From our court at Hamptoun Courte the first of October 1606. To our trustye and weillbeloued the Bailleis and Counsell of our citye of Glasgow."

This document reduces the cause of the dispute to personal jealousy. The council met on the 3rd November, 1606, and postponed consideration of the letter until the 11th of the month. On the 13th November, the council minuted another protest, but did not act on the royal mandate. Next day, however, they seem to have been called together peremptorily, for, in the presence of the archbishop, they took into consideration how they should do anent the election of magistrates, so as to satisfy the king. After reasoning, it was "propónit to my lord of Glasgow, for estableising of ane solid ordour in cheising of the magistratis heirefter, and for quietnes of this towne, that the lyttis of the bailleis be presentit to the bischope as of awld, to the effect that his lordschip may mak chois of thrie of the saidis lyttis to be balleis, and that the said archbischope propone and present to the balleis and counsale of the town twa or thrie of the said counsale that ane of thame may be acceptit to be thair provist, or that the saidis balleis and counsale sall propone and present to the said archbischope twa or thrie of thair counsale that his lordschip may name ane of thame to be thair provist." The archbishop agreed to lay this proposal before the king.

In Wodrow's *Life of Spotswood*, reproduced in the *Scotichronicon* (1867-8 Ed.), there is a letter, written by the archbishop, which throws considerable light upon the subject now under review. Wodrow there states (*Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 289), under the probable date of 1609, that "this year, as I take it,—but the

letter wanting date I am not positive, only it seems to be before ane Assembly, probably that at Glasgow,—there came a letter from the king, by the bishop's [Spottiswoode's] procurement, no doubt, to the city of Glasgow, directing them in the choice of their magistrates, which was very heavily taken by the toun. The bishop, however, by his influence, keeped matters smooth under this step, scarce ever taken with royall [?] burghs, but [except] when arbitrary methods are carrying on, and to serve some particular purpose. Upon this, in November, the bishop writes the following letter to the king, giving the history of this matter, which I will not grudge to transcribe.

"'Most Gracious Soveraigne,—The Letter which it pleased your Majesty to send to the City of Glasgow, for Electing their Baillies this year, was by some of their number so misconstrued, as it bred no little business; yet at last they are won to obedience, and have advised to pass from their new libertys, and betake themselves to the custome of former times; which as it is more ancient, so it will prove much better to their Estate than the new formes they desired. And if it may be your Maty's. good pleasure to hear a little of the course that has been keeped in thir matters: whereas at the receipt of your Highnes' Letter, which was upon the 3rd of November [1606], the Answere was delayed till the 11 of the same. All the mid time was spent in animating the Burgesses against the directions thereof, wherein some of the Factious so prevailed that in the morning of that 11 day, it was noised that all the people of the City would meet at the Tolbooth, and oppose themselves, by taking Protestations in contrair of the Letter. Certain, also, were put out to warn me, that it was not expedient that I should come to the Council, because, in opposition, there might fall out some things that might not be so easily redressed. Suspecting the Counsel that was given me, I answered, that as I had delivered your Letter, so I would not cease to urge the obedience thereof; and if any man would be unruly, I should be patient: therefore I would keep the place, to bear witnes of any man's doing. This heard, they resolved not to meet at all; and when I was come to the Tolbooth, abiding there from ten to twelve, none appeared. Certain of the Ministers of the Toun, the Principall of the Colledge, and some other Gentlemen, were with me, in whose presence I took Documents, in the hands of 3 Nottarrs, of this their refusall, witnessed by their wilfull absence, and Certifyed that I would advertise your Highnes. The conscience of their misbehaviour, and fear of complaining, drew them to intercede with me in the evening, by their Pastors, that I would not be hasty to advertise; promising, at my desire, to conveen the next day, and give a reverend Answer, which they did, taking the course that your Maty. will perceive in their Act of Council,

subscribed by the Clerk of the Toun, and three Ministers as Witnesses. The Crafts that had not place to meet with them in Council, Conveened apart also, professing their obedience, with an humble acknowledgment of your Maty's. favours unto those of their number that were detained in Ward, and desiring the Election of their Magistrates might be after the ancient Form simply, wherein they differed somewhat from the Council, as your Maty. will perceive by reading the different writes. After this appeared a wonderful change in the people, all of them striving who should be first in obedience, and best reported of; so as now we only attend your Maty's. good pleasure to follow it, without any reasoning. And if I may be so bold, upon the knowledge of their present Estate, in all humblenes I present my opinion to your most Sacred Maty., that it may be your Highnes' gracious pleasure to command them of new to Elect the Baillies that were Nominat by your Maty. in your first Letter, and to signify that it is your Highnes' mind that they have no Provost at this time; but in the meantime, to chuse a discreet council, half of the merchants, half of the Crafts, according to the Roll, whereunto, of both partys I have warrand, and yet cannot be well received of that multitude without your speciall direction. And as to the desire of the Councill of the Toun anent the Election of the Provost, please your Maty. to reserve it to your Highnes' good advice for a certain time. This, Sr., if it may please your Maty. to command, will be readily effected, and shall bring things to such quietnes here, as it shall not be remembered there was amongst them formerly any difference. Pardon me, Sr., that I have been so long upon this matter, for I desire the disposition of the people should be known to your Maty., and my pains taken with them, sometimes threatening them, sometimes perswading, and warning them out of the Pulpit, to beware of such courses as had the Ministers taken in their Rebellion, who thought the liberty of the Kirk was hazarded in the obedience of your Highnes' commandments. But for these matters of the Ministers, please your Maty., we are here quiet, and their absence will even breed a forgetfulness.'"

By a comparison of the events recorded in this letter and those in the Burgh Records, it is apparent that the archbishop's epistle to the king must have been written some time between the 14th November, 1606, and the 22nd December of the same year. Wodrow, therefore, has made a mistake in fixing the date at 1609, though in his other conclusions he is in the main correct.

The king, it is to be presumed, acted upon the suggestions made by Archbishop Spottiswoode, for on the 22nd December, 1606, the Records state that "In presence of my lord of Glasgow

his Majesteis lettre being producit for electioun and nomination of the balleis for this instant yeir, quhilk being read his Majestie thereby ordanit as befoir that Robert Rowatt, Mathew Turnbull, and Thomas Mure should be electit balleis for this instant yeir," and the council, in conformity with their instructions, elected these men to the office. The royal letter had reference also to the composition of the council, for at a meeting on the 24th of December, the old and new bailies, in accordance with the king's special instructions, and acting upon their ancient privilege, agreed that they should admit, for this year only, eleven craftsmen upon the council, with twelve merchants, but on the express understanding that the admission of so many craftsmen should not be held as a precedent in the future. Robert Rowat, Mathew Turnbull, and Thomas Mure, protested against the admission of so many craftsmen, in respect that the same was contrary to the laws of the realm and the custom and use of the burgh; but Deacon-Convener Braidwood, for himself and in name of the crafts, claimed that the mode of choosing the bailies and council then adopted, should not prejudice the right of the crafts to "equalitie of governament."

Nothing noteworthy was done in regard to this interesting question of municipal government until the 11th July, 1607. At a meeting of council on that day there "compeirit John Hwittoune, direct [sent] fra my lord of Glasgow fra the castell and presentit ane lettir derect fra his Majestie to the balleis and counsele anent the ancient libertie and priuelege of the bischopes of Glasgow in electioun of the magistratis, dight at Greinviche the thrid of Junii 1607, quhilk being red was left in the handis of Robert Rowat, ballie, and continows ansuer thairof quhill my lord of Glasgowis awin presence with ane greter nwmber of the counsell." "The saidis balleis and personis vpoune counsell being convenit," on the 19th September, "ane reuerent fathir in God John Archiebischope of Glasgow, quha exponit and declairit to the foirsaidis balleis and counsell, that was nocht vnknavin to thame, that thai be thair letteris direct to our Soverane Lord for settleing of ane soleid ordour in electioune of our magistratis of the said bruch in tyme cuminge, hwmblie schawin and declairit to his Hienes that thai wald willinglie follow and quhatevir wes his Majesteis will and pleasour thairintill, and did craif vndirstand the same quhill his Hienes will wes knawin to thame, ressauit vpone the [11th] day of [July] last bypast, and quhairof thai continowit the ansuer quhill the said reuerent fatheris awin presens and that ane sufficient nwmber of counsele of the toune wes convenit, and this day the said reuerent fathir being present and the counsel of the towne sufficientlie convenit, desyrit the saidis balleis and counsell to adwys and gif ansuer to his Hienes lettir. Efter

reasoning and consultatioune had thairanent, the saidis balleis and counsell, vnderstanding be his Majesteis lettir that it was his Hienes will and pleasour, for the bettir peice and quyetnes of thair towne, that thai sould conforme thame selfis and aggrie that the cheising of thair magistratis sould be according to the awld ancient custome vsit and observit be the archibischope of Glasgow, and the said Archibischope himself acknavlegit in his priviledges in presenting of the provist and nominatioune of the balleis as vtheris his predicessouris vsit of befoir. For obedience of the quhilk his Hienes lettiris, and for the peice and quyetnes of thair towne, and eschewing of all twmult thairanent heireftir, condiscendit and aggreit that thair magistratis, to wit, provist and balleis, be presentit and nominat be the said reverent fathir at Michelmes nixt to cwme and in all tyme cuming, according to the awld ancient forme and custom observit thairanent of befoir, and the said archibischope in all his privileges concerning the said electioune."

Acting on the minute quoted, Archbishop Spottiswoode, on 6th October, 1607, in presence of the Duke of Lennox, nominated John Howstone of that Ilk as provost, and the nomination was accepted by the council. At the same meeting the prelate of Glasgow selected three persons to act as bailies. Dean of Guild Faulds protested that the council should consist of two-thirds merchants and one-third craftsmen; and, on the other hand, Deacon-Convener Braidwood claimed equal rights. The council was, however, constituted in a manner similar to that of the previous year.

CHAPTER XX.

(A.D. 1605 TO A.D. 1615.)

The Town Council in Search of a Hangman—Financial and Sanitary Enactments—Sixteen Weeks Frost and the Clyde Frozen Over—Population of the City—The First General Assembly in Glasgow—Important Charter to the Municipality—Apprehension and Execution of a Jesuit in Glasgow.

THE every-day life of the inhabitants of Glasgow from 1605 to 1615 was comparatively quiet and uneventful; but the city continued to progress towards a higher civilisation than it had ever yet known. Archbishop Spottiswoode had repaired the episcopal palace or castle to something like its former magni-

ficence; and his attention was also directed to the improvement of the Cathedral, the leaden roof of which he commenced, during his stay in Glasgow, to construct.

While the most important work in which the Town Council was engaged during the first few years of this period was in connection with the "libertie" of the burgh, their attention was also called to matters requiring the most delicate and judicious treatment. As on many previous occasions they were frequently exercised in regard to outbreaks of the plague in various parts of the country, and they took the usual precautions to prevent contagion to Glasgow. Disturbances at the Fair time were not yet things of the past. A minute in the Burgh Records, dated 3rd July, 1605, relates that twenty men of the merchant rank, and two from each craft, each armed with corselet and pike, were elected to keep the peace of the burgh on Fair Saturday. On the 13th of the same month two craftsmen were ordained to have their freedom cried down for commencing a disturbance at the Fair. In the course of the August following the fleshers were ordered not to "hoch ky on the calsay"—certainly a very objectionable practice—under pains and penalties.

A grimly amusing episode is revealed by an entry in the records, and it reflects credit on the tact of the magistrates under embarrassing circumstances. On 7th September, 1605, it was declared that an individual, whose name is given as John M'Clelland, and who lay under sentence of death for an offence against the property of the community, justly deserved to suffer death. "Nevertheles," proceeds the record, "the proveist, bailleis, and counsall, desolat of ane executor, to execute the hie justice [on] malefactouris, hes acceptit, admitit and resaveit the said John to be thair executour in the said justiciarie, and hes dispensit with the said act crymis of thift committit be him for acceptatioune of the said office." John accepted the appointment, and he bound and obliged himself "cairfullie and diligentlie to attend and awayt thairvpone, and give evir eschew heireftir or leif the said office grantis and consentis that he be hangit to the deid, but [without] ane assyse [trial], quhairevir he may be apprehendit, and bindis and obleissis him nevir to depairt out of this towne to na pairt to execut the said office without the speciall leif and licence of the said proveist, bailleis, and counsall had to that effect." The bargain seems to have excited the execration of the towns-people against M'Clelland, for the council thought it necessary to enact that any person within the burgh, old or young, who should annoy him either by word or by deed should incur the penalty of £5 Scots (8s. 4d. sterling).

Of a somewhat different character was an enactment passed on the 15th October, 1605. It was then enjoined that the "wattir serjand" should allow none to be in the leper hospital

at the Brigend, except such as were placed there by the provost and magistrates; and he was to permit none of the inmates to go into the town on days other than Wednesdays and Saturdays. Such visitors were to remain in the city no longer than between the hours of ten and two in the day, and they were to "gang vpoune the calsay syde with thair wussellis [veils] on thair faces, and clopperis [clappers]." The zeal of the municipal governors for the preservation of the amenities of the Clyde is exhibited by another instruction given to this important official—that he "suffir na stanes nor ballest to be cassin out of the boitis and barkis in the wattir or wattirsyd, and give ony persoune does the samin he to accuis thame befoir the bailleis." On the 31st October, 1605, a meeting of some members of the council was held to hear James Lyon, the town's collector, and James Braidwood, the deacon-convener, as his cautioner, "compt of thair intromissioune with the town's pairt of the salt of the wentur schip brocht in be ane Dutcheman, and that conforme to ane act of counsall maid of befoir for heiring thairof; quhilkis persounis [the members of the council] haifand hard, seine, and considerit the saidis comptis, findis restand in thair handis xxxvij li. x s. [£3, 2s. 6d. sterling], quhairof is allowit to thame for thair painis seivintein pundis x s. [£1, 9s. 2d. sterling], sua restis to be payit be thame to the toune tuentie pundis money, quhilk is ordainit to be producit befoir the counsall Setterday next." How some of that money was applied may be learned from the statement, in a minute of 12th December following, when Marion Bell was ordered to be paid a sum of money for the banquet made by her to the provost, bailies, dean of guild, deacon-convener, and certain other members of the council, "at the proveistis gudnicht quhen he past to Lundoune." This festive occasion would be prior to the departure of Sir George Elphinstone to obtain a ratification of the liberties of the burgh from the king.

A statute passed by the Town Council on the 2nd May, 1607, to prohibit the sale of victuals other than in the public markets, reveals the fact that "schipis, barkis, and boitis from Ingland, Irreland, Hylandis, and sindrie vther partis" frequently arrived at the Broomielaw. Some idea of the extent of trade in the city may be gained from the statement that on 26th May, 1607, at the Whitsunday Court of Glasgow, held on the Green, the penny custom of the bridge was let for the year to Ninian Anderson, deacon of the cordiners, for 315 merks (£17, 10s. sterling), and the casualties of the ladle to James Greenlees for 1370 merks (£76, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling).

The municipal authorities appear at this time to have been greatly troubled on account of their rapidly accumulating debt, and John Bornis, merchant, on the 18th February, 1608,

offered to relieve the town of 9000 merks (£500 sterling), on condition that the customs, the whole burgess fees, and the court fines were given him for eight years. This and several similar proposals were considered, with what result is not known. On the 16th July, 1608, it was ordained by the Town Council, under an act from the king presented to the Convention of Burghs, that, in the words of that act, "na maner of fewal or fuilze sould be had, laid, or keippit vpone the streittis, sein to ony persoun, or in ony pairt within bruche or citie, and that be rasoun the samein is nocht only vncumlie and incivile bot lykwayis verie dangerus in tyme of plaig and pestilence, and verie infectuse of itself, and siklyk that na maner of swyne be hadin within ony bruche or citie." This sanitary enactment may reveal the nature and cause of the frequent outbreaks of pestilence throughout the country. The same day, the council concluded that it was necessary that "ane bulwork or butradge be bigit befoir the yonmest piller of the brig except ane," and the master of work was instructed to proceed with the improvement at once. The privileges of the bailies were, seemingly, being infringed, for it is stated, on the 4th September, 1608, that they, "vnderstanding that the counsall seat in the thrie kirks ar abusit be sindrie strangeris and vtheris of the toun quha ar nocht vpone counsall," gave orders to the town's officers to keep these seats reserved for them and them alone.

That a severe frost occurred in the winter of 1607-8, is revealed by an entry in the records under date of 17th September, 1608. On that day, the magistrates and council, taking into consideration that Ninian Anderson, tacksman of the bridge custom for 1607, had sustained loss "be wehement frost, quhairby the river of Clyd was closit be the space of xvj oulkis [weeks], sua that na leadining of heiring could be at the said river during the said space, nor yit could cum to the brig of the said burghe, bot altogidder transportit be iis to sindrie pairtis of the countrie, and that the samin wes the onlie and cheif commoditie of the said custome," they remitted Anderson the sum of £40 Scots (£3, 6s. 8d. sterling). The ancient manner of celebrating the king's birth-day is discovered by the statement that, on the 19th August, 1609, the sum of £16, 10s. Scots (£1, 7s. 6d. sterling) was ordered to be paid in liquidation of the expense of "wyne and confeitis" consumed at the Cross on the king's day, the 5th of July previous, by the magistrates and council, assisted by the archbishop and several noblemen. On the 9th November following, a deputation of the council was appointed to accompany the archbishop into the presence of the king, "to lament and deploir to his Hienes the rwein and daylie decay of our metropolitan kirk, and brig, and to swit his Hienes help and supplie thairto."

In the course of the year 1610, Archbishop Spottiswoode directed the population of the city to be ascertained, with the result that it was found that the number of the inhabitants was 7644. This represents an increase of 644 since 1600. "George Smyth, rewler of the Tolbuith Knok," on the 27th January, 1610, "bund him to the toun to rewll the said knok for all the dayis of his lyfetyme for the sowme of tuentie pundis [£1, 13s. 4d. sterling] money yeirlie . . . and siklyke, oblissis him to rewll the Hie Kirk Knok and keip the same in gangand grath, and visie hir twa seuerall dayis in the wik, the sessioun payand him ten merkis [11s. 1⅓d. sterling] yeirlie."

A meeting of General Assembly was held in Glasgow in June, 1610. By it the position of the bishops was considerably strengthened, and their powers increased and acknowledged to a much greater extent than they had been since the Reformation, fifty years before. Archbishop Spottiswoode presided at this Assembly, and he has left an account of the proceedings. "The king," says Spottiswoode (*Hist. Ch. Scot.*, Bannatyne Cl. Ed., Vol. III., p. 205), "by his letters was now daily urging the bishops to take upon them the administration of all church affairs; and they, unwilling to make any change without the knowledge and approbation of the ministers, an assembly to this effect was appointed to be held at Glasgow the sixth, *eighth*, of June [1610]. The earl of Dunbar, Sir John Preston, president of Session, and Sir Alexander Hay, secretary, being commissioners for the king, the archbishop of Glasgow was elected to preside. There a proposition was made by the commissioners of certain points of discipline which his majesty craved to be determined, 'That all things might be done thereafter orderly in the church, and with that consent and harmony which was fitting among preachers.'" Three days being spent in debate, at last nine conclusions were arrived at, the first being that, "The Assembly did acknowledge the indication of all such general meetings of the church to belong to his majesty by the prerogative of his crown, and all convocations in that kind without his licence to be merely unlawful, condemning the conventicle of Aberdeen made in the year 1605, as having no warrant from his majesty, and contrary to the prohibition he had given." The other eight conclusions had reference to the power of a prelate within his diocese. Spottiswoode proceeds:— "These conclusions being taken, it was complained in behalf of the moderators of presbyteries, who had served since the year 1606, 'That notwithstanding of the promise made at their accepting of the charge, they had received no payment at all of the stipend allowed.' Which the earl of Dunbar excused by his absence forth of the country, offering, 'That until that time there was never any motion made thereof to him, and that

before the dissolving of the Assembly he should cause satisfaction to be given to them for the time past,' declaring withal, 'That seeing order was taken for the moderation of presbyteries in times coming, his majesty's treasurer should not be any further burdened with that payment.' The ministers, therein remitting themselves to his majesty's good pleasure, gave his lordship thanks for that he had offered; which he did also see performed, some five thousand pounds Scots [£416, 13s. 4d. sterling] being distributed by the treasurer's servants among those that had borne the charge. Certain of the discontented did interpret it to be a sort of corruption, giving out 'That this was done for obtaining the ministers' voices;' howbeit the debt was known to be just, and that no motion was made of that business before the foresaid conclusions were enacted." At the same assembly the Marquis of Huntly and the Earls of Angus and Erroll, excommunicated for their implication in popish conspiracies, were absolved on condition that they subscribe the Confession of Faith and swear to continue in the profession of religion as then established.

Hitherto the ordination of bishops and archbishops had been merely that of ministers. From the Reformation they had been presented to and held the episcopal office without episcopal ordination. Archbishop Spottiswoode was no exception to the general rule. King James' connection with the English prelates had, however, convinced him that such consecration was necessary, and on the 21st October, 1610, the Archbishop of Glasgow, in company with Bishop Hamilton of Galloway, and Bishop Lamb of Brechin, were duly consecrated in London, according to the English ordinal, by the bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester.

A new liberty to the Clyde having been purchased by Dumbarton, the magistrates and council of Glasgow came to the conclusion that this was prejudicial to the ancient liberty and right of their city. The nature of the purchased liberty is not stated, but whatever it may have been, the rulers of Glasgow considered the occasion of sufficient importance to justify them, on the 5th March, 1610, in instructing the provost and their clerk to ride to Edinburgh in order to obtain the advice of lawyers concerning the possibility of procuring a suspension of this new liberty. A large number of documents was sent with them to show the relationship of Glasgow to the Clyde, and its then existent privileges. On the 23rd of April, 1611, the council received from the king a ratification of their own privileges, and there the matter seems to have rested. The outcome of this affair was advantageous to the city, and it attained a semi-independence. What the result was is briefly stated in the Municipal Commission Report of 1835. The

learned Commissioners say:—"In the year 1611, on the application of the archbishop [Spottiswoode] who then filled the see of Glasgow, a royal charter was granted, not solely to the archbishop and his successors, but to the magistrates, council and community, disponing to them the said burgh and city of Glasgow, and erecting the same 'in unam liberum burgum regalem' [into ane frie burgh regall], to be holden in feuferm, heritage, and free burgage, for service of burgh used and wont, and for payment to the archbishop of 16 merks [17s. 9⅓d. sterling] yearly, and without prejudice to his rights in the election of magistrates or to his jurisdiction of regality, or to any other of his rights and privileges." The advantage was not very great, but it was still a step towards the higher freedom of royalty.

In this same month of April, 1611, precautions were taken to prevent apprentices, and the scholars at the grammar school, wasting their time in bowling alleys and kindred places of amusement; and the master of the grammar school was ordered to make archery the pastime of his pupils. Ninian Kirkend was, on the 2nd June, convicted of slandering the magistrates, by stating that they "leivit vpone his geir and vthir mennis geir." Several parties were appointed, on the 8th June, 1612, "to prepair sik chenyeis of irne, towis, capillis, hogheidis, and vthir necessaris for taking away of certain stanes at Dumbuck Ford in the river," a work begun in 1556. It was afterwards ordained that twenty men from the merchants and twenty from the crafts were to do the work, and in the following month ten of these were fined for failing to appear at Dumbuck as they had been ordered.

In October, 1614, a Jesuit, named John Ogilvie, was apprehended in Glasgow. On him were found a number of Roman Catholic books, together with a lock of the hair of St. Ignatius, and other relics. Judges were sent from Edinburgh to try this man, whose profession was then considered sufficient ground of suspicion. He stated to his judges that he had come to Scotland to save souls; but, as it was believed he was one of the emissaries of a revolutionary movement, the commissioners endeavoured to obtain from him a confession of the exact nature of his mission. For this purpose he was kept three days and three nights without sleep; but anything he had in his weakness revealed he denied after having a night's rest. On the resumption of the trial, Ogilvie gave prominence, in his answers to his judges, of the superiority of the pope over the king; and when he was asked to take the oath of allegiance, he said, "It is a damnable oath, and treason against God to swear it." He even called the king "a runagate from God." Ultimately he was found guilty of treason, and sentenced to be hanged on the

public street. While awaiting his execution, Ogilvie, it is said, remarked that if he had had liberty until Whitsunday he would gladly have given up his life or endured any torments. Writing to a Jesuit on the Continent, he stated that while in prison he lay under a load of two cwt. of irons, looking for death, unless he accepted the proffered favour of the king—viz., a rich preferment and another religion. Once he had sustained the torture of being kept eight days and nine nights without sleep, and he now expected two other tortures before death. This letter was written on the 22nd February, 1615, and on the 10th of March following he suffered on the gallows in Glasgow, being then thirty-four years of age. Such is an exceedingly unpleasant picture of the doings in Glasgow at the beginning of the seventeenth century; and it must be confessed, that the cruelty of the torture was creditable neither to the feelings nor the religion of the statesmen or churchmen of the time.

CHAPTER XXI.

(A.D. 1615 TO A.D. 1633.)

Account of Archbishop Spottiswoode—Robert Boyd, Principal of the University—Letter from James VI. as to Election of Town Council—The King visits Glasgow—Building of the Tolbooth—Duties of the Jailer—Bequests by Archbishop Law.

As Archbishop Spottiswoode was translated to the primacy of St. Andrews in 1615, it will at this stage be appropriate to give a short account of his life and work. The archbishop was born in the parish of Mid-Calder, in the county of Edinburgh; his father, a descendant of the family of Spottiswoode of Spottiswoode in Berwickshire, being minister of the parish and superintendent of Lothian. His mother was Beatrice Crichton, daughter of Baron Lugton. Having received his education at the University of Glasgow, where he exhibited wonderful talent—obtaining his degrees when he was only sixteen years of age—he was able to assist his father in the parish work of Mid-Calder before he had reached his twentieth year. His father died in 1585, and he succeeded to the vacant charge. At this time Spottiswoode was a strong Presbyterian, but about the year 1595 he went over to the king's, or episcopal, party. It is said that whatever was agreed on at the most private meetings of

the ministry in Edinburgh was conveyed to the king by the new convert. In 1599 he married a daughter of David Lindsay, minister of Leith. Continuing in favour he, in 1601, accompanied the Duke of Lennox to France in the capacity of chaplain; and there was a suspicion in the minds of his contemporaries that his stay in Paris, and the acquaintanceships he made with the English bishops in London, had great effect in fixing his attachment to the episcopal form of church government. However that may be, Spottiswoode entered heartily into the royal schemes for the re-establishment of Episcopacy, and was in frequent attendance at the court. When King James was on his way to London to be crowned King of England, in April, 1603, he received the news of Archbishop Beaton's death, and he immediately appointed Spottiswoode, who accompanied him, to the vacant see, and despatched him back to Scotland to convoy the queen to the English capital. The revenues of the archbishopric are said to have been very much diminished from what they had been in former times—a fact not surprising when the various gifts of church lands are taken into account; but the new prelate is credited with having restored them to something approaching their former proportions. His connection with the city of Glasgow has been closely traced in the two preceding chapters, and it will therefore be unnecessary to refer to it in this place. In 1609 he was made an extraordinary lord of Session, when that court was restored to its ancient civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He was instrumental in obtaining a court of commission for each of the two archdioceses. This new authority consisted of the archbishop and any four on the roll of the ministry whom he chose to associate with him, and its power in ecclesiastical matters to a very great extent superseded that of the General Assembly. The death of Archbishop Gladstanes of St. Andrews, in 1615, gave the king another opportunity of conferring further advancement upon his favourite Scottish prelate; and during his occupation of the primacy Spottiswoode was actively engaged in state affairs and in the promotion of Episcopacy in the country. To him was due the erection of the diocese of Edinburgh in 1633. He died in England in 1639, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. In the course of a long and busy lifetime he was able to write a *History of the Church of Scotland*, a work especially valuable on account of its author being a prominent actor in the many important events he puts on record. The extent to which this history is appreciated is shown by the fact that in the early years of the present century a club bearing the name of the Spottiswoode Club was originated in Edinburgh for editing and publishing works on Scottish history and antiquities. Such was Archbishop Spottiswoode,

and such his work. He was a man of keen ability and of great ambition, and both of these helped him towards the high positions which he held in the course of his life.

While in the biographical vein it may be well to state a few particulars concerning another important Glasgow dignitary of this period—Principal Boyd of the University. After Melvil's translation to St. Andrews, in 1580, the principal's chair was occupied by Thomas Smeaton, previously minister of Paisley, considered one of the most erudite men of the time. Smeaton was succeeded by Patrick Sharp, formerly Master of the Grammar School, in 1582, who held the office until 1615, when Robert Boyd of Trochrig succeeded. Boyd was a son of the Archbishop of Glasgow of that name. He received his early education in the Ayr Academy, and, having graduated at the University of Edinburgh, he went, in 1597, to the University of Saumure in France. There he lived and studied until October, 1614, when he was appointed Principal of Glasgow University by King James VI. At his installation he had views of his own in regard to the conduct of principal, and he stipulated that he should only take the office on trial for one year. He admitted that personal castigation of the students was necessary, but as he was not accustomed to that practice, and as it was inconsistent with his sacred character, he proposed that the regents, or professors, should correct their own pupils. On arriving in Glasgow, the principal and his family went into lodgings until their house was put in order, and the magistrates and council of the city paid two merks (2s. 2⅔d. sterling) a day for their board and lodging. Boyd remained in Glasgow until 1621. He was the last principal of the college who officiated as minister of Govan in terms of the *Nova Erectio* of 1577. On the 5th January, 1627, he died in Edinburgh, at the age of forty-nine. His fame has been preserved in a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, "which," remarks the venerable M'Ure, "is highly esteemed by men of all persuasions for the solidity of his thoughts in great learning and judgment." Wodrow relates that Boyd "was more eloquent in the French than in his mother tongue, more eloquent in the Latin than in the French, and more eloquent in Greek than in Latin."

James Law, the successor of Spottiswoode in the archbishopric of Glasgow, was the son of John Law of Spittle, in Fifeshire, and, having been educated for the church, he was ordained in 1582, as minister of Kirkliston. This position he held until 1610, when he was appointed Bishop of Orkney. In 1615 he was translated to Glasgow, and he held office in the diocese for seventeen years.

Returning to the civil history of the city of Glasgow, the first matter that calls for attention is a letter from King James

VI., entered in the Burgh Records under date of 31st December, 1616. In that epistle his majesty states that as he intended "to satisfie the hopes and wishes of our goode and loveing subiects," by visiting his ancient kingdom of Scotland in the course of the following summer; and as he would be accompanied by many of the English nobility, he desired the magistrates and council of Glasgow to assist in supplying him with the means to sustain the reputation of the kingdom. The king did visit Scotland in the following year, 1617, and he gave general satisfaction to his Scottish subjects, except in the matter of religion, his undisguised favour towards Episcopacy being the cause of considerable feeling among the more ardent supporters of Presbytery.

King James, it would appear, visited Glasgow on the 22nd July, 1617, for in a footnote to M'Vean's Ed. of M'Ure's *History of Glasgow* (p. 76) it is stated,—"When King James visited Glasgow, William Hay of Barro, commissar of Glasgow, addressed the Scottish Solomon in '*a speach delivered in name of the citie,*' we shall give a specimen of his 'oily eloquence.'" Mr. Hay's speech on the occasion is recorded as follows:—"Honourable and worthie auditors, stay your minds and eyes a while with mee, and contemplat heere the onlye Phœnix of the world. Heere is that great peace maker, and composer of our mortall, no, immortall warres: behold the man, who, what nether by wit nor force, nor blood, could bee performed, hath accomplished, made a yock of lyons, vnited two the most warlik nations of the world. This is that king whose birth was so long fortald by these ancient Rimors, Beads, and Merlines, the end of al your prophecies: to see whose happie dayes our credulous forefathers so earnestlie wished, and wehementlie did languish.——His vertues breath such a sweet aire throgh all the climats of the world, as roses would doe if they did grow in the skie. Now I am no more in maze why the sunne draweth so admirablie the lotos, the load-starre the loadstone, the loadstone the irone, the amber the chaffe, sith his vertues so far haue that attractive power that the remotest nations not onlie love them, but wish that his happie governament were over them." It is to be regretted that the king's answer to this speech has not also been preserved. Hay had been rector of the University of Glasgow for many years. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it must be assumed to be the fact that James VI. visited Glasgow at this time, but it is a pity that such an important event as a royal visit should have no other record or mention than what is contained in a fugitive note.

However the fact may be as to the royal presence in Glasgow in 1617, there is little reason to doubt that the municipal

authorities were that year in receipt of a royal message, for in the Burgh Records, of date 22nd September, the following letter finds a place. It needs no explanation when read in connection with what has been related in Chapter XIX.

"JAMES, R. Trustie and welbeloued wee greete you well. Whereas the differents which were amongst you now twelve yeares ago for the inequalitie of marchantes and craftesmen vpon the counsell of that burrough was remoued by our speciall commandement and letter, whereby wee willed yow to make choice of the moste wise men of both sortes, taking the one halfe marchantes and the other craftesmen, since which time we vnderstande that yee haue liued in good order, and by your peace and quietnes the good estate of that citie is not a little encreased; and becaus now wee are informed that some turbulent heades go aboute to haue those our directions altered and changed, which will no doubte tend to the disturbance of the happie concorde hetherto maynteyned amongst yow, these are to wille and require yow in the choice of the counsell for this yeare, and for your successouris efter yow in all time coming, to keepe the order prescribed in our former letters concerning the equalitie of marchantes and craftes, and that no alteration be made touching the nomber of eyther, as yee wille answere to us upon your obedience. And this trusting yee will do, wee bid yow farewell. Giuen at our manor of Theobaldes, the xxij of September, 1617. (L. S.) To our trustie and welbeloued the Proveste, Bayliffes, and Counsell of our citie of Glascow, give these."

Two events of some little note occurred in 1623, but from 1617 until that year there is a blank, to a great extent due to the loss of the Burgh Records. In 1623, however, it is to be found that the magistrates and council, "vnderstanding that thair ar sindrie defectis in the letter of gildrie, quhilk by gude advyse and deliberatioun mon be helpit and reformit, haif thairfor concludit that thair be sex merchandis and sex craftismen nominat and electit to set, advyse and deliberate vpoun the reformation of the said lettre of gildrie, and to conclude thairvpoun be the advyse of the said provest, baillies, and counsall." The changes made upon the letter of guildry, though not recorded, may reasonably be supposed not to have been such as would make any material alteration on the general intention of the document. The other event referred to was the appointment of Zachary Boyd as minister of the Barony parish.

The Town Council next undertook a work of considerable magnitude in these days, and its necessity is evidence of the increased importance and wealth of the city. The old Tolbooth had become too small for the exigencies of the population, and the municipal authorities agreed that it should be pulled down,

and a new and more imposing structure erected on the same site, at the north-western corner of the High Street and Trongate. Accordingly, on the 14th May, 1625, "they all in ane voice concludit that ane number of stanes be prowydit for building the Tolbuithe, about twa thowsand peis of hewin work, and sum wall stanes; and ordanit the dean of gild, deacon convener, maister of wark, and Gavan Neisbitt, to sicht the quarrell [quarry] and enter the quarreourris to win stanes and agrie with thame thairanent." On the 20th of August of the same year the purchase of "ane thowsand daillis [deals] of the ventour schipis laidining" was made, to be "tane to the tounes vse for building of the Tolbuithe." Arrangements were so far forwarded that by the 12th November it was "statute and ordanit that the Tolbuithe sall be buildit with diligens, the stane work thairof to be made small brotchet work;" and several parties were appointed "to aggrie with the masounes thairanent." Shortly afterwards the master of work was granted £16 Scots (£1, 6s. 8d. sterling), in order to pay the workmen who had brought the stones for the proposed erection; and on the 28th January, 1626, the city treasurer was ordered to pay £120 Scots (£10 sterling) to the quarriers, carters, and masons, together with £640 Scots (£53, 6s. 8d. sterling) for timber. Another step forward was taken when, on the 11th February, 1626, it was "concludit that the proueist and bailleis deill with John Boyid and Patrik Colquhoun anent the dountaking of the Tolbuithe, and to sie quhat can be gottin doun of thrie hundretht markis [£16, 13s. 4d. sterling] as thai haue alreddie offerit to tak doun the same for the said soume, and als to deill with John Neill, knok maker, to mak ane new knok, and to try the pryce, and als to deill with the tennentis of the buithes [booths] vnder the Tolbuithe that thai may remoue." The negotiations appear to have been successful, for a week later the burgh documents and charters were removed to the house of the dean of guild until the new town hall was built. Another contract was entered into on the 4th March with Gabriel Smith, who was to make "the haill irne work" to put "betwix the stanes." The work must have been carried on with rapidity, for it is recorded that on the 15th March, 1626, "the grund stane of the Tolbuithe of Glasgow was laid. The workmen ar thais:—Johne Boyid, maister of the work [and eleven others] maisteris of the maisones; servandis, James Johnsoun [and five others]; printeisses, John Stutt [and six others]." This interesting ceremony took place during the provostship of James Inglis; and after it was over the council set about, with commendable zeal and punctuality, to fulfil their share of several of the contracts. Thus, on the 18th March, warrant was given to the city treasurer to pay the wrights and masons for the downtaking of the old building;

and on the 1st April following he was granted another warrant to cover money he had disbursed in payment of workmen. On the 8th of April another contract was made with Gabriel Smith, who was to "scherp the haill masoun irnes," until the erection was finished, for £40 Scots (£3, 6s. 8d. sterling), one-half to be paid down and the other when the work was done. It was agreed on the 31st March, 1627, that John Neill, to whom overtures had been made, should make the new "knok" and all its appendages for 600 merks (£33, 6s. 8d. sterling). The new Tolbooth seems to have been finished by the 2nd April, 1627, scarcely two years after the first movement towards its erection, for on that date it was ordained that the town's evidents, writs, and books should be taken to the Tolbooth from the house of the dean of guild, where they had been for safe-keeping. On the 29th September following, the treasurer was ordered to pay £46, 15s. Scots (£3, 17s. 11d. sterling) for the brass and copper used for the "knok and thanes" on the Tolbooth steeple; and 20 merks (£1, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling) was to be paid to William Duncan for the workmanship, with "the clippingis thairof to himselff." Gabriel Smythe was also to be settled with, and the treasurer was instructed to pay him 25 merks (£1, 7s. 9⅓d. sterling) for the iron binders, his work being considered "gude chaip." But more than that, his servants were to get "ane dolour for thair drink siluer." John Boyd, the master of work, was granted £100 Scots (£8, 6s. 8d. sterling) for his diligence; and the quarrier and his men were given "ten pund of drinksiluer." A month later "Vallentyne Ginkingye" was paid £30 Scots (£2, 10s. sterling) for "gilting the cok and thanes, and cullouring of the same yallow, with the glob and standart and stanes about the stepill heid." On the 23rd August, 1628, the council agreed to pay John Neill 300 merks (£16, 13s. 4d. sterling) over and above the 600 merks for which he had contracted to supply them with a new clock for the steeple, because they found he was losing by it, and because the "knok was worthe the foirsaid haill sume." They were considerate men, these old councillors of Glasgow.

In the absence of an earlier description of the Tolbooth, that by M'Ure, written in 1736, fully a century after its erection, may be reproduced in order that the reader may have some conception of its appearance and extent. M'Ure says (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 207),—"The townhouse or tolbooth is a magnificent structure, being of length from east to west sixty six foot, and from the south to the north twenty four foot eight inches; it hath a stately stair-case ascending to the justice-court-hall, within which is the entry of a large turnpike or staircase ascending to the town-council-hall, above which there was the dean of gild's hall. . . . The first

story of this great building consists of six rooms, two whereof are for the magistrates use, one for the dean of gild's court, and another for the collector of the town's excise, these apartments are all vaulted from the one end to the other . . . but above all, the kings hall is the finest, the length whereof is forty three foot eleven inches from east to west, and from south to north twenty four foot, and the turnpike upon the east end. In this great building are five large rooms appointed for common prisoners; the steeple on the east-end thereof being one hundred and thirteen foot high, adorn'd with a curious clock all of brass, with four dial plates; it has a large bell for the use of the clock, and a curious sett of chymes and tuneable bells, which plays every two hours, and has four large touretts on the corners thereof, with thanes finely gilded, and the whole roof is cover'd with lead, upon the frontispiece of this building is his majesty's arms finely cut out, with a fine dial, and below the same is this Latin inscription,

'Hæc domus odit, amat, punit, conservat, honorat,
Nequitiam, pacem, crimina, jura, probos.'

In English thus:—

'This house doth hate all wickedness,
Loves peace but faults corrects,
Observes all laws of righteousness,
And good men it erects.'"

M'Ure's description, though its quaintness is increased by very slipshod English, may be taken as substantially accurate.

While the Tolbooth was in the course of completion, the Town Council took steps in the appointment of a very important official in connection with it. At a meeting held on the 7th April, 1627, they elected Gawan Naythsmythe, merchant burgess of the burgh, "to be jevelour and keiper of the haill prissoun houssis of the new biggit Tolbuithe," at a yearly salary of 40 merks (£2, 4s. 5⅓d. sterling). The terms of this appointment are in some respects amusing; in every respect interesting and instructive. The jailer was to supply coals, when necessary, to the council-room at the ordinary meetings of the Town Council, and on the ordinary days of the sitting of the Dean of Guild Court. This was a source of outlay which would run away with a portion of his scanty remuneration; but other sources of income were granted him, and from these, doubtless, he would be able to recoup his expenditure, and have something for himself remaining. He was to receive fees from his prisoners. Every burgess and inhabitant of the burgh, committed to jail by the magistrates, was ordered to pay the jailer, for entry and booking, 2s. Scots (twopence sterling);

2s. were to be paid as jailer's fee by each prisoner for every twenty-four hours of his incarceration up till the eighth day, when, if his sentence was for a longer period, the fee might be modified at the discretion of the magistrates. It was allowable, however, for any burgesses that should be put in prison to furnish themselves with meat, drink, fire, and bedding, and other necessaries, without any payment to the jailer. In the case of "outtintownesmen" the charges were increased, being 4s. Scots for booking, and the same amount every twenty-four hours of incarceration. The magistrates reserved power to fix whatever fees they thought fit in payment for the beggars, vagabonds, and idle men and women whom they committed to prison—a very pawky reservation, for these fees would require to come out of the public funds at their disposal.

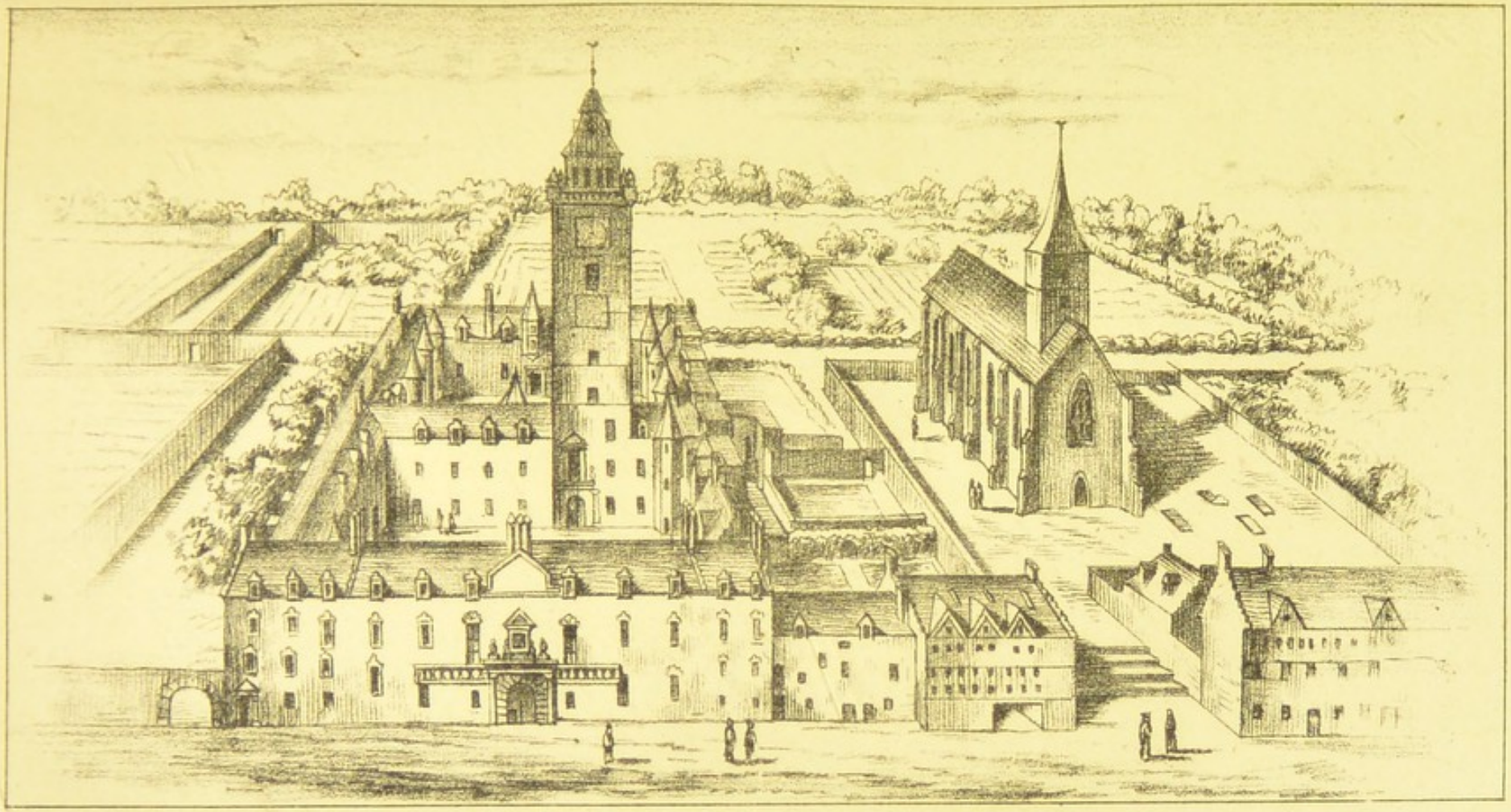
Archbishop Law, having completed the leaden roof of the Cathedral, and having passed a comparatively quiet and uneventful life in Glasgow, died on the 12th November, 1632. Gibson (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 63) sums up this prelate's character and talents in these words:—"He was esteemed a man of good learning, and had a grave and venerable aspect; he left behind him a Commentary upon several places of Scripture, which gives us a good specimen of his knowledge, both in the fathers and the history of the Church." In his death he was not unmindful of the charities of the city with which he had been so long identified. In his will he said:—"I leive to the puir of Sanct Nicholas hospitall in Glasgow, foundit by the archibischopis thairof, the soume of ffyve hundridthe mkis [£27, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling], money of Scotland; And to the merchandis and croftis hospitallis thair, equallie to be devydit amangis thame, ffyve hundridthe mkis, money."

CHAPTER XXII.

(A.D. 1630 to A.D. 1636.)

Erection of the College Buildings—Subscribers to the Work.

REFERENCE has frequently been made, in the preceding pages, to the university buildings in the High Street, and to the miserable condition in which they stood at the time of the Reformation. The tenements on the ground given to the college authorities by Lord James Hamilton, in 1459, and by Sir Thomas Arthurlie, in 1466, would appear to have been adapted,



BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE OLD COLLEGE.

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in the best manner possible, to the new purpose for which they were to be used; and any endowments made to the university were so much needed at all times, even the most prosperous, to support the institution itself, that very little money was available for the re-erection or improvement of the college buildings, supposing such a desire to have been in the minds of the principal and regents. There is, however, reason to assume that those on whom devolved the government of the university sought, by all the limited means in their power, to advance the architectural work of their institution, as well as to make it noted for the excellence of the education given under its auspices. The deed of gift granted by Queen Mary in 1563 states that "off the quhilk college [of Glasgow] ane parte of the scholes and chalmeris being biggit," but the work had been stopped, probably for want of funds, though that is not directly said, so "that the samyn appearis rather to be the decay of ane universitie, nor ony wayis to be reknit ane establischit foundatioun." This gift by the unfortunate Queen of Scots assisted to a great extent in helping the college to tide over the Reformation storm; but it was not until 1577, by the handsome donation of King James VI., that matters began to wear a more encouraging appearance. In all likelihood the extraordinary energy of Melvil, and the cultured quiet of Boyd, would attract many students to Glasgow, and the increased number of scholars would consequently mean an enlarged revenue. In 1610, one of the regents, Alexander Boyd, left 1,000 merks (£55 11s. 1⅓d. sterling) for the erection of the fabric; and in 1617 a large amount is said to have been bequeathed for the same purpose by Michael Wilson, a citizen of Glasgow. M'Ure credits Archbishop Law with being very bountiful to the college, in respect that he augmented the revenues and added many choice books to the library.

However, to quote from the Report of the Commissioners on the Universities and Colleges of Scotland, presented to Parliament in 1837, "there is no reason to believe that the buildings were ever materially improved till after the year 1630, when a subscription was obtained for this purpose, as well as for the benefit of the library." John Strang, D.D., was principal of the university at the time, and while he was in that office he improved the buildings and incomes of the institution; the north and east sides of the inner court were begun and finished under his supervision; and a large orchard was taken in and planted. All this was done, not from the college revenues, but from the benefactions of the neighbouring nobility, and other persons of substance, procured at the solicitation of the principal and the rest of the masters. Strang, M'Ure says, was "a man of great parts, and extraordinary subtile, and of a most

solid reason." He became principal in 1626, on the retiral of John Cameron, D.D., who was born in the Gallowgate, and whose work among the French Protestants gained for him the name of "Camero le Grand." The buildings erected under Principal Strang's auspices to a great extent still remain, though railway enterprise has seriously marred them. They occupy a portion of the ground given by Lord Hamilton, together with a portion of what was formerly in the possession of the Black Friars, and which had been gifted to the college authorities by Queen Mary. They were begun in 1632, taking many years to finish.

Within seven years, from 1630 to 1636, the principal and regents collected, or were promised, the very large sum in these days of about £2,000 sterling in aid of their building schemes. In the university archives there is "An inventorie of the voluntar contributions of the soums of money gevin or promised to be geuin for the building of an commoun librarie within the Colledge of Glasgow, furnishing thairof with books, and utherways enlarging the fabrick of the said Colledge to the publick and privat use of the students be the persouns eftirmentionat according to thair seuerall tickatts and subscriptions in this booke." The most noteworthy benefaction recorded in this document is, of course, that of the king, Charles I., whose "contribution was gratiouslie granted at Setoun the 14th of Julie, 1633." It is in this form:—"Charles R. It is our gratious pleasure to grant for advancement of the Librarie and Fabrick of the Colledge of Glasgow the soume of Two Hundred Pounds Sterlin." His majesty forgot to pay it, and the record states that "this soume was payed by the Lord Protector anno 1654." Such aristocratic neglect was equalled by the Marquis of Hamilton, as what follows will show. That nobleman granted a document bearing:—"To be givine be me James Marqueis of Hammiltone, Earle of Arrane and Cambrige, etc., for the helpe of the building and librarie of the Vniversitie of Glasgow the soume of Ane Thowsand merks Scottish money. Subscryved withe my hand at Edinburgh the elevint of May, 1631." The sum here promised, representing £55, 11s. 1⅓d. of sterling money, was "payed to James Lees, August, 1656, by the Trustees for Sequestrat Estates." "Sir John Hamilton of Magaleins knycht clerk of registre," gave two hundred merks (£11, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling). The Earl of Montrose, on the 19th October, 1632, gave a bond for four hundred merks (£22, 4s. 5⅓d. sterling), and this, after being disbursed by the principal, was paid upon the 16th November, 1634. Archbishop Spottiswoode of St. Andrews, Archbishops Law and Lindsay of Glasgow, each gave a thousand merks. On the 25th September, 1630, according to the Burgh Records, the provost, bailies, and council of Glasgow, upon the petition of

the principal and regents of the college, gave a thousand merks for the building, together with a like sum for the purchase of books for the college library. Gabriel Cunynghame, the provost, accordingly forwarded a document, bearing what follows, to the petitioners:—"Apud Glasgow vigesimo quinto Septembris Anno Domini, 1630. The said day the Provest, Bailleis and Counsell of the said burgh hes condiscendit to give Twa Thowsand marks money for the help of the Building and Librarie of the Colledge of Glasgow, conform to the tennour of thair act and ordinance maid thairanent of the dait of thir presents." This very handsome donation on the part of the city amounts to £111, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling. The town of Stirling gave three hundred merks (£16, 13s. 4d. sterling). Among other contributors were the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Abercorn, the Earl of Dunfermline, the Earl of Wigton, Lords Lindsay, Semple, and Boyd, Sir John Hamilton of Trabrowne, Sir James Maxwell of Calderwood, Sir William Baillie of Lamington, and the Viscount Lauderdale. Here is a special donation:—"To be gevin by me William Viscount Sterling Lord Alexander of Tullibody for the building of a chamber or two within the Colledge of Glasgow bearing my name and armes for the use of my children and such of my house as sall haue their breeding therein in all tyme coming, and in case of any of their absences to be disposed of as the Colledge shall think fitt, the summe of fyve hundred pounds Scottish. Witnes my hand at Sterling the eight day of August j^{m} vj^{c} thretty one yeares." This sum amounts to £41, 13s. 4d. sterling, and would probably be sufficient for the purpose specified. The burgh of Ayr, on the 29th September, 1631, voted three hundred merks (£16, 13s. 4d. sterling); and on the 4th of October of the same year the burgh of Irvine made a grant of £100 Scots, or £8, 6s. 8d. sterling.

It is unnecessary to state in detail the names of the various contributors to the important work undertaken by Principal Strang and his colleagues, or the amounts given by each. It will be sufficient to give the names of a few of the more prominent personages. Among these, then, are Lord Loudon, Lord Dalziel, Viscount Claneboys, Lord Elphinstoun, the Earl of Galloway, Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat, Sir George Stirling of Keir, Lord Napier, Sir George Elphinstone of Blythswood, Lord Justice-Clerk; Lady Nithsdale, Lady Stenhouse; John Shaw of Greenock, Lord Morton, Lord Lorne, Lord Strathern, Lord Airds, Hew Campbell of Cessnock, the Earl of Seaforth, the Earl of Carlisle, Sir James Somervell of Cambusnethan, Francis Douglas, brother of the Earl of Angus; William Livingstone of Kilsyth, Gabriel Cunynghame, provost of Glasgow; Provost Hamilton, predecessor of Provost Cunynghame; Zacharie Boyd, "preacher of God his word at Glasgow," then minister

of the Barony parish; Principal Strang, Wodrop of Carntyne, and many others. No fewer than six bishops contributed, together with upwards of two hundred ministers, resident in various parts of Scotland, a few of them in England. "George Huchesone noter in Glasgow," subscribed one hundred merks (£5, 11s. 1⅓d. sterling); and there were "given be Richard and Thomas Couts, sons to Sir Richard Couts knicht barronet for adorning thair chamber Fyftie Four pounds Scotts money" (£4, 10s. sterling). There is a pawky humour about the following entry:—"13 Jan. 1632. William Drummond of Riccartoune, 20 merks. The Twentie merk piece givin by Riccartoune being licht nine grains cumes to 19 merks." His actual donation would amount to £1, 1s. 1⅓d. sterling.

The "London Scottish" of the time were not forgetful of the second university in their native country, for they collected among themselves about £250 sterling, as appears from "ane trew and just Roll of the Soumes of Money contributed to the Colledge of Glasgow for helping of their Building and Librarie be the Persounes following at the Court of Ingland in Anno 1632 yeiris." These were Sir William Anstruther, Sir James Auchterlony, Sir Robert M'Lenen, John Sandilands, William Murray, Sir James Livingstone of Livingstone, gentlemen of "his Majesties privie chalmer;" Sir William Balfour, "levetenent of his Majesties Toure of Londoun;" Archibald Hay, "gentleman uscher to the Queenis Majestie;" James Herriot, jeweller to the king; John Hamilton, gentleman of the horse; Dr. John Young, Dean of Winchester; William Elphinston, the king's cup-bearer; Sir James Carmichael of that Ilk; Peter Newton, gentleman usher to the king; John Houston, one of the king's squires; Sir Robert Gordon, David Cunningham of Auchenharvie; John Wood, "equier to the Queinis Majestie;" and David and William Murhed, merchants in London.

Such were the principal subscribers to the erection of the buildings now known as the "Old College," and after the lapse of two and a half centuries, with the many changes which these have made, there is a peculiar interest in a perusal of the quaint entries in a list of the character of the one from which the information given in this chapter has been obtained.

CHAPTER XXIII.

(A.D. 1633 TO A.D. 1636.)

Erection of Glasgow into a Royal Burgh—The River Bailie—Election of Council—Establishment of the First Woollen Factory.

THE three years between 1633 and 1636 are noteworthy, because during that time Glasgow was erected to the status, if not to the full privileges, of a royal burgh. The questions arising in the course of the municipal history of the city have been referred to at length in various parts of this work; but the manifest importance of the subject will be sufficient excuse for going back upon it now. Before doing so, however, it may be advisable to give a definition, in general terms, of the position of the three classes of burghs—barony, regality, and royalty.

A burgh of barony, held by peer or prelate, was a town possessing the privilege of trade, in the Middle Ages confined to special classes. Among the liberties granted by these superiors to their people was that of government by councils, the erection of trade incorporations, &c. In the case of Glasgow, their jurisdiction will appear to have been greater than in other burghs of barony; but that is due to the fact that besides exercising the civil power, they also embodied the ecclesiastical authority.

A charter of regality was an important concession to the person to whom it was granted. As an act of the Crown it has been considered exceedingly reprehensible, for, to all practical purposes, the king by whom it was given relinquished the general control of the burgh in favour of the receiver, and the kingly power was vested in the feudal superior. Granted frequently as a reward for past services, it was as frequently given as a conciliatory sop to discontented and ambitious noblemen, who had thus more power given them to levy war against the sovereign. A perusal of the charter of regality made in favour of Bishop Turnbull, in 1454, and reproduced in Chapter VII., will have shown that the liberties possessed by the bishops under it were of a most extensive and extraordinary character.

The highest grade of burghs, and the one in which there was the most perfect form of liberty, was the royal burgh, the community of which held its privileges directly from the king,

without the intermediary lordships of temporal or spiritual noblemen. The distinctive characteristic of such burghs, whatever may have been their other differences, was that their town councils had power to nominate and elect their own magistrates —appointments, in the case of burghs of barony or regality, under the control of the superior.

Having thus endeavoured to give a general idea of the privileges of burghs, it will next be proper to trace the advancement of Glasgow to each of the three grades. A charter for a burgh of barony was granted by King William the Lion to Bishop Joceline some time in the eighth decade of the twelfth century. The charter of regality, as already stated, was granted to Bishop Turnbull in 1454. There is reason to believe that some misconceptions have prevailed as to the effect of these charters upon the rank of the city. Especially is this the case with reference to the charter of barony. M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 10) states that Bishop Joceline "stood in a high degree of favour with King William the Lyon, as he is called, who implored his majesty for advancing the town of Glasgow, for it was at the special instance of this bishop that the king erected the city into a royal burgh." Gibson, again (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 12), says that Bishop Joceline appeared "to have had the interest of the town of Glasgow much at heart; for he procured, from King William, a charter erecting it into a royal burgh;" and he says, in a subsequent part of the same work (p. 90), that on the 16th of October, 1633, "the town of Glasgow was confirmed by the parliament to be a royal free burgh." Dr. Cleland, a later writer, also asserts (*Rise and Prog. of Glas.*, p. 50) that "the township of Glasgow was formed into a royal burgh by William the Lyon, some time between the years 1165 and 1214." Such are the opinions of three of the most prominent and reliable of the early historians of Glasgow.

But the Committee on the Municipal Corporations of Scotland, in the Report presented by them to Parliament, in 1835, come to a very different conclusion. In Chapter XX., a paragraph referring to a charter of semi-independence for the city has been quoted from that Report. Following up their narrative, the learned Commissioners (*Mun. Cor. Report*, Vol. II., p. 5) state that in 1633, another act was obtained in favour of the magistrates, council, and community, ratifying all former grants and charters in the most general and comprehensive terms; but reserving the rights and privileges of the Duke of Lennox in the office of justiciary of the barony and regality, and those of the archbishop in respect of the election of magistrates. The Report proceeds:—"This act of parliament was followed soon afterwards, in 1636, by another royal grant, confirming and ratifying all former charters and grants in favour of the magis-

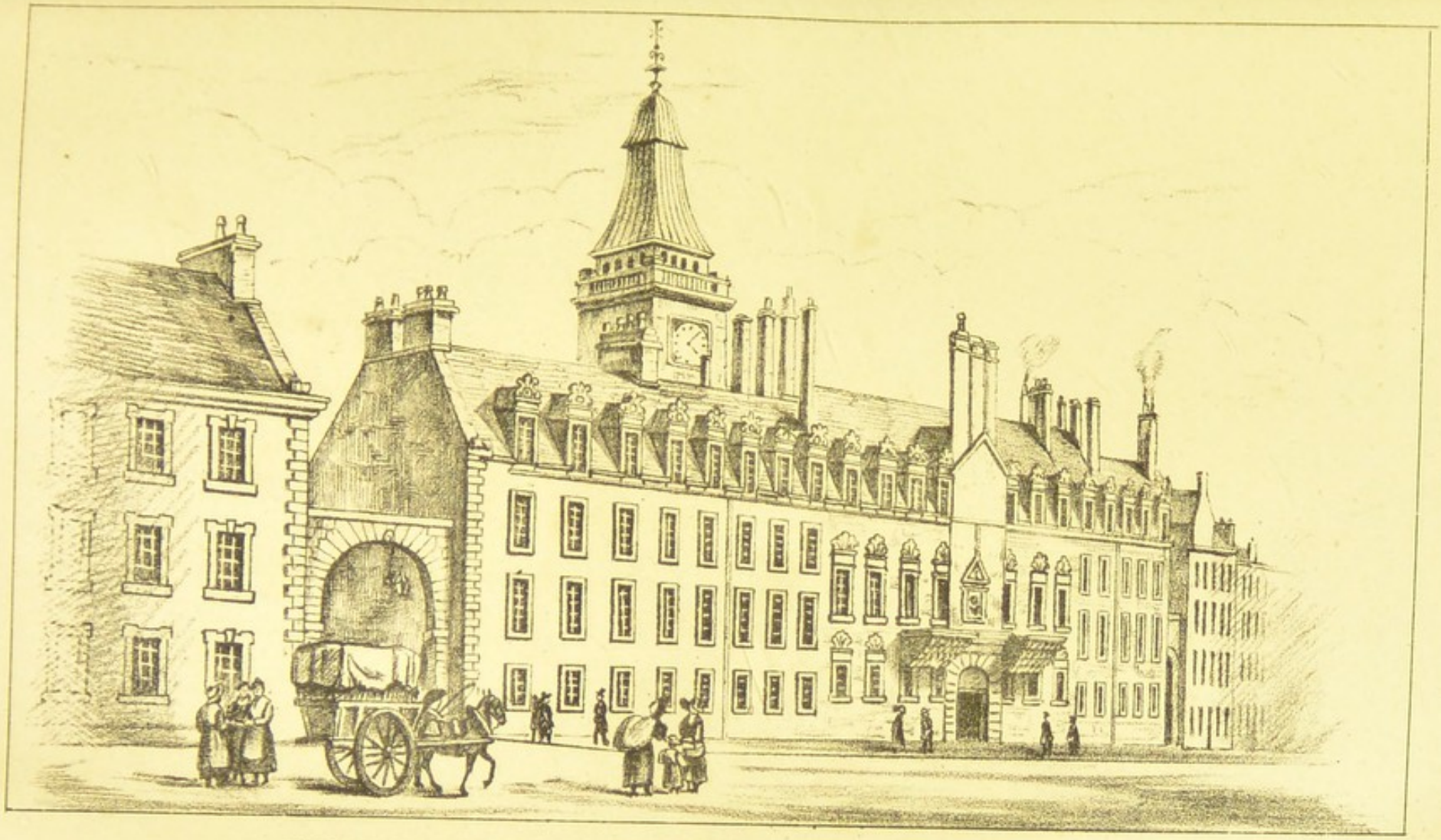
trates, council, and community of the burgh; of new giving to them and their successors the said burgh and city; and, without prejudice to any former rights, erecting and incorporating the same 'in unum liberum burgum regalem,' with all privileges of 'trade and traffick of merchandise,' to be halden by them and their successors 'in libero burgagio in perpetuum—reddendo inde annuatim—nobis et successoribus nostris, summam viginti mercarum usualis monete regni nostri Scotie—nomine census burgalis, cum servitiis burgi usitatis et consuetis; necnon solvendo annuatim, archiepiscopo Glasguensi et successoribus suis, summam sexdecim mercarum monete antedicte ad quemquidem solutionem prefatus burgus noster per priorem ejus cartam tenetur.' It may be said with propriety, that by this charter the city of Glasgow was first placed in the rank of a royal burgh, holden of the Crown, and bound in payment of burgh mail (census burgalis), with the peculiarity of certain reserved rights to the original superiors, the Archbishops of Glasgow, and their hereditary bailies of regality, the Dukes of Lennox. It is under this mail that at the present day the burgh accounts annually in exchequer for its burgh mail of twenty merks to the Crown, and of sixteen merks formerly payable to the archbishop, and now to the Crown or its assignees." The Commissioners seem to have been here quoting from the charter of royalty. Freely rendered, the Latin passage in their Report bears that the king erected the burgh and city "into a free burgh royal," to be holden by the magistrates, council, and community "in free burgage for ever upon paying yearly to us and our successors the sum of twenty merks [£1, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling] of the ordinary money of our kingdom of Scotland, in name of burgh mail, with service of burgh used and wont; also paying annually to the Archbishop of Glasgow and his successors the sum of sixteen merks [17s. 9⅓d. sterling] of the money aforesaid, to which payment, before stated, our burgh is held by his previous charter."

This Report of the Royal Commissioners may be said to put it beyond the possibility of doubt that Glasgow dates its royalty no earlier than 1636. But it may be well to point out an oversight which, while it has no effect upon the general result, has kept from view an incident of no little importance in the burghal history of the city. The incident referred to shows that Glasgow had been for a brief period in possession of the most distinctive privilege of royalty—that of electing its own magistrates. Even under this charter of royalty that privilege was not conceded. It will be remembered that in Chapter XIX. of this work it is recorded that about the year 1605 King James VI. granted liberty to the Town Council to elect their own magistrates, and that on the 2nd October of that year the

provost and bailies were appointed without the interference of either ecclesiastical or lay superior. The subsequent opposition and disturbances, however, prevented the ratification of the charter by the Scottish parliament, and operated on the king to withdraw the liberty two years later. The right of nomination or election to these offices was again placed in the hands of the archbishop. The charter of 1636 was, therefore, defective to that extent, and it is the fact that Glasgow did not attain to the full status of a free burgh under the king until 1690, for in that year only was the privilege of the election of magistrates granted the community.

The judgment of the Royal Commissioners in this matter has been confirmed, if confirmation be necessary, by so eminent an antiquarian as the late Professor Innes, who, along with Andrew Skene, was in the commission, but whose opinion apart from that of his colleagues is of the highest value. That gentleman (*Scot. Mid. Ages*, p. 168) writes:—"While the sovereign was raising the third estate by the security and privileges of his burghs, the great lords of the Church, desirous to participate in the advantages of trade which attended them, obtained privileges of the same kind for the towns and villages that sprung up round their cathedrals and abbeys. I have already mentioned the origin of St. Andrews. Each of the episcopal sees, and many of the great monasteries, in like manner obtained foundations and rights of trading for their dependent villages. Some of these never rose much beyond their original condition. Dunkeld, Dunblane, Rosemarkie, Dornoch, continued the dependent rural villages which their old masters had made them. Arbroath and Paisley, one by a small foreign trade, the other by manufacture, rose a little in importance. But among these, Glasgow stands the chief. The charter of King William, which gave to the bishop the privilege of having a burgh at Glasgow, with a market on Thursday, was granted between the years 1175 and 1178. We smile at the present day to think of the oppression which the bishop's burgh of barony long suffered from the royal burgh of Rutherglen. Even after 1450, when the bishop, had obtained a jurisdiction of regality, and Glasgow rose a step in the scale, it had to maintain a struggle against the king's burghs of Renfrew and Dumbarton, which sought to monopolise the trade of the river, as Rutherglen did to circumscribe the city to landward. Though represented in parliament so early as 1576, and emancipated at the Reformation from subjection to the bishop, who formerly controlled the election of its magistrates, the city did not become legally a royal burgh till the charter of Charles I., confirmed in parliament 1636."

Before quoting *in extenso* the acts of Parliament ratifying the grants to which reference is made in the Report of the



FRONT VIEW OF OLD COLLEGE, AS IT APPEARED IN MODERN TIMES.

Royal Commissioners on the Municipal Corporations of Scotland, it may be well to give a brief summary of each, as their legal diffuseness, and mystifying spelling and phraseology, may render a perusal of them to be of the nature of a task to many.

The act of 1633 recites, in the preamble, the great expense and trouble the rulers of the community of Glasgow had been put to in making the Clyde navigable, in repairing bridges, in upholding the Cathedral, and in building the Tolbooth. As an encouragement to future well-doing, and as an acknowledgment for the past, his majesty, Charles I., with the consent and advice of the three estates of the realm, ratifies and confirms all charters and acts granted in favour of the burgh by him or his predecessors. Certain of these charters and acts are specified, while there is a general ratification of such as are not rehearsed. The grant is made, however, with express reservation of the rights of the Duke of Lennox as heritable bailie and justiciary; of the archbishop in his right of nomination and election of magistrates, together with the lands, teinds, and liberties pertaining to his office; and of the privileges and immunities of the university.

The charter of 1636 was not ratified until the 17th November, 1641. It contains an important provision but indefinitely referred to in the act of Parliament. The Municipal Corporation Commissioners state that "the corporation of the city of Glasgow appears to have elected a bailie of the river Clyde from time immemorial. This power was recognised and continued and confirmed by charter granted by King Charles I., on the 16th October, 1636." The ratification, as in the previous instance, confirms all the charters and acts granted the community, and grants anew to the provost, bailies, council, and community of the burgh of Glasgow, and their successors, all and whole the said burgh and city of Glasgow, with all and sundry the lands, houses, etc., and the ecclesiastical and civil privileges and immunities belonging to it, together with the liberty in regard to the Clyde already mentioned. The act then confirms the particular part of the charter, "creatand the said brugh in ane frie brut royall;" and also, as it confirms the charter "in all poyntis," the rights of the Dukes of Lennox, the archbishops, and the university are conserved, as in the act of 1633.

The acts themselves may now be given at length. That of 1633 is as follows:—

OURE SOVERANE LORD Being sufficientlie informit of the great charges and expenss That the proueist baillies counsall and comwnitie of the burgh and citie of Glasgow Hes sustenit thir many yeirs bygane In making of the river of Clyde Quhairvpon the said burgh and citie is foundit and situat portable for shipes boattes barkes and vther veshels for importing and

exporting of forraine and hameward comodities To the great comfort of his Majesties lieges by and within the bounds and shirefdomes nixt adjacent thairto And for advancement and incres of policie of the comoun weill of this his hienes kingdome of Scotland And in beitting repairing and vphalding of the brige of Glasgow over the said river quhilk is ane verie proffitable meanes for intertainment of commerce As lykwayes of the great cair paines and chairges sustenit be thame in vphalding of the great kirk of Glasgow and edifice thairof eftir the auncient maner and first foundatioun of the samyne And siclyk calling to mind quhat great and sumptuous charges cair and expenss they haue beine at laitlie in building of ane tolbuith for administratione of justice and vther effairs Tending to the advancement of the comoun weill and decoratioun of the said kingdome And in bigging and repairing of churches within the said burgh and citie with steiples ansuerable thairto As als of the great cair diligence and expenss sustenit be thame in bigging and reparing of certane brigges over rivers and Watters in sundrie pairts quhair straingers may haue comodious travelling To and fra his Majesties kingdome of Ireland and vther pairts within the kingdom of Scotland Not onlie to the comfort and proffeit of the lieges of all sorts of thes his Majesties kingdomes Bot lykwayes to the great comfort of all straingers and forrainers resorting to thes pairts And his Majestie Being myndfull of thes thair comendable and comoun warkes Tending to the comoun weill of his Majesties kingdome And to giue thame occasione to continew in prosecuting of thair guid intentiones And for the knawin guid service done to his Majestie and his maist noble progenitors be the proueist baillies counsall and comwnitie of the said burgh and citie of Glasgow and thair predicessors in tyme bypast THAIRFOR Oure said Soverane lord With consent and advyse of the thrie estates of this present parliament Hes ratifiet approvine and confirmit And be the tennor heirof Ratifies approues and confirms All and sundrie chartors infeftments confirmationes thairof gifts donationes mortificationes And all vther evidents wreatts and securities quhatsumever of quhatsumever natur kynd and qualitie The samyne be maid and grantit be his Majestie or any of his most noble progenitors To and in favours of the proueist baillies counsall and comwnitie of the said burgh and citie of Glasgow And in speciall (but preiudice of the generalitie forsaid) His Majestie with advyse and consent aboue specifiet Hes ratifiet and approvine And be thir presents Ratifies and approues Ane Chartor gift or donatioun Grantit be his heines most noble progenitor Alexander King of Scottes Of and concerning the liberties and priueledges of the said burgh burgessis and inhabitants thairof Of the dait at Maden Castell the auchteine day of

Junij and tuentie sax yeir of his raigne ITEM ane vther chartor grantit be King Robert his Majesties most noble progenitor Confirmeand the forsaid chartor wnder the great seale daitit the fyfteine day of November and tuentie thride yeir of his raigne ITEM ane vther chartor grantit be King Robert To the proueist baillies counsall and comwnitie of the said burgh of Glasgow Confirmeand the forsaid chartor And grantand certane new liberties thairto daitit at Scone the tuentie aucht day of July in the auchteine yeir of his reigne ITEM ane vthor chartor grantit be Marie Queine of Scottes his Majesties darrest guiddame To and in favours of the prouest baillies counsall and comwnitie of the said burgh of Glasgow of certane lands tenements kirks chappells chaplanries prebendaries alterages and vthers mentionat thairintill daittit the sevinteine day of March J^{m} v^{c} thriescoir sax yeirs ITEM ane vther chartor grantit be his Majesties darrest father of eternall memorie Wnder his great seale Ratifiand all the former gifts donationes priueledges and vthers maid in favours of the said proueist baillies counsall and comwnitie daitit at Roystoun the aucht day of Apryll The yeir of god J^{m} vj^{c} and ellevine yeirs ITEM ane decreit of parliament pronouncit in favours of the said burgh of Glasgow daitit the tuentie nynt day of november J^{m} four hundreth thriescoir nyne yeirs ITEM his Majesties ratificatioun of the said decreit daitit the first day of december The yeir of god J^{m} 4^{c} thriescoir nynteine yeirs ITEM ane act of Secreit counsall in favours of the said burgh concerning thair liberties daitit the tent day of september The yeir of god J^{m} vj^{c} yeirs ITEM ane act of interloquitor of the lords of sessioun givin in thair favours vpon the tuentie fyft day of July The yeir of god J^{m} vj^{c} and sevine yeirs ITEM ane decreit of the lords of counsall and sessioun givin in favours of the said burgh vpon the fourt day of Junij The yeir of god J^{m} v^{c} thriescoir fyfteine yeirs Anent ane laidle full of all sorts of cornes sauld in thair mercat IN all and sundrie heads articles claussis conditiones and circumstances thairof quhatsumever Willing declaring and ordaining That this present ratificatioun of the particular evidents and wreattes abouewrittine and generalitie thairof Is and Sall be als valeid effectual and sufficient To the proueist baillies counsall and comwnitie of the said burgh of Glasgow and thair successors for ever in iudgement and outwith as if they and everie ane of thame War at lenth word be word ingrost and insert hereintill And farder oure said Soverane lord with advyse and consent forsaid of his estates of parliament Ratifies and approues All and quhatsumever gifts richts and securities maid and grantit in favours of the proueist baillies counsall and comwnitie of the said burgh be his Majesties predicessors or be quhatsumever vther persone or persones of quhatsumever kynd

and qualitie the samyn be of Off and concerning the trone of the said burgh riuer and brige of the samyne tolles and customes thairof uplifted be thame And quhairof they and thair predicessors ar and haue bein in vse and possessioun thir many yeirs bypast for intertaynment of thair brige over the said riuer of Clyde And declairs that thair auncient possessioun of the customes thairof Sall be als sufficient as if the gifts or donationes grantit to thair predicessors of the samyne War produicit in this present parliament And generalie ratifies and approues All and quhatsumever vther chartors infeftments confirmationes thairof gifts donationes mortificationes and all vther evidents and wreatts quhatsumever maid and grantit be his Majestie or any of his most noble progenitors kinges queines princes and stewarts of Scotland thair regents governors and protectors of this kingdom for the tyme To and in favours of the proueist baillies counsell and comwnitie of the said burgh of Glasgow burgessis and inhabitants thairof Of and concerning all and quhatsumever lands houssis biggings tenements annuelrents dignities offices liberties priuiledges kirks chapells chaplanries alterages prebendaries dewties and annuelrents quhatsumever belonging thairto Trones watters riuers briges and customes belonging to the same Admittand declairand and ordainand That this present ratificatioun and generalitie thairof Is and sall be als guid valeid and sufficient to thame and thair successors in all tyme coming As if everie particular wreatt and evident grantit to thame thairvpon war particularlie and at lenth de verbo in verbum ingrossit and insert heirintill Quhairanent And with all that may be objectit thairagaines his Majestie and estates forsaides of this present parliament hes dispensit And be thir presents dispenssis for euer With expres declaratione alwayes Lykas our said Soverane lord and estates forsaids Be this present act declairs statuites and ordaines That the chartors infeftments acts decreits and vthers richts and secuirities speciallie and generallie abouementionat grantit to the said burgh of Glasgow With this present ratificatioun thairof Sall nowayes be preiudiciall nor hurtful To his Majesties deirrest cowsigne and counsallor James duke of lennox his airs and successors Anent the heretable richt and infeftment of the office of bailliarie and justiciarie of the baronie and regalitie of Glasgow And all the pairts thairof alsweill within as without the burgh of Glasgow Bot that notwithstanding of the saids chartors infeftments and vther richts speciallie and generallie abouementionat And this present ratificatioun thairof his hieness said darrest cowsigne and counsallor, James duike of lennox his airs and successors sall bruik joyse vse and exerce the said office of bailliarie and iusticiarie of the baronie and regalitie of Glasgow abouewrittine And all the pairts thairof Alsweill within

as without the burgh of Glasgow And sall vplift and intromett with the fies casualities comodities and dewties belonging to the said office of bailliarie and justiciarie of the said baronie and regalitie of Glasgow Sicklyk and als frielie in all respects As if the chartors infeftments and vthers richts speciallie and generallie abouementionat And this present ratificatioun thairof had nevir beine maid nor grantit As lykwayes with this expres declaratioun Lykas our said soverane lord and estates forsaids Be this present act And also with consent of the proueist and one of the baillies of the said burgh in name of the remanent haill counsall and comwnitie of the said burgh of Glasgow declairs statuites and ordanes That the chartors infeftments decreitts actes possessiones and vthers richts and secuirities speciallie and generallie abouementionat grantit to the said burgh of Glasgow With this present ratificatioun thairof Sall nowayes be hurtfull nor preiudiciall to the richt reverend father Patrick Archibishope of Glasgow and his successors Anent his and thair richt of the electioun and nominatione of the magistrates of the burgh of Glasgow Nor anent the richt of any lands teinds priueledges liberties or others quhatsumever perteining to the Archibishop of Glasgow and his successors And last with expres declaratioun That this present ratificatioun sall be nawayes preiudiciall To the liberties priueledges and jmmwnities of the vniversitie of Glasgow Bot that the samyne sall be reserued to thame with the lands tenements yairds and vthers apperteining thairto According to the ratificatioun grantit to thame in this present parliament And to the declarationes and reservationes exprest in the samyne ratificatioun and no vtherwayes.

The confirming act of the royal charter of 1636 was, as already said, not passed by Parliament until the 17th of November, 1641, but it may be appropriately reproduced here. It proceeds:—

OURE SOUERANE LORD with advyse and consent of the estaittis of this pnt. parliat Hes ratifiet and approvin And be thir pntis [presents] ratifies and approues the charter and infeftment maid and grantit be his Matie with advyse and consent of his hienes thesaurer comptroller and collector gnall [general] and thesaurer of his hienes new augmentaciunes of this kingdome of scotland and of the remanent lordis of his hienes excheqr for the tyme Quhairby his Matie with advyse and consent foirsaid hes ratifiet and approvin Dyvers and sindrie chartores infeftmentis preceptis instrumentis of seasing confirmaciunes actis sentences decreittis donatiounes mortificaciunes rightis of patronages and vther rightis tytles evidentis and vther securities liberties commodities priuiledges and vtheres particularlie and gnallie [generally] thairin exprest Maid and

grantit to the brugh and citie of glasgow Provest bailleis deane of gild thesaurer counsell and communitie of the samyn and thair successores Be his matie Or be qtsumever his maties maist noble progenitores kingis quenes princes and stewartis of scotland thair regentis and governoures for the tyme Or be the lordis of counsell and sessioun and colledge of Justice And with all and sindrie actis of burrowis vther actis ryghtis liberties and possessiounes onywyse bruikit of befoir be the said brugh of glasgow and kirkis colledges ministeres and hospitallis within the samyn In maner specifiet in the said chartour Quhairby also his matie with consent of his said hienes thesaurer comptroller and collector and remanent lordis of excheqr for the tyme his hienes commissioneres Hes gevin grantit and disponit cum clausula de NOVO DAMUS To the provest bailleis counsell and communitie of the said brut of glasgow and to thair successores for euer All and haill the said brut and citie of glasgow with all and sindrie landis houssis biggings tenementis zairdis orcheardis kirkis kirkzairdis patronages chappelles chaiplaines teyndis wallis partis gaittis passages calseyis aikeres ruddis burnes toftis croftis infeild outfeild territorie and communtie of the samyn mylnes mylnelandis multures sequelles suckin thirlage dammis inlayis laides and watergangis hillis salmound fischeingis and vther fischeingis in the water and riuer of clyde hospitallis correctioun houssis mures mossis grenes comunties lones brigges coallis coalheuchis lyme lymestane areutis few mailles fewfermes dewtyes mansiones fruittis emolumentis fundaciunes donaciunes pntaciunes [presentations] almes daill silvir and vther priviledges and immunities alsweill ecclesiasticall as secular belanging thairto And with libertie and priviledge in the water of clyde in maner specifiet in the said chartor Creatand the said brugh in ane frie brut royall and geveand to the said brut ane correctioun hous and with that hous callit the lippir hous and St. ninianes hospitall with sindrie liberties and priviledges and with the customes and dewtyes belonging to the said brugh And makand the provest balleis counsell and comunitie of the said brugh and thair successores heritable patrones of the trongait kirk of glasgow As in the said charter conteneing dyvers and sindrie vther heidis claussis giftis and donaciunes In favores of the said brugh of glasgow provest bailleis counsell and comunitie thairof and thair successores Of the dait AT Newmercat the sextene day of october J^{m} vj^{c} thretty sex zeiris at mair lenth is contenit In all and sindrie heidis claussis and circumstances thairof Together with the precept and instrument of ceasing following thairvpone and all that hes followit or may follow thairanent ATTOUR our said soverane lord with consent foirsaid of the estaitis of this pnt parliat Decernes and ordanes that the

foirsaidis rightis securities priviledges and vtheres exprest in the said chartour now ratifiet and approvin ar and Sall be guid and valied rytis to the provest balleis counsell and communitie of the said brut of glasgow and to thair successores for bruikeing and Joyseing of the samyn perpetuallie in all tyme cuming but [without] trouble or impediment conforme to the tennor thairof In all poyntis.

The charter of 1636 was not obtained without expense to the city. The Burgh Records reveal that fact. In the first instance, on the 4th January, 1637, it is stated that Patrick Bell, John Anderson, and Walter Stirling produced to the council the account of their expenses in Edinburgh "in purchaseing of the tounes new infeftment." Their "whole chargis" amounted to £22, 19s. 8d. Scots (£1, 18s. 3⅔d. sterling). The treasurer was ordered to pay the account out of a loan of 3000 merks (£166, 13s. 4d. sterling) the burgh had received from the Laird of Kilmahew. On the 22nd April of the same year a warrant was given the treasurer for the payment of the clerk of Paisley for the work he had done in connection with the obtainment of the new charter, and also for the copying and registration of it. The various items are entered in the treasurer's accounts as follow:—"Disbursit to the advocattis and wrytteris att the obteaning the tounes new infeftment and the chargis of Patrik Bell and vtheris in attending thairvpon, iiij^{c} lxxvij li. js. iiijd;" "Givin to the clark of Paislay for being notar to the tounis seasing and registratioun thairof, xxxvj li. ixs." The first sum is equal to £39, 15s. 1⅓d. sterling, and the second to £3, 0s. 9d. sterling, so that the total cost only amounted to £42, 15s. 10⅓d. sterling.

Having received additional honours and privileges, the Town Council of Glasgow set about certain internal reformations. Perhaps the most important of these was the passing of an act in regard to their own election. On the 19th of August, 1637, the provost, bailies, and council, "considdering and wnderstanding that thir maney and divers yeiris bygane thair hes bein no constant cours obserwit anent the qualitie and nwmber of the persones who electit the counsell of this brughe, thay thairfoir to obviat the evill and inconvenientis meny incur thairby, and for establisching of ane solid and constant forme of electioun of the counsall in tyme cuming efter mature advyse and deliberatioun, the peace and good of this citie," ordained that in all time coming the following twelve persons should have a vote in the election of the Town Council. The election, it may be explained, took place after the appointment of the magistrates for each year, and by this act of the council the electors were to be the new provost and the three new bailies, together with the provosts and bailies in office in the two preceding years. These

twelve persons were to be warned by the town's officer to the performance of their duty. If it should happen that any of the number should be dead, or sick, or had left the town, then it would not be lawful for the remanent of them to proceed with the election; but before doing so, they must make up their number by filling the places of the absentees by persons of the same rank. Some idea of the wealth of the city may be obtained from the sums at which certain portions of the burgh property were let by the council. The town mills produced 6,750 merks (£375 sterling), and 42 bolls of unground malt; the casualties of the ladle, £200 Scots (£16, 13s. 4d. sterling); the duties of the market, 500 merks (£27, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling); and the custom of the bridge, 450 merks (£25 sterling).

Another important movement in the city is discovered by an entry in the Burgh Records, under date of 31st January, 1638. There it is stated that "foirsameikle as Robert Flemyng, merchand, and his partineris, ar of mynd and intentioun to erect and tak vp ane hous of manufactorj within this brughe, quhairby ane number of the poorer sort of pople within the samein may be imployit and put to wark, and the saidis provest, bailyeis, and counsall, considdering the grait good, vtilitie, and proffeit will redound to this brughe and haill incorporatioun thairof thairby, they haue concludit, all in ane voyce, for the said Robert his better incuragement to the said good wark, to sett to him ane latt and tak of thair grait ludging and yaird at the back thairof lyand within this brughe in the Drygait, except the twa laiche foir and back galreis att the back of the samein, lyand be eist the entri of the said grait tenement, and of the buithe vnder the Tolbuithe presentlie occupyit be James Wood, all maill frie or any vther kynd of dewtie, during the spaice of fyftein yeiris efter his entry, and they to vphold the ruif of the said grait tenement vpon the tounis chargis and expenssis during the said spaice." In all probability this would relate to a manufactory for textile fabrics. The king and parliament had given every encouragement to skilled tradesmen from Flanders, France, and England to settle in Scotland, and the establishment of manufactories in every burgh had been suggested. The cloth would be of the kind known as "homespun." This assumption is shown to have some foundation by a subsequent minute of council. The work would appear to have been pushed forward very rapidly. On the 5th May following, Richard Allan, the deacon-convener, reported to the council that the weavers, freemen of the burgh, feared that the erection of a manufactory would prove hurtful and prejudicial to them. Patrick Bell, a member of council, who had already filled the civic chair, and who was "ane of the vndertakeris," for himself and in name of his partners, was content that it should be enacted that

during the time the new company occupied the town's property "thair sould be no woovis wovine of townis folkis thairin be thair servandis in hurt and prejudice of the said friemen, bot by thais onlie wha ar frie with the calling."

The council very commendably extended their patronage to music as well as to trade. On the 5th May, 1638, they gave permission to one Duncan Birnet to continue the "musik schooll." A similar privilege had been granted, it here transpires, to another party, but for some reason or other the school had "altogidder dekayit within this burgh, to the grait discredit of this citie and discontentment of sindrie honest men within the same who hes bairnes whom they wold have instructit in that art."

CHAPTER XXIV.

(A.D. 1638.)

The General Assembly meets in Glasgow—Strange Scene in the Cathedral—Deposition of the Prelates of the Church of Scotland, and Abjuration of Episcopacy—Cautious Action of the Glasgow Corporation—Glasgow Manners—Establishment of Printing in the City.

Of all the important events which have occurred in Glasgow, it may be said that none had a more marked effect upon the destinies of Scotland than the General Assembly of 1638. The country had passed through the troublous times of the Reformation, and was beginning to recover from the confusion consequent upon that upheaval, when the imprudence of King James I., and of his son Charles I., by degrees brought about another revolution in the affairs of the country, scarcely less violent than that of 1560. When Charles was in Scotland in 1633, for the purpose of being crowned, the people received him with great enthusiasm; but that enthusiasm became transformed into suspicion and discontent when it was discovered that the king was intent upon carrying out his father's project of making the Church of Scotland conform in government and ceremonial to the Anglican communion. Archbishop Laud was then primate of All England, and, presuming himself to be the ecclesiastical head of the Scotch Church, he endeavoured to force upon the people of Scotland the Common Prayer Book and Liturgy. In this movement he had the full support of the king. But the Scots had received from Knox, Melvil, and the early Reformers,

the doctrines of Calvin, together with the Presbyterian form of Church government. The intrusion was resented not only on that ground, but also because parliament and the General Assembly had not been consulted, and their consent obtained for the change. However, notwithstanding all the opposition, the royal mandate was carried out. The first notable outbreak was in St. Giles' Cathedral, in July, 1637, when Jenny Geddes became an historical personage, by throwing her stool at the conforming occupant of the pulpit. By the end of that year the state of matters was such that the most influential noblemen and gentlemen in the country combined to exterminate prelacy, and under their auspices the National Covenant was drawn up and signed by the great body of the Scottish people.

A somewhat amusing incident is recorded by Baillie (*Letters and Journals*, Laing's Ed., Vol. I., p. 20) in these terms:— "Mr William Annan preached a sermon before the synod at Glasgow in defence of the liturgy. Of his sermon among us in the synod not a word; but in the town among the women a great din. To-morrow Mr. John Lindsay, at the bishop's command, preached. He is the new moderator of Lanerk. At the ingoing of the pulpit, it is said, that some of the women in his ear assured him, that if he should touch the service-book in his sermon, he should be rent out of the pulpit. He took the advice, and let that matter alone. At the outgoing of the church, about thirty or forty of our honestest women, in one voice, before the bishop and magistrates, fell a railing, cursing, scolding, with clamours, on Mr. William Annan. Some two of the meanest were taken to the tolbooth. All the day over, up and down the streets where he went, he got threats of sundry in words and looks; but after supper, while needlessly he will go to visit the bishop, who had taken his leave with him, he is no sooner on the street, at nine o'clock in a dark night, with three or four ministers with him, but some hundreds of enraged women, of all qualities, are about him, with neaves, staves, and peats, but no stones. They beat him sore; his cloak, ruff, and hat were rent; however, upon his cries, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds; yet he was in great danger even of killing. This tumult was so great, that it was not thought meet to search either the plotters or actors of it, for numbers of the best quality would have been found guilty. To-morrow poor Mr. William was conveyed with the baillies and sundry ministers to his horse, for many women were waiting to affront him more. Always at his on-leaping, his horse unhappily fell above him in a very foul mire, in presence of all the company; of which accident was more speech than of any other." Baillie also relates that "Mr. Andrew Cant, and Mr. S. Rutherford, were sent by the nobles to preach in the High Kirk and receive

the oaths of the people to the Covenant. Lord Eglinton was appointed to be a witness there. With many a sigh and tear by all that people the oath was made."

Glasgow, in common with the other royal burghs, took part in the development of this movement. At a meeting of the Town Council, on the 26th February, 1638, Colin Campbell, one of the bailies, Gabriel Cunningham, Richard Allan, and George Porterfield, were appointed to ride to Edinburgh to meet with the commissioners from the burghs, with power to concur with them in supplicating the government concerning "the buikes of canones and commoun prayer vrgit to be brought in our kirk of Scotland." In the course of the following month Walter Stirling, another member of the Town Council, was sent to assist them in their labours. As was to be expected, Glasgow was not free from the disturbances prevalent throughout the country, and on the 2nd of April it was agreed that a watch should be kept in the city for a month, at the discretion of the magistrates. The condition of the general community became so critical, that, by the 1st of August, the council considered it necessary to ordain that all persons in the burgh should supply themselves with arms and armour, and be in readiness to muster at twenty-four hours' warning. All who failed to comply with this order were subjected to a fine of £20 Scots (£1, 13s. 4d. sterling). Towards the end of the month, fifty muskets and fifty staves were bought for the use of the town.

By the presentation of Archbishop Lindsay, Patrick Bell became provost of Glasgow on the 2nd October, 1638. On the 8th of the same month, the magistrates and council, "wnderstanding that his sacreid Majestie hes bein graciouslie pleasit to indict ane generall frie Assemblie to be haldin and begin in this citie the tuenty ane of November nixt, be the quhilk it is expectit that ane grait number of noblemen, commissioners from presbitreis, and vtheris commissioners, will repair hither, tharfor it is statut and ordanit that na burges nor inhabitant within this brughe sett [let] for maill dewtie or vtherwayes, or yeit lend to ane freind any hous, chalmber, or stable wntill they first acquent thais thairwith who sall be appoyntit be the provest, bailyeis, and counsall to that effect, and obtene thair licence thairto, to the end that every ane may be ludgit according to thair qualitie and abilitie of this citie, vnder the payne of ane hundrethe pundis [£8, 6s. 8d. sterling], lossing of thair liberty, without favour to be execut, and imprisonment of thair personis during the magistrattis willis;" and, also, "that nane expect mair dewtie for thair houssis, chalmberis, bedis, and stablis, nor sall be appoyntit be the saidis provest, bailyeis and counsall, and with the whilk they sall be tymouslie advertised," under a similar penalty. This order was

to be intimated though the town by sound of the drum, so that no person might pretend ignorance. In anticipation, James Colquhoun, wright, was instructed to look after certain work being done about the Cathedral, in order to make it suitable for the meeting of Assembly; and it was ordained that there be "ane gaird of men keepit" within the burgh, to keep watch day and night while the town was filled with strangers. A minute of date 8th November, shows the members of the council to be astute and careful men, for they, "wnderstanding that thair will be certane grait and wechtie materis handlit in the Assemblie enschewing . . . quhilk may concerne thame verie mutche," thought it proper that their commissioner to the Assembly should not give his vote upon any matter until he had first intimated the same to the council, and received their instructions regarding it. An act to that effect was made; and Provost Bell was elected their representative, with Richard Allan, the deacon-convener, as his assessor.

Dr. Cunningham (*Ch. Hist. Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 99) gives the following graphic account of the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638:—"The day for the meeting of the Assembly approached. On Friday, the 16th of November, the westland gentlemen came pouring into Glasgow. Lord Eglinton and other noblemen came, attended by their friends and vassals. On the following day, the stream of commissioners and their retainers set in from the east. The prices of houses and beds were rising; but it soon began to be seen that the western metropolis had already a capacity to lodge Council, Session, Parliament, and General Assembly. On the afternoon of Saturday, it was known that his Grace the Lord High Commissioner [the Marquis of Hamilton], accompanied by many of the Lords of the Privy Council, was approaching the city, and some of the Covenanting noblemen went out to meet him, and courteous speeches were exchanged. The Covenanters protested they would ask nothing but what was right and reasonable, and the Commissioner declared that everything that was right and reasonable would be granted. The three following days were spent by both parties in preparing for the encounter. It was on Wednesday, the 21st of November, the Assembly was to meet. It met in the Cathedral Church. That noble pile stood then just as it stands now, and as it had stood for centuries before. It rose solemnly there amid the gravestones of many generations, pointing back to the time when good Bishop Jocelyn laid the foundations of its peerless crypt. Beyond the Molendinar Burn, so famous in ancient story, the rocky eminence was covered with scraggy firs, which is now the thickly peopled 'city of the dead.' Commissioner, magistrates, nobles, barons, burgesses, ministers, came crowding into St. Mungo's Church. None had gowns, but many had doublets,

swords, and daggers, and the jostling, thrusting, and squeezing was such, that honest Baillie declares that if men had behaved in his house so rudely as they did in the house of God, he would have turned them down stairs. In this respect, at least, this Assembly of our Church must have resembled one of those great Œcumenical councils of the East, still so greatly revered, which settled some of the highest mysteries of our faith amid tumult and uproar.

"But though the Assembly might have been somewhat disorderly at its first downsitting, and not very canonical in its garments, it comprised all the rank, and wealth, and intelligence of the country. It consisted of 140 ministers, two professors not ministers, and 98 ruling elders, from presbyteries and burghs. Of these ruling elders 17 were noblemen, 9 were knights, 25 were landed proprietors, and 47 were burgesses—all men of some consideration. The Earl of Montrose sat for Auchterarder, the Earl of Lothian for Dalkeith, the Earl of Cassillis for Ayr, the Earl of Home for Chirnside. Almost every name of note was there. At one end of the church a chair of state was provided for the Royal Commissioner. Round him were arranged the members of the Privy Council—the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, Argyle, Mar, Moray, Glencairn, Lauderdale, Angus, Wigton, Perth, and others their peers in pride and lineage. Right opposite to the Commissioner was placed a small table for the moderator and clerk. Along the centre ran a long table, at which sat the nobles and barons who were members of the court, among whom might be discerned Rothes, Wemyss, Balmerino, Lindsay, Yester, Eglinton, Loudon, and many others, whose sole word was still law for large districts of Scotland. The ministers stood or sat behind, and did not, like the proud prelates, quarrel with earls for precedence. A gallery was assigned to young noblemen who were not members of the house; and in a gallery loftier still was a crowd of persons of humbler degree, among whom many ladies might be seen, some of whom had perhaps assisted to hoot unhappy prelates on the street, and now beheld the proud pageant of triumphant presbytery. It must have been one of the noblest, strangest, and most interesting spectacles that Scotland has ever seen. The first day was occupied with devotional exercises and the production of commissions. On the second day, the Covenanters argued that the first thing to be done was to elect a moderator, as otherwise the Assembly could not be constituted. The royalists maintained that preliminary to this the roll must be made up by the examination of commissions, as without this it could not be known who was properly qualified to vote. Like to be foiled in this point, the Commissioner asked to be allowed to read a paper, which had been handed to him by the

bishops, before the moderator was chosen; but he was instantly assailed by shouts of 'No reading! no reading!' Speeches and clamour were followed by protests, and these were multiplied with such industry, that Baillie declares every one was weary of them, except the clerk, who with every protest received a golden crown. At length the ground was cleared, and Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, was almost unanimously chosen moderator. The choice was a good one. Henderson already stood at the head of his party, and even his enemies bear witness to his gravity and learning. The only circumstance which made some of his friends hesitate about raising him to the moderator's chair was, that by doing so they would lose his assistance in debate, and in debate he was allowed to be unrivalled. Archibald Johnston of Warriston was afterwards chosen as clerk—a man of acute intellect, well versed in law, and thoroughly devoted to the Presbyterian party. After the clerk was chosen, an interesting incident occurred. It was supposed that the ancient records of the Church had been lost; Johnston now stood up, and stated that by a strange chance they had come into his hands, and produced them to the house. Amid much rejoicing a committee was appointed to examine the documents thus lost and found, which closed its labours by declaring that they were the authentic records of the General Assemblies from 1560 to 1590. Several days were now spent in examining commissions, and many sharp scrimmages were fought, in which his Grace was generally compelled to encounter single-handed all the polemics, both lay and clerical, of the Assembly. It was the 27th of November before the real business of the meeting began. On that day the declinature of the Assembly's authority was given in by the bishops and their adherents. It was read amid contemptuous whispers and smiles. On the next day the moderator put the question—Did the Assembly find itself competent to judge of the bishops? The Lord High Commissioner now declared, that though he did not object to the trial of the bishops for any particular crimes of which they may have been guilty, if the Assembly proceed to the censure of their offices he must withdraw, as he could not give the royal countenance to any such proceeding. The Assembly showed unmistakably its intention to proceed. Altercations ran high, angry words were exchanged; the Commissioner complained that he was crossed in everything, and finally he declared the Assembly to be dissolved, and rose to leave the house. While he was yet going, instruments were being taken, and a protest was being read, that his departure would not hinder the Assembly from finishing the work it had on hand.

"Undismayed by the absence of royalty, and the proclamation

at the market cross that all who should henceforth join in this sitting would be regarded as guilty of high treason, the Assembly proceeded to business. It felt that the withdrawal of Hamilton was fully compensated by the presence of Argyle, who now openly threw in his lot with the Covenanters, and gave them the weight of his great name, his wide possessions, and his diplomatic mind. They knew that in case of need he could bring five thousand claymores into the field, to help on the Covenanted work of Reformation. They passed an act declaring the Assemblies of 1606, 1608, 1616, 1617, and 1618, to have been so vitiated by kingly interference as to be null and void. They passed an act condemning the service book, the book of canons, the book of ordination, and the court of High Commission. They abjured Episcopacy and the five articles of Perth. They proceeded to the trial of the bishops. They were all charged with violating caveats upon which they had been invested with the episcopal office, and with Popish and Arminian errors; many of them with Sabbath contravention; and some of them with abominable crimes. The probation of libels was referred to a committee. We are now in a great measure left to conjecture the nature and amount of the evidence that was led, but there is reason to fear that it was somewhat shorthanded and one-sided, and that every wild rumour that was afloat was listened to as proof. The bishops, it must be remembered, were not present to defend themselves. The Archbishop of St. Andrews [Spottiswoode] was proved to have been guilty of riding through the country on the Lord's Day; of carding and diceing during the time of divine service; of tippling in taverns till midnight; of falsifying the acts of Assembly; of slandering the Covenant! Surely that was enough; but beyond this, proof was offered of his adultery, his incest, his sacrilege, his simony. Who will believe that of this old man, whom two successive sovereigns, both virtuous, though both despotic, had raised to the highest honours in the church and the country, and against whose morals no word was spoken till the Assembly of 1638 was about to be held. 'The bishop of Brechin,' says Baillie, 'was proven guilty of sundry acts of most vile drunkenness; also, a woman and child brought before us made his adultery very probable.' The bishop of Moray was convicted of 'all the ordinary faults of a bishop,' and besides, says the historian, 'there was objected against him, but as I suspect, not sufficiently proved, of giving his countenance to a vile dance of naked people in his own house.' Mr. Andrew Cant, one of the members of the Assembly, was still more explicit upon this point, and declared that the bishop was 'a pretty dancer,' and that at his daughter's bridal he had danced in his night-shirt.

We confess our inability to believe these things, albeit they were proved to the satisfaction of the Assembly of 1638. Experience has proved that a man may be a bishop, and yet a good man; a Presbyterian, and yet a bad man. The Assembly of 1638 managed to prove that almost all the bishops and their adherents were abandoned debauchees, while no breath of suspicion was allowed to blow upon any who clamoured for Presbytery and signed the Covenant. Shall we believe that all the vice of the country was on the one side; all the virtue on the other? It is certain that the great sin of the bishops was simply that they were bishops. Had it not been better and honester for the Assembly to have said so? It is certain also that they did not always show that respect for the sanctity of the Sabbath which has always been characteristic of Presbyterian Scotland. They aped the greater laxity of England. They saw no evil in a ride on horseback, or a hand at whist, on the Sabbath; the bishop of Orkney indulged in curling, and the minister of Glassford encouraged his parishioners to dance and play at the football when the sermon was done. In addition to this, it appears to be true, that a few of the Episcopalians were not very exemplary in their lives; but it is certain that in the eyes of that generation their Episcopacy magnified their vices, while it obscured every virtue they happened to possess. The bishops were all deposed, not merely from their bishoprics, but from the office of the ministry, and eight of them were excommunicated, although the majority of these were not even charged with immorality. The sentence of excommunication was still much more dreadful than outlawry: it involved the forfeiture of every civil right; it might be followed with civil pains and punishments; no person might dwell with or even speak with an excommunicated man, and therefore the bishops were obliged to flee the country to save their lives. Surely the sentence was too severe. It must be borne in mind that ever since the Reformation the Church of Scotland had oscillated between Presbytery and Episcopacy; that for the last thirty years—the length of a generation—it had been Episcopalian; that most of the bishops had found Episcopacy established when they entered the church; that all the ministers who now constituted this Assembly had sworn obedience to the bishops when they received their ordination; and surely then, it was scarcely fitting that these men, in these circumstances, should consign the members of the episcopal bench not merely to infamy and exile, but in the solemn words of excommunication 'shut them out from the communion of the faithful; debar them from their privileges, and deliver them to Satan for the destruction of their flesh, that their spirits might be saved in the day of the Lord.' Scotland did not wish bishops, and

therefore, by all means, let bishops be got rid of. Let their surplices be torn from their backs; their episcopal succession be broken; their prelatic power and honour trampled in the dust; their dioceses blotted from the map. If they have really been guilty of crimes, let them be deposed. But do not let men—simply because they were bishops, tinctured, perhaps, a little with popery and Arminianism—be consigned to perdition. The Reformers, notwithstanding their stern and somewhat surly mood, did not thus treat the popish prelates when they drove them from their cathedrals and altars. When one political party, in our day, succeeds to another, it does not consider it necessary to head and hang its predecessors; it is only in barbaric and revolutionary seasons that this is done. Three of the bishops—Dunkeld, Caithness, and Argyle—tried to save themselves from the proscription of their order by submitting themselves to the Assembly, signing the Covenant, and abjuring Episcopacy. It saved them from excommunication, but not from deposition. The bishop of Dunkeld was an old, infirm man, unable to rise from his bed, and he begged that he might be allowed to die a minister of the Gospel; but he was deprived of all functions of the ministry, and only allowed to cherish the hope that he might be restored by undergoing a course of repentance. A good many parish ministers shared the fate of the bishops. The offence with which they were generally charged was Arminianism, for the Episcopalians were generally Arminians, and the Covenanters were, without exception, uncompromising Calvinists.

"The Assembly passed some other acts, which flowed as corollaries from those we have mentioned. Having abolished the Episcopal, it restored the Presbyterian government by kirk sessions, presbyteries, and provincial synods; ordered all presentations to be directed to presbyteries; forbade ministers to accept of civil offices or employments; prohibited the printing of books connected with ecclesiastical affairs without a licence; and addressed a letter to the king justifying its acts, and asking his approval. At length, on the 20th of December, it closed its labours. There is a tradition, though not very well authenticated, that Henderson, before leaving the chair, pronounced the words—'We have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite.'"

Archbishop Lindsay, of Glasgow, is not mentioned by Dr. Cunningham; but it is recorded that that prelate, after being deposed, retired to Newcastle, where he died in 1640.

In accordance with the act of the Town Council, Provost Bell consulted his colleagues as to his course of action on matters of importance. On the 29th of November, he asked

them what he should do in regard to the question, whether or not the Assembly should dissolve, being discharged by the royal authority. He was instructed to vote that the Assembly continue to sit. Again, on the 6th of December, he craved their opinion as to whether he should vote for the deposition of the bishops, the abjuration of Episcopacy, and the abrogation of the previous Assemblies, and of the five articles of Perth. By a plurality of votes the Council instructed him "to voit for them and in thair names to the annulling of thaise Assemblies cravit to be annullit with the fyue articles concludit at Perthes Assemblie, and to the abrogatting and abjuring of bischopis and episcopacie." Thus the position of Glasgow at this important juncture in Scottish history is set forth in clear and unmistakable terms.

The Marquis of Hamilton, during his attendance on the Assembly, seems to have taken up his quarters in the Tolbooth, for at a meeting of the Town Council held on the 11th December, 1638, the treasurer was granted a warrant for the sum of £34, 17s. 4d. Scots (£2, 18s. 1⅓d. sterling), disbursed by him when the king's commissioner was in the Tolbooth. At a subsequent sederunt of the council, on the 22nd December, the following minute was drawn up, and it is interesting in more senses than as a portion of history:—"The quhilk day, the saidis provest, baillies, and counsall, understanding the guid and commendable ordour that was keepet within this burght the tyme of last generall assemblie, be reteiring of the poor off the calsay, and susteining of thame in thair awn houssis, to the grait credit of the citie, and contentment of all strangers resorting heir for the tyme. And seing the same is godlie and honest, thairfor they hawe statut and ordanit that the poor be keipit and sustenit in thair houssis, as they ar now at this present, and the inhabittants of this burght to be stentit [rated] to that effect; and this day aught days, ilk counsallor to propose his best overtour what way it can be best accomplished." That the city was illuminated in honour of the Assembly may be presumed from the following entry in the Burgh Records, also under date of 22nd December:—"The said day ordanis the prouest, baillies, and counsall to unlaw [fine] and punish thae inhabitants within this burght wha did not put out candills and bowattis [lanterns] the time of the lait assemblie, conforme to the act set doun thairanent."

Baillie (*Letters and Journals*, Laing's Ed., Vol. I., p. 121) says "that the town expected, and provided for huge multitudes of people, and put on their houses and beds excessive prices; but the diligence of the magistrates, and the vacancy of many rooms, quickly moderated that excess. We were glad to see such order, and large provision, above all men's

expectation, for which the town got much thanks and credit. It can lodge easily at once council, session, parliament, and general assembly, if need should require." He gives another aspect to affairs by the following:—"On Wednesday, the 21st of November, with much ado could we throng into our places, an evil which troubled us much the first fourteen days of our sitting. The magistrates, with their town-guard, the noblemen, with the assistance of the gentry, whilst the Commissioner in person, could not get us entry to our rooms, use what force, what policy they could, without such delay of time and thrusting through, as grieved and offended us. Whether this evil be common to all nations at all public confluences, or if it be proper to the rudeness of our nation alone, or whether in thir late times, and admiration of this new reformation, have at all public meetings stirred up a greater than ordinary zeal in the multitude to be present for hearing and seeing, or what is the special cause of this irremedial evil, I do not know; only I know my special offence for it, and wish it remeided above any evil that ever I knew in the service of God among us. As yet no appearance of redress. It is here alone, I think, we might learn from Canterbury, yea, from the pope, yea, from the Turks or Pagans, modesty and manners; at least their deep reverence in the house they call God's ceases not till it have led them to the adoration of the timber and stones of the place" (*Letters and Journals*, Vol. I., p. 123). Dr. Cunningham has quoted what Baillie says he would do to persons who should behave in his house as he saw some do in the Cathedral. All this is very severe on the "modesty and manners" of the people who lived in Glasgow in 1638.

A most important result of the meeting of the General Assembly in Glasgow was that at that time printing was first established in the city. M'Vean (M'Ure's *Hist. Glas.*, Appen.) states that, "In 1638, George Anderson was induced to commence printing in Glasgow; and it is said that the magistrates allowed him a salary. Anderson had previously printed several works in Edinburgh, in King James' College, in the year 1637-8. . . . The first work which we have found, and probably one of the very first printed in Glasgow is,—The protestation of the Generall Assemblie of the church of Scotland, and of the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burrowes, ministers, and commons; subscribers of the covenant, lately renewed, made in the high kirk, and at the mercate crosse of Glasgow, the 28, and 29. of November, 1638. Printed at Glasgow by George Anderson in the yeare of grace 1638."

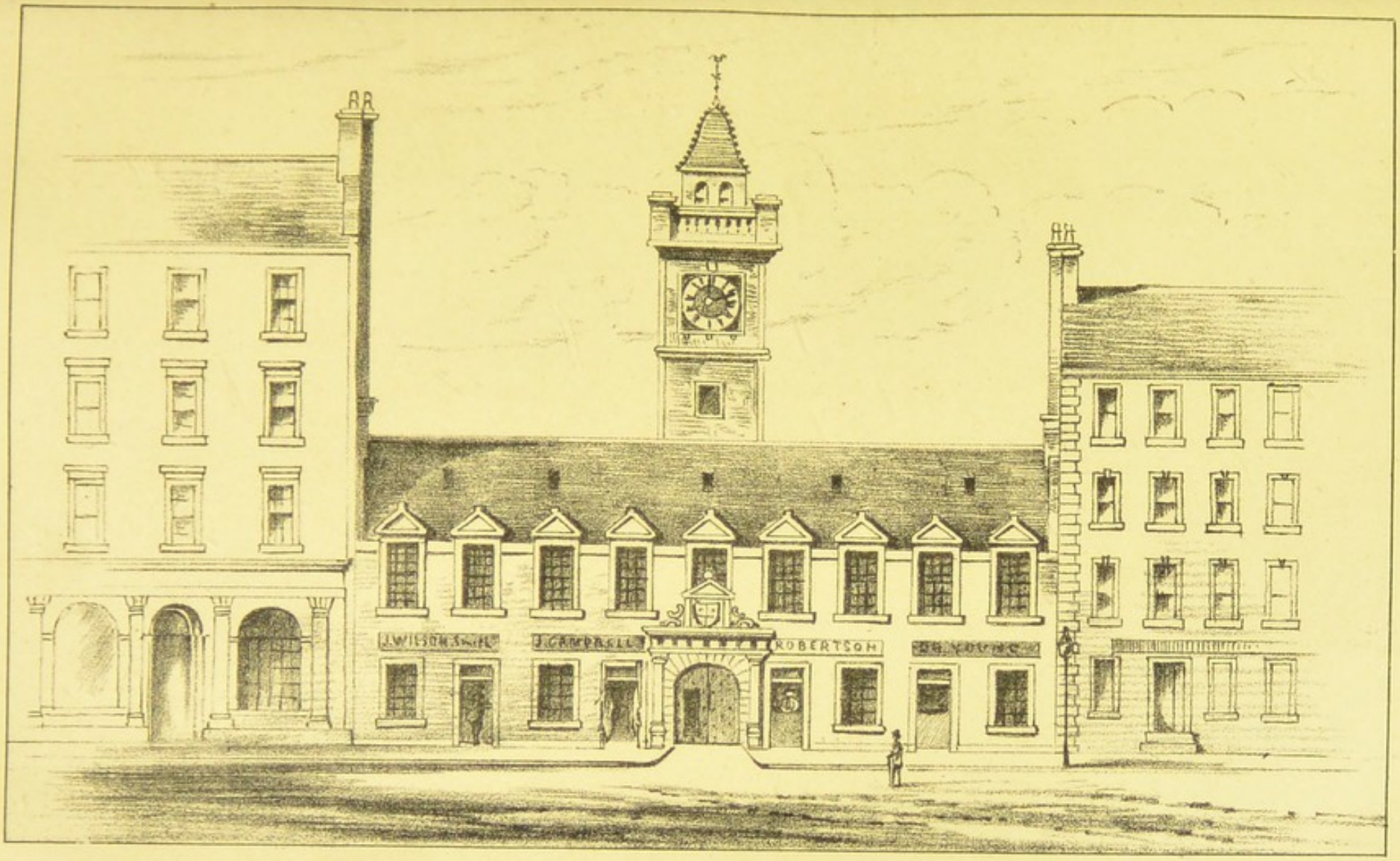
CHAPTER XXV.

(A.D. 1639 TO A.D. 1643.)

Foundation of Hutcheson's Hospital—The Opinion of the Town Council as to the Charter of Royalty—King Charles I. interferes in the Election of the City Magistrates, and the Council Protests—The First "Portrait" of Glasgow.

THERE is perhaps no benefaction among the many in the city of Glasgow which has done more permanent good than that instituted by George and Thomas Hutcheson. For nearly two and a half centuries Hutcheson's Hospital has been one of the prominent institutions of the city. During that long period it has passed through many changes and vicissitudes, but at no time can it be said to have failed in carrying out the beneficent objects of its founders. This result may be traced, doubtless, in a very large degree, to prudent management, but to a still greater extent is it due to the fitness of the foundation to the needs of the community. Such being the case, the establishment of Hutcheson's Hospital becomes an important incident in the history of Glasgow, and is worthy of something more than passing mention.

An interesting and succinct account of the founders is given in the *History of Hutcheson's Hospital* (Ed. 1850, p. 111). George and Thomas Hutchesone, it is there stated, were sons of Thomas Hutchesone of Lambhill and Gairbraid. Their mother's name was Helen Herbertsone. Both father and mother had a charter from the Crown, in 1583, of these lands, which were formerly held by charter and infeftment from the Archbishop of Glasgow. George, the eldest son and heir, acquired great wealth. He was a public notary, and he was so moderate in his charges that it is reported he never would take more than sixteen pennies Scots (1⅓d. sterling) for writing an ordinary bond, be the sum ever so great. Dying a widower, without issue, in 1639, over and above the property mortified to the hospital, he left a large fortune in land and money, to the bulk of which Thomas succeeded as heir at law. Ultimately the succession yielded considerable estates to his three nephews, by his three sisters; but the great part of these, it is said, mouldered away so quickly that some of the descendants died poor in the hospital. Thomas Hutchesone, the brother and successor of George, was also a writer, and keeper of and



THE OLD HUTCHESON'S HOSPITAL IN TRONGATE, ERECTED 1641.

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clerk to the Register of Sasines of the regality of Glasgow and its district. He died, also without issue, on the 1st of September, 1641, in the fifty-second year of his age, and he was buried by the side of his brother George, on the south side of the Cathedral. In addition to his benefactions to the hospital, he mortified 2,000 merks (£1,111, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling) for the library of the University of Glasgow; and £1,000 Scots (£83, 6s. 8d. sterling) for the re-erection of the south quarter of the college buildings, then in a ruinous state. In the list of graduates of the university there is a Thomas Hutchesone in the year 1610, no doubt the person above mentioned, there being no other of the same name in these years from the year 1578 to the year 1640, while the term *Master*, always prefixed to his name, shows he had taken his degree.

George Hutchesone of Lambhill, by a deed dated 16th December, 1639, recorded afterwards, by desire of his brother Thomas, in the books of the Town Council, mortified and disponed a tenement of land, on the west side of the west port of Glasgow, with the yard and pertinents thereof, for the building of an hospital for the accommodation of as many poor, aged, and decrepit men as the annual interest of the sums after-mentioned could afford, at 4s. Scots (4d. sterling) to each per day, besides clothing and fuel. He further mortified several bonds, amounting to the principal sum of 20,000 merks (£1,111, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling), the yearly interest of which, from and after Whitsunday, 1640, should go towards their maintenance after the hospital was built. The provost, bailies, dean of guild, deacon-convener, and ordinary ministers of Glasgow were to be patrons. The benefaction was declared to be for aged, decrepit men of all ranks above fifty years of age, who had been of honest life and conversation, and who were known to be destitute of all help and support at the time of their entry into the hospital. The annual rent of the principal sum, after one or more years, was to be applied in building and decorating the hospital; and when the old men should be placed therein, the benefactor calculated that the remainder, at 4s. Scots per day for each, besides clothing, fuel, and lodging, would maintain eleven of them.

George Hutchesone died within fifteen days after the date of this deed; but Thomas Hutchesone, his brother and heir, by a contract betwixt the patrons and him, bearing date of 27th June, 1640, not only ratified the deed, but he also assigned to the patrons the whole bygone rents of the 20,000 merks—no inconsiderable sum; and in order that the hospital might be "built large and beautiful," he mortified to the patrons a barn and a barn-yard at the east gable of the original tenement of land. By this contract, also, the patrons obliged themselves and their successors in office to fulfil the terms of mortification

in all time coming, to place as many poor aged men in the hospital as the annual rents would entertain, and to give preference to any poor aged men of the name of Hutcheson. They further bound themselves, and their successors in office, to employ the 20,000 merks, as it happened to be got in, upon lands or other heritable securities; and to make choice of any honest man, who was an ordinary councillor of Glasgow, to be collector for the hospital.

Thomas Hutcheson, by a deed dated 9th March, 1641, for the maintenance and education of twelve male indigent orphans, sons of burgesses of Glasgow, likewise mortified certain bonds, amounting to 20,200 merks (£1,122, 4s. 5⅓d. sterling), the annual rent whereof was bestowed upon said boys, upon a master to teach them, and upon a sufficient number of women to make their meat ready, wash their clothes, and keep the house clean. The whole of these persons were to be entertained in the house. The patrons of this mortification were appointed to be four members of the Town Council, elected yearly by the council, with four of the ordinary ministers of Glasgow for the time, together with the master of the house, who was to be elected by the council out of their own number, and who, upon being elected, must give his oath *de fideli administratione*. Boys of the name of Hutcheson or Herbertson were to have the preference.

Thomas Hutcheson, by an addition, dated 3rd July, 1641, to the preceding deed, also mortified certain bonds, amounting to 10,000 merks (£555, 11s. 1⅓d. sterling), to the patrons as a further help to twelve boys and old men, here called *twelve*, as the patrons might find needful; and he authorised the provost, bailies, and council, with the consent of the ministers of the town, to lay out the whole sums mortified by himself and his brother upon the best and cheapest arable land they could buy near the burgh. Thomas Hutcheson, by another addition, dated 14th July, 1641,—written on the back of the original deed of mortification by George Hutcheson, his brother —further mortified certain bonds, amounting to 10,500 merks (£583, 6s. 8d. sterling), for the better help and supply of aged men in the hospital then building.

Thomas Hutchesone, having prepared the materials in 1640, laid the foundation of the hospital upon the 19th March, 1641; and on the 17th August of that year he appointed Colin Campbell to be first master and collector. He also left 8,000 merks (£444, 8s. 10⅔d. sterling) to the hospital, but without any formal deed.

It may be stated that George Hutchesone was "commissar deput of Hamiltoun," under "John Boyll of Kelburn, Commissar of Glasgow;" and that besides having residences in Glasgow

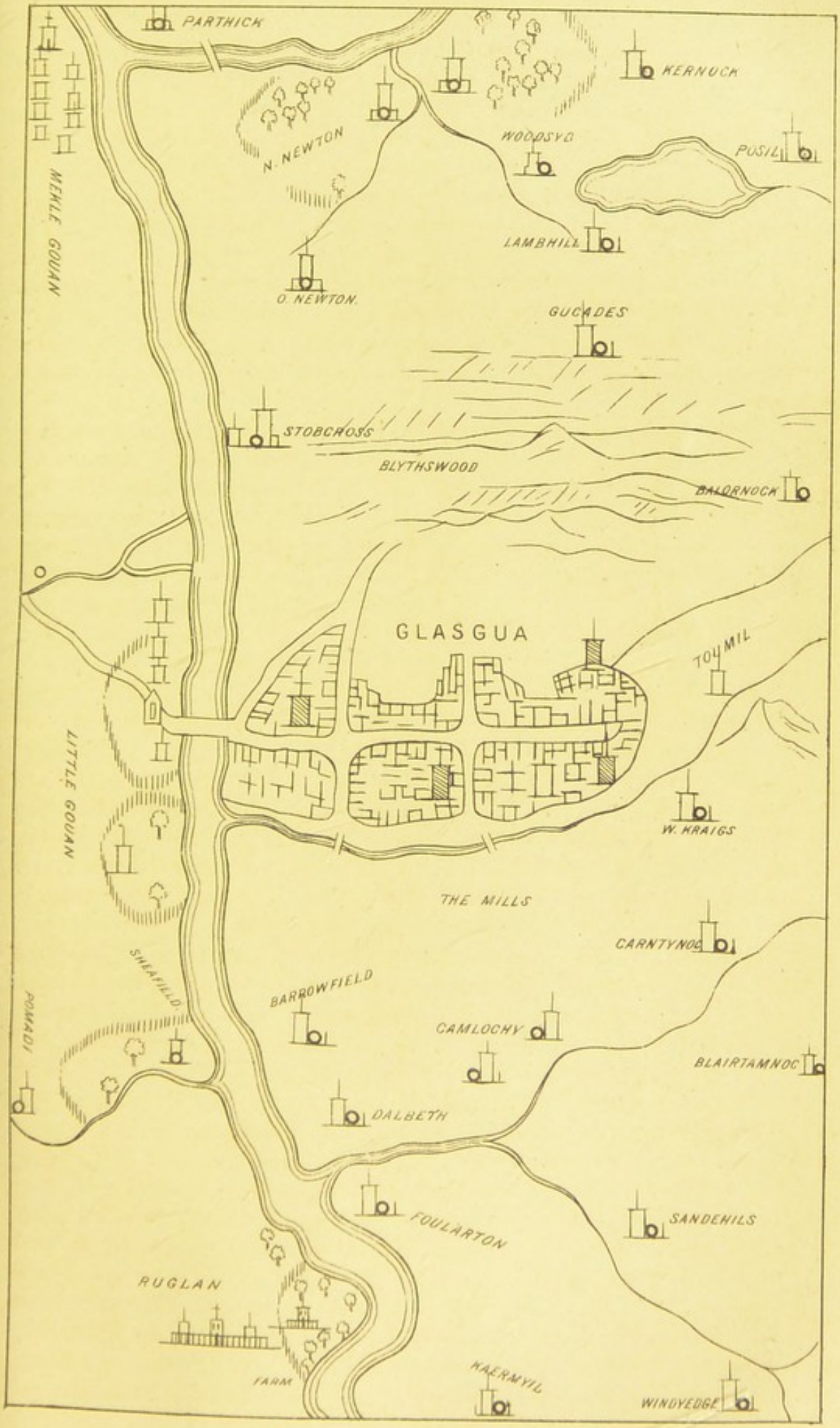
and in Partick, he had in feu from the archbishop, in 1632, the lands of "Ramishorne," a district of the city the centre of which may be found in the hospital in Ingram Street. The benefactions amounted in all to £3,817, 1s. 8d. sterling, with the site of the hospital buildings.

The original hospital buildings, of which the foundation was laid by Thomas Hutcheson in 1641, stood on the north side of the Trongate, at the foot of what is now called Hutcheson Street. The erection, indeed, had to be taken down before that thoroughfare could be formed. M'Ure, in his quaint way, gives the following description of it (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 68):—"This hospital is a very handsome building [with a frontage of 70 feet] of ashler work, 'tis not high, but beautiful, it has been at first intended to be built courtways, but there is only two sides of the court finish'd; for besides a spacious hall, with the accommodation for twelve old men that are therein maintain'd and a publick school, where the twelve boys that are on the foundation are taught gratis. The hospital has a pretty steeple, one hundred foot high, bearing a proportion to the building of the house, which is covered with lead, with a clock and bell that is serviceable to the town, and from and towards the north of the hospital there are very pleasant and delectable gardens that are well kept, and much resorted to for the recreation of walking in them. All the twelve old men of the hospital go together in a body to the Tron-Church, and have a convenient easie seat apart for themselves, they have no distinction or habit either on men or boys from any other people of their rank in the town; but on the Lord's day the men have dark gray cloaks with green necks and sleeves, but the wearing of them is not strictly imposed, because many decayed burgesses of respect and credit retire thither in the decline of their age. And this mortification proves, with any other industry they can make, a right comfortable subsistance for a single man. Above the gate, which is very spacious, and from which you ascend from the High Street [Trongate] by some steps, there is an inscription to the memory and honour of the worthy founders upon marble, in golden letters, above the great entry to the hospital fronting towards the High Street [Trongate] . . . Within the inner-court fronting towards the garden there are in two different niches, on each side of the steeple, the effigies of the two brothers Mr. George and Mr. Thomas Hutchisons, the founders, on marble, to their full bigness, with [an] inscription fix'd, with gilded capital letters fronting towards the court and gardens."

With the important patronage of Hutcheson's Hospital added to their multiplying duties, the magistrates and council of Glasgow continued to transact the ordinary business of the city

with their proverbial shrewdness. Nothing came amiss to them. They were ready to perform the functions of municipal rulers, trustees, School Board, Parochial Board; and whatever they did was done well, and with policy. On the 9th of February, 1639, they enacted "that nae mair Inglisch scoolles be keipit or haldin within this brughe heirefter bot four only, with ane wrytting schooll." Of a somewhat different complexion was a matter upon which they legislated in the August of the same year. It had come within their knowledge that certain parties were in the habit of putting salt water into the salmon hogsheads instead of salt, so that the fish rotted within twenty-four hours; and they prohibited such conduct under heavy penalties.

But a matter of the first importance came up for the consideration of the council on the 1st October, 1639. It has been seen that the appointment of the provost and bailies of the city was reserved to the archbishop by the charter of royalty, even though that was contrary to the custom in royal burghs. The archbishop, however, had fled the kingdom for safety, when sentence of excommunication was pronounced by the Assembly of 1638 upon him and his brethren of the Episcopal bench. The members of the council had to meet a difficulty similar to that of 1560, when Archbishop Beaton retired to France at the Reformation. They solved it in the same way as on the previous occasion, though upon different grounds, and, ultimately, with less success. The Burgh Records bear that at a meeting on the 1st October, 1639, the council, "vnderstanding this day to be the first Tuisday efter Michaelmes, and so the ordinar day quhairon the magistrates of this brughe hes bein ellected, and they having ane grait regaird to the weill of the samein brughe, befor they did pas to the said ellectioun did all, in ane voyce, ratifie and approue, and be the tennour heirof dois ratifie and approue thair act of counsell sett doun of befor vpon the nynten day of August 1637 yeiris anent the forme of the ellectioun of the toun counsall . . . and thairefter, forsameikle as the saidis persones wnderstanding that his Majestie and his most noble progenitouris had lang of befor, and now of lait in anno 1636 yeiris, errectit and incorporat this brughe in ane frie royall brughe, with all priviledgis, liberties, immunities, and jurisdictiounes quhilk be the law and consuetud [custom] of this realme dois or can appertein to ony vther frie brughe royall within the samein," they, by a majority of votes, elected Gabriel Cunningham to be their provost for the following year. They also elected three bailies in the same way, and they ordained "this forme of ellectioun to stand for this yeir enschewing, and vther overtouris be concludit vpon be them and thair successores anent the electioun of thair magistratis in all



FIRST "PORTRAIT" OF GLASGOW, 1641. PAGE 217.

tyme thairefter of the qualitie forsaid aggriable to the lawis of this kingdome." The council acted in the same manner in 1640, when they elected James Stewart to be their provost. King Charles I. seems to have been made aware of their doings, for he interfered with the election of 1641. On the 4th October of that year, William Scott, servitor to the Laird of Minto, appeared before the council, and presented a letter from the king, dated 2nd October, craving them to accept Sir Robert Gordon as his Commissioner in the election of their magistrates for that year. The council declared that they accepted, in all humility, his majesty's letter, and, at the proper time, they promised to give obedience to it, according to their duty. Sir Robert had taken up his residence in the archbishop's palace, and the leets were duly sent to him. He elected William Stewart as provost. The council concurred in the election, "always protesting, in the presens of the said commissioner, that quhat is done in the premissis shall be nowayes prejudiciall to ther former rights old vse and possessioun and quhat is competent to royall borrowes." Following up this protest, a deputation was appointed to proceed to Edinburgh in order to obtain for the burgh the liberty of electing its own magistrates. No immediate result appears to have attended their efforts.

While the council had the question of the election of magistrates under serious consideration, smaller matters came in for a due share of attention. On the 26th of October, 1639, it was ordered that intimation be made through the town, by sound of drum, that all persons who had not paid their contribution to the support of the poor should have their belongings seized for double the amount of their tax, and should have their names openly published in the kirks. George Anderson, the printer who came to the city during the sitting of the General Assembly in 1638, was, on the 4th of January, granted £100 Scots (£8, 6s. 8d. sterling) to defray the expense of transporting his gear to the burgh.

The city treasurer was ordained, on the 12th June, 1641, to pay to James Colquhoune "fyve dollouris" (about £1 sterling) for drawing a "portrait" of the town, which had been sent to Holland. Mr. Pagan (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 31), in noticing this entry, makes the remark that "this is the first plan of the town of which any record is made, but it is to be feared that neither original nor copy are now in existence." It is extremely probable, however, that a copy is still existent. The records state distinctly that the "portrait" was sent to Holland. Now, it is the fact that there was then in preparation an atlas of the world, which was ultimately, in 1662–68, published in twelve volumes, imperial folio, containing magnificent maps, and accompanying letterpress in Latin. Volume VI. of this interesting

publication contains the first atlas of Scotland, which was chiefly prepared through the exertions, and at the expense, of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, who also contributed a large amount of information for the text. The work was published by Joannis Blaev, in Amsterdam, in the years mentioned, and it is entitled *Geographiæ Blavianæ*. It is, therefore, more than probable that the map of Glasgow and its surroundings, reproduced in this work from Blaev's atlas, is the "portrait" to which reference is made in the records. The dates show a difference of about twenty years, but that time would be required for the preparation of this stupendous work; and, besides, there is an absolute agreement between the statements that a "portrait" of the city was sent to Holland, and that some years later there was published in Holland an atlas containing a "portrait" such as would be made at the time.

There seems to have been an exodus from Ireland even in these early days, for, on the 5th March, 1642, the council invited the inhabitants of Glasgow to contribute something for the supply of the distressed people who came from that country; and the Dean of Guild and Deacon-Convener, together with several other members of council, were appointed to take into consideration measures for the relief of the needy strangers. The charter of barony, granted by King William the Lion, fixed Thursday as the weekly market day for the city, but the day had been ultimately changed to Monday. It was again changed by the Town Council in October, 1642, in terms of an act of Parliament obtained for that purpose, to the Wednesday of each week. In January, 1643, "Robert Rowane" was instructed by the Municipal Authority to conform to the rules laid down by the Dean of Guild, inasmuch as he was building his house in the "Ratton Raw" beyond the street line, thus obstructing his neighbours' view of the High Street. A committee was appointed in the month of August, 1643, to employ workmen to take away stones from the Clyde, near the bridge, and to remove some "stobs" that were in the water near the south bank. On the 25th of the same month, the bailies and council gave their hearty thanks to George Dewar of Barrowfield for his having given them 600 merks (£33, 6s. 8d. sterling) for the purpose of placing a bell in the steeple of the Blackfriars Kirk.

CHAPTER XXVI.

(A.D. 1644 TO A.D. 1651.)

Glasgow and the Covenant—The Battle of Kilsyth—Montrose Entertained in the City—The Magistrates and Council Deposed by the Committee of Estates—General Leslie Borrows Money from Glasgow—The Council again Discharged from Office—Cromwell Visits Glasgow Twice—Glasgow in 1650—*A Municipal Squabble.*

GLASGOW had, from the earliest times, always taken its share of the Scottish national burden, which for centuries was never very light. The National Covenant had received its fullest ratification by the acts of an Assembly held in the city, and when the proceedings of that Church court rendered necessary an appeal to arms to uphold its judgments, Glasgow concurred and assisted in that movement.

King Charles I. had refused to acknowledge the Glasgow Assembly of 1638; but being menaced by the Covenanters, who had raised a fully equipped army of about 25,000 men, he agreed to convene another Assembly in 1639, to which should be left the regulation of Church government. This Assembly ratified all that had been done at Glasgow. The king suspected a scheme to overthrow his authority, and hostilities commenced. For some time these were confined to England, which the Covenanting army had victoriously invaded. The magistrates of Glasgow, keenly alive to the special exigencies of the occasion, purchased arms and ammunition, ordered the citizens to supply themselves with warlike accoutrements, appointed drill instructors, and set certain days for the training of the inhabitants of each division of the city. They also raised a company of 100 men, whom, under the command of George Porterfield, they sent for active service on the border. In accordance with the instruction of the Committee of Estates, they ordered the towns-people to bring their silver-plate to the Tolbooth, so that it might be forwarded to Edinburgh and used in the public service. They sent Ex-Provost Patrick Bell as their representative to the Parliament of 1640, with full power to support that body in the cause at issue with the king. The Committee of Estates received from the city, in 1641, £8,910 Scots (£742, 10s. sterling) as its proportional part of the war expenses, but a considerable amount of it had to be borrowed by the council

before it could be paid. To such a pass had matters come, that on the 31st August, 1644, the magistrates ordained "ane proclamatioune to be sent throw the towne, commanding all maner of persones betwixt sextie and sextein, to be in readines with their best armes, and to this effect, to come out presentlie with their severall captaines, with matches, powder, and lead, and also to provyd themselfs with twentie days' provisioune, to marche according as they sall get ordours, vnder the paine of deathe; and syklyk that no maner of persone presume, or tak vpon hand, to goe within any hous to drink or stay ther in tyme of the night watch, vnder the paine of warding of ther persounes in the tolbuith." A guard was afterwards ordered for day duty in the city; and in the October following the town's officers were ordained in time coming to carry sword and halbert.

The Solemn League and Covenant had been sworn to by the Scottish and English Parliaments, and the Parliamentary forces in England, under the Earl of Leven, seemed to be on the fair way for completely crushing the Royalists. James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, was, however, causing great havoc among the Covenanters in Scotland. General Baillie left the Parliamentary army in England with the purpose of stemming the tide of affairs, but he was several times disastrously defeated by the remarkable skill of Montrose. On the 15th of August, 1645, the two generals met at Kilsyth. Montrose had been moving rapidly southwards, with the intention of assisting the king in England, and Baillie was following closely in his rear. The Earl of Lanark, brother to the Duke of Hamilton, was raising 1000 foot and 500 horse in Clydesdale, and the Earls of Cassillis, Eglinton, and Glencairn, were at similar work in the western counties, all with the purpose of combining with Baillie against Montrose. On the morning of the 15th August, Baillie opened battle on Montrose's army, which had encamped the previous evening near Kilsyth. The Royalist general had posted strong pickets in the cottages and gardens in the vicinity of the camp, and these were the first objects of attack by the Covenanters. Met by determined resistance, the advancing force was held in check. The main body of Montrose's army was posted on the top of a hill, from which the whole field of battle could be seen; and when the Ogilvies, who were present under their chief, the Earl of Airlie, saw the enemy becoming demoralised under the galling fire of the Royalist outposts, their excitement made them forgetful of discipline, and with a wild whoop they rushed down the hill, and threw themselves impetuously on the whole strength of Baillie's forces. This consisted of fully 4000 foot and about 500 horse. Montrose was troubled at such a desperate venture on the part of his Highlanders. The battle raged fiercely in the

low ground, but as the rear of the Covenanting army advanced slowly, the Marquis had time to send forward men to the assistance of the Ogilvies. As a counter-move, Baillie ordered three troops of horse and two thousand foot to the front, so that the whole of his army was now engaged. The Earl of Airlie, commanding a body of cavalry, furiously charged the opposing force, and drove back their horsemen, who fell foul of their own infantry. Demoralisation ensued among the Covenanters. Their cavalry left the foot to look after themselves, and as the Royalists followed up the advantage they had gained, the infantry, in turn, lightened themselves of their arms and fled. Montrose pursued, and a large number of the retreating soldiers was slain in an attempt to seek a place of safety through Dullatur Bog. It is calculated that only a few hundreds of the Covenanters escaped. The victory was complete, and the military force of the Convention was for a time completely destroyed.

While Montrose was resting his army at Kilsyth, the magistrates and council of Glasgow took the opportunity of considering what was to be done, now that the Royalists had gained so notable a victory near their own doors. All along they had strongly espoused the Covenanters, but they were men of policy. James Bell was then provost, and he and his colleagues of the council despatched Sir Robert Douglas of Blackerston, and Archibald Fleming, Commissary of the city, to Kilsyth to congratulate the marquis upon his success, and to invite the hero and his troops to spend a few days at Glasgow. This is the generally accepted account of Montrose's visit to the city; but Gibson (*Hist. of Glas.*, p. 94) tells a different story, and states that Montrose had "encamped with his army in the neighbourhood of the town, and had sent a message to the magistrates, demanding a certain number of bonnets, shoes, and other necessaries, with some money for the use of his army; the magistrates and town council had waited upon him, to endeavour to get him to abate somewhat in his demands; the marquis had detained them to dinner, and had granted them the abatement they demanded; upon taking leave of him, some of them kissed his hand, and out of the abundance of their zeal wished him success." Whatever may have been the exact nature of the invitation, Montrose entered Glasgow, and was received in an apparently most enthusiastic manner. He seems to have been as much *fêted* as his short stay of two days would permit, and it is recorded that the magistrates apologised to him, as the king's lieutenant in Scotland, for their former want of loyalty. By way of giving them a good start upon their new line of conduct, he is said to have borrowed from them £50,000 Scots (£4,166, 13s. 4d. sterling) for the purpose of carrying on the war on the king's behalf. The money was never repaid. Montrose, after

his recent triumphs, now thought himself sufficiently strong to issue an order for the Scottish Parliament to convene at Glasgow, and two of the king's prominent supporters, Digby and Langdale, were appointed to open it. At the end of his second day in Glasgow, he withdrew his army to Bothwell. The shortness of his stay in the city is variously accounted for. He is said, on the one hand, to have retired from it on account of the pest being prevalent. Another explanation is that his Highland soldiers were inclined to plunder, and that though he had put martial law in force against several of the delinquents, he nevertheless deemed it advisable, in order to keep the good opinion of the citizens, whom he hoped to convert to the Royalist cause, to retire to Bothwell and keep his men from undue temptation. In connection with this explanation, it is further stated that he gave the magistrates liberty to guard the city by a garrison of the inhabitants. Both statements may be combined.

The news of the disaster to the Covenanters at Kilsyth rapidly reached the Parliamentary army in England, and General David Leslie was immediately sent into Scotland at the head of between five and six thousand of the picked troops of the Scottish auxiliary army. He outwitted Montrose, and surprising him, on the 15th September, 1645, at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, he inflicted upon the hitherto invincible general a most terrible defeat. Montrose himself fled to the Highlands, his army was dispersed, and many of his followers were either slain or taken prisoners.

The city of Glasgow was now to reap the fruits of its complacency to Montrose after the battle of Kilsyth. The Town Council convened on the 30th September, 1645, a fortnight after the affair at Philiphaugh, for the purpose of electing their magistrates. The Earl of Lanark was in attendance, and, by virtue of a commission granted him by the Committee of Estates, he discharged certain parties from ever holding public office in the burgh. He also asked the magistrates and council if they would, for the preservation of the liberties of the burgh, elect their magistrates for the ensuing year out of a leet other than that of the then existing council. The bailies and council took this demand into consideration. The Burgh Records relate that they, "taking to their considerations the oath given be them all at their admissions as burgesses, to defend the haill liberteis and privileges of this burghe, and knawing the election of the magistrates to be the cheife, did find that they could not therefore yield to the foresaid demand; it not being in ony sort agreeable to the accustomed form observed be them, and their predecessoris, in the lyk past the memoire of man, quhilk is agreeable to the laws of burrows, warranted be acts of Parliament; and therefore they all, in ane voice, did condescend to stand

firm to the ordour they have been in use, to choise their magistrates out of the present council, and no utherwayes, except they could bring perjury upon themselves: quhilk answer they did ordain to be published, and sent to the said noble earl, who after reading of the foresaid demand, had removed himself." Lanark, upon receipt of this reply, suspended the whole council, with the exception of George Porterfield, who was with the Parliamentary army in command of the Glasgow company, on the ground that they were all accessory to waiting upon and treating with Montrose, and he dared them at their peril to elect their successors in the magistracy and council, until the will of the Committee of Estates should be known. On the 11th of October following, the council again met, and there appeared in the council-house, Sir William Baillie of Lamington, Sir James Lockhart of Lee, Sir William Carmichael, and others of the Committee of Clydesdale. They produced a letter addressed to the burgesses of Glasgow, from the Committee of Estates, containing a list of such as were to be provost, bailies, and council of the burgh. George Porterfield was to be provost. The list seems to have been adopted, but a strong protest was entered that such election should not be prejudicial to the liberties and privileges of the burgh. Henry Gibson, the Town-Clerk, was also deposed for being one of those who had been friendly with Montrose.

This was sufficient misfortune to overtake any city in the course of little more than two months, but Glasgow had still more to suffer. General Leslie, after his victory, marched on the town, and took possession of it. He behaved with great moderation, but he "borrowed" £20,000 Scots (£1,666, 13s. 4d. sterling) from the community, grimly remarking that this money was for the purpose of paying the interest of the sum "lent" to Montrose. He also made Glasgow the scene of the execution of three of his Royalist prisoners, Sir William Rollock being executed on the 28th of October, and Sir Philip Nisbet and Alexander Ogilvie of Inverquharty, the day following. It is related that David Dickson, son of a Glasgow merchant, and then Professor of Divinity in his native town, when he heard of these executions, in the exuberance of his Covenanting joy, remarked, "The work goes bonnily on!" This state of matters was sufficient excuse for the Parliament, ordered to convene at Glasgow by Montrose during his elation after the battle of Kilsyth, failing to meet. That general, having raised another army in the Highlands, came into the vicinity of Glasgow while Leslie occupied it, but after a few days he retired upon Athole without making any aggressive movement.

It is well known how, in May, 1646, King Charles, after suffering continual reverses in England, surrendered himself to

the Scottish army at Newcastle, which ultimately handed over the royal person to the keeping of Cromwell and his Parliament. In 1647, the plague seems to have raged with great fury at Glasgow, and the masters and students of the university deemed it advisable to retire to Irvine for safety. The general community must have suffered dreadfully, for, in addition, there had been a failure of the crops, and meal was selling at 1s. 9d., sterling, the peck.

The action of the English Independents in regard to the king created a change of feeling on the part of the Scots, and in 1648 an endeavour was made to raise an army for the invasion of England. The reason for this was that the Scottish Presbyterians were monarchists, not republicans, and their war had been against the king, not against the kingly system. But Cromwell was now the ruling power in the state, and it was thought that his determined Independency might give the deathblow to the Presbyterian form of Church government. It had been the desire of the Scottish people to see Presbytery established in England and Ireland as well as in their own country. That was now hopeless, and it was considered that something must be done to avert the impending danger of the overthrow of Presbytery among themselves. To carry out the plan of invading England for the recovery of the king's person, the burghs were required to supply levies. Some of the rigid Presbyterians felt that their system of Church government was "between two stools." If the king regained his liberty the probability was that he would seek the restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland, and they considered they had more to expect from their late allies, the Independents, than from him. Accordingly, they endeavoured by all means in their power to prevent the assembly of a Scottish army for such a purpose, and they so far prevailed that a number of the more influential burghs refused to grant the levies required by the loyal Presbyterians. Glasgow was among the burghs that declined, and this action brought upon it another indignity. The appeal, or demand, for levies had been made to the magistrates of the city; but reply was sent, that the bailies and council, having taking measures to know the mind of the inhabitants of the burgh, found there was a general unwillingness to engage in such an expedition. They were not satisfied in their own consciences as to its lawfulness, and they could not, on that account, give it their assistance. On the 13th of June, 1648, the remanent members of the council deposed in 1645 assembled in the Tolbooth, and there was produced to them an act passed by the Scottish Parliament on the 1st June, ordering a new election of provost, bailies, and council, and appointing a meeting to be held the next day for that purpose. The 14th of June, therefore, saw

as many as were still alive of the 1645 council, with ex-provost James Bell among them, convened in the council-house. These elected a new council and new magistrates, with Colin Campbell as provost. Provost James Stewart and his brethren of the contumacious council were put out of office, and were even imprisoned. To make affairs worse, five regiments of foot were ordered to Glasgow, with instructions that they be quartered solely on the magistrates, council, and kirk session. Ten, twenty, and even thirty soldiers were quartered on these unfortunate persons, and it is said that in ten days the community lost no less a sum than £40,000 Scots (£3,333, 6s. 8d. sterling). On the 27th of September, 1648, the Committee of Estates passed an act restoring the deposed magistrates and council to their offices.

The Scottish relief army was, however, raised, and marched into England under the Duke of Hamilton; but it was defeated at Preston by the Parliamentary troops under Cromwell. Hamilton was captured and beheaded; and the unfortunate king, Charles I., after a mock trial, ended an eventful career on the scaffold at Whitehall, on the 30th of January, 1649. The Scots proclaimed his son Charles II. as their king, and Montrose, who had been absent on the Continent, returned to Scotland, and endeavoured to raise an army in the Highlands; but being betrayed by MacLeod of Assynt, he was captured, and executed at Edinburgh on the 21st of May, 1650. Charles II. arrived in the country, and Cromwell, in the summer of that year, marched into Scotland to put down the rebellion against the Commonwealth. In September he defeated the Scottish army under General Leslie at Dunbar.

Shortly after this victory Cromwell advanced upon Glasgow by way of Kilsyth. While on his journey he was informed by a messenger from the republicans of the city, that it was intended by the Presbyterians to destroy his army as it entered the city by the Stablegreen Port. A vault beneath the archbishop's castle had been filled with gunpowder, so the story went, which was intended to be fired as the troops marched past. Some have endeavoured to treat this in the light of a practical joke upon the Protector, but Cromwell, at any rate, believed it worthy of credence. He turned to the right, and entered the city by the Cowcaddens, then the pasture land for the cattle belonging to the citizens, and the Cowloan, now known as Queen Street. He made his way to the Saltmarket, where he took up his lodging in what was known as Silvercraigs House, situated at the northern corner of Steel Street, and nearly opposite the Bridgegate. Arriving in Glasgow on Friday, 24th October, 1650, he found the magistrates, council, and leading inhabitants had fled, and he sent for Patrick Gillespie, minister of the Outer

High Kirk. This divine was well entertained, and when leaving, his august host treated him to such a long and unctuous prayer, that Gillespie was constrained next day to make known his impression, approaching to a conviction, that Cromwell was one of the elect. But Gillespie was not the only person whom the general conquered by these tactics. On the Sunday following his entry into the city, Cromwell and his officers made a procession to the Cathedral to hear sermon. Zachary Boyd, minister of the Barony parish, was the preacher for the day, and as he was a man of great boldness he did not hesitate to show Cromwell a very unfavourable portrait of himself. The general bore the railing with equanimity, but not so his followers. Thurlow, his secretary, is recorded to have become so exasperated that he asked his chief if he would "pistol the scoundrel," indicating Boyd. No doubt he would have carried his suggestion into practical effect; but Cromwell, with great moderation, and with considerable policy, remarked that he would manage the preacher in another way. Boyd was invited to take supper with the general, and, notwithstanding his language in the pulpit, he did not decline. The conversation after evening's meal would be of a strictly theological and argumentative nature, both men being of the polemical school. As a conclusion to the night's proceedings, Cromwell engaged in a prayer of three hours' duration, keeping the worthy divine from his bed until after three o'clock in the morning. Boyd left rather pleased than otherwise. His entertainer had created a good impression upon him.

Cromwell also visited the university while he was in Glasgow. Gillespie informed him that King Charles I. had omitted to make payment of £200 he had promised to give for the "advancement of the Librarie and Fabrick of the Colledge of Glasgow," and the Protector, after a delay of a few years, caused it to be paid. He also, on his own part, made a grant of £500 for the same purpose. He transacted a great amount of state business during his short stay in the city; and his own behaviour and that of his army gave the highest satisfaction to the citizens.

The following extract from "Several Proceedings in Parliament" (*Cromwelliana*, p. 92), dated 24th October, 1650, cannot fail to be interesting:—"Friday, in the afternoon, we reached Glascow; that morning my lord at a rendezvous gave a special charge to all the regiments of the army, to carry themselves civilly & do no wrong to any. The town of Glascow though not so big, nor so rich, yet to all seems a much sweeter & more delightful place than Edinburgh and would make a gallant head-quarters were the Carlisle forces come up. We found the magistrates and the chief of the town all fled, and they had possessed the generality of the people with the same

opinion of us here, as elsewhere, although I do not hear of the least injury that the soldiers offered to any during our abode there. And they say, that if ever we come that way again, they will persuade their friends to abide at home. Our stay at Glasgow was but for two days; so that we effected nothing more than to say, we had been there." Several of Cromwell's soldiers, having obtained their discharge, settled in Glasgow, where their English tradesmanship was of the greatest service.

A few months later, Cromwell paid a second visit to Glasgow, which, though less known, was if anything more eventful than the first. The Protector, engaged in the work of subjugating the Royalists in Scotland, had taken up his headquarters at Hamilton on the 18th April, 1651, and on the 19th he marched towards Glasgow. One of his officers gives this account of the visit (*Cromwelliana*, p. 102):—"We came hither [to Glasgow] on Saturday last, April 19th. The ministers and town's men generally stayed at home, and did not quit their habitations as formerly. The ministers here have mostly deserted from the proceedings beyond the water [at Perth], yet they are equally dissatisfied with us. But though they preach against us in the pulpit to our faces, yet we permit them without disturbance, as willing to gain them by love. My lord general sent to them to give us a friendly Christian meeting, To discourse of those things which they rail against us for; that so, if possible, all misunderstandings between us might be taken away. Which accordingly they gave us, on Wednesday last. There was no bitterness nor passion vented on either side; all was with moderation and tenderness. My lord general and Major General Lambert, for the most part, maintained the discourse; and on their part, Mr. James Guthry and Mr. Patrick Gillespie. We know not what satisfaction they have received. Sure I am, there was no such weight in their arguments as might in the least discourage us from what we have undertaken; the chief thing on which they insisted being our invasion into Scotland." Baillie, in one of his letters, dated 22nd April, 1651 (*Letters and Journals*, Laing's Ed., Vol. III., p. 165), says that Cromwell came "to Hamilton on Friday late, and to Glasgow on Saturday with the body of his army sooner than with safety we could well have retired. On Sunday beforenoon he came unexpectedly to the High inner church, where he quietly heard Mr. Robert Ramsay preach a very good sermon, pertinent to his case. In the afternoon, he came as unexpectedly to the High outer church, where he heard Mr. John Carstairs lecture and Mr. James Durham preach graciously and well to the time as could have been desired. Generally all who preached that day in the town gave a fair enough testimony against the sectaries. That night some of the army were trying if the ministers would

be pleased of their own accord to confer with their general; when none had showed any willingness, on Monday a gentleman from Cromwell came to most of the brethren severally, desiring, yea, requiring them and the rest of the ministry in town to come and speak with their general. All of us did meet to advise, and after some debate we were content all to go and hear what would be said. When we came, he spoke long and smoothly, shewing the scandal himself and others had taken at the doctrine they had heard preached, especially that they were condemned, 1. as unjust invaders, 2. as contemners, and tramplers under foot of the ordinances, 3. as persecutors of the ministers of Ireland. That as they were unwilling to offend us by a publict contradicting in the church, so they expected we would be willing to give them a reason when they craved it in private. We showed our willingness to give a reason either for these three or what else was excepted against in any of our sermons." A time was appointed for the discussion, which would in all likelihood have the result that both sides were "of the same opinion still."

The Scottish army, under King Charles, being supposed to be making a movement upon Stirling, Cromwell and his troops left Glasgow, after a stay of ten days' duration, on the 30th April, 1651. As they were leaving an extraordinary tumult occurred, and they had to interfere to prevent serious consequences. Baillie (*Letters and Journals*, Laing's Ed., Vol. III., p. 161) relates that after the defeat at Hamilton, the garrison there sent to the magistrates of Glasgow to pay cess, under pain of present plundering and sacking. The magistrates left the town at this dangerous time without having made any arrangements for the welfare of the people, who elected a committee of those of their number who were without suspicion of malignancy. This committee, by means of the ordinary excise of the town and a small contribution, paid the cess weekly, to the great satisfaction of the town's people, and with the allowance of the magistrates, from December, 1650, to the end of April, 1651. The council were applied to by those who had usually had the control of the excise, to put an end to a state of matters not altogether in their interest; but the committee, finding themselves in the position not only by the earnest desire of the people, the allowance of the magistrates, and, as they conceived, by the approbation of the king and Parliament, refused to demit their charge. At last, on the morning of Tuesday, the 29th April, 1651, before sermon, the provost, John Grahame, and the town-clerk, John Spreule, sent for John Wyllie, the president of the committee, and requested that the committee desist meddling further with the excise. Wyllie refused to come to any such agreement, with

the result that contentions arose. The provost publicly at the Tolbooth, in presence of Cromwell's guard, called the president of the committee a knave and a villain, and, commanding him to be put in ward, he laid hands upon him to do so himself; but Wyllie seized the provost's cloak, and charged him to ward for wronging the committee of the commonality. William Wodrow, a former president of this committee, gave every assistance to his successor in office in his tift with the provost. Neither of them managed to put the other in ward, and they seem to have gone to church. Immediately after sermon, the provost and clerk called the ministers together to advise upon the great affront they had suffered. It was agreed that Wyllie and Wodrow should be summoned to appear before the Town Council on the following day at noon. This was the 30th of April, and the town was in a stir through the English troops making preparations for leaving. The president and ex-president appeared at the Tolbooth before eleven o'clock; but after they had waited patiently for some time, the provost came out, walked beside them for a little, and then returned to the council chamber. The council thereupon, without calling in the supposed offenders, passed sentence that their freedom be cried down as of men unworthy to live in the town, having affronted the magistrates contrary to their burgess oath, and they were also ordered to be imprisoned. The magistrates and council then proceeded to the church, and on leaving, after sermon, they found Wyllie and Wodrow, with three other members of the committee, walking in the churchyard. No intimation of the sentence was made, and the council walked down the street towards the Tolbooth, the committee men following leisurely in their rear. But a plot was afoot. A crowd was gradually formed of persons who came in groups of four and five from various closes. Spreule, the town-clerk, seeing his following now very large, cried out to them, when near the Tolbooth, to take the committee men to prison. The opposing faction, much in the majority, hurried to the rescue. The officers were afraid to obey the commands of the provost and clerk because of the people, and Matthew Wilson, presumably one of the councillors, laid hands on Wodrow, but his brother, Adam Wilson, called him a fool for doing so, and told him to desist. Matthew, in a rage, turned upon his brother, and the greatest confusion ensued—there was a general fight, and every one struck at whoever was nearest. They fought with their hands, and not with weapons. The uproar attracted the attention of the English, then leaving the city, and they speedily scattered the combatants. The upshot of this extraordinary dispute is not made known by Baillie, but probably it was ultimately settled in an amicable manner.

Among the events of lesser importance occurring within the period treated of in this chapter, it may be mentioned that the Kirk-Session Records bear that the metrical version of the Psalms, authorised by the Church of Scotland to be sung in public worship, was first used in Glasgow on the 15th of May, 1650. On the 9th of May, 1646, the inhabitants of the burgh were ordered to work every Monday at the making of trenches round the city; but this work was not carried on to any great extent. In 1647, there was so great scarcity of butcher meat in Glasgow, that the magistrates gave permission to men other than burgesses to sell it within the burgh, and that without payment of the customary excise. The Outer High Kirk was put in proper order for divine service in 1647, and in that year Patrick Gillespie, mentioned in connection with Cromwell's visit to the city, was appointed the first minister. The council, on the 5th February, 1648, took into consideration the bargain the town might have of the Gorbals. It was thought expedient that commissioners be appointed to buy the same, and it was ordained that the moneys of Hutcheson's Hospital should be applied to that purpose, a proportional part of the land to belong to the Hospital, with the reservation that the town possess superiority over it. This was done, the disponee of Sir George Elphinstone conveying the superiority to the council; and in the year 1650, the patrons invested the hospital's funds in the purchase of one-half of the barony of Gorbals. Formerly, Gorbals had been entirely under the jurisdiction of the archbishops of Glasgow; but, in 1571, Archbishop Porterfield had granted the village and barony in feu to Sir George Elphinstone, then a merchant in, and afterwards provost of, Glasgow, to whom, in 1607, Archbishop Spottiswoode conveyed the superiority, or right of barony and regality. In January, 1649, the council purchased two thousand stones of lead for the repair of the roof of the Cathedral. Hitherto the Glasgow churches had been governed by what was known as the Great Session; but as the churches had now increased in number, it was deemed advisable, on the 13th April, 1649, that there be a session for each church, with appeal in matters of difficulty to the Great Session. The plague is stated to have visited the city in this year, and to have greatly intensified the miserable condition of the people, who were suffering severely from famine and civil war.

CHAPTER XXVII.

(A.D. 1652 to A.D. 1660.)

Great Fire in Glasgow—The Carters put under Regulation—Coal-Mining in the Gorbals—Sanitary Reform—The City Possesses a Fire Engine—Principal Gillespie Interferes with the Burgh Liberties—Interesting Items.

THE disastrous effects of a troublous time in their relation to Glasgow have been traced in the preceding chapter, and it will now be necessary to relate the story of a calamity local in its extent, but almost overpowering in its results. On the 17th of June, 1652, about one-third of the city was destroyed by fire; a thousand families were made homeless; and pecuniary loss to the amount of about one hundred thousand pounds sterling was caused. Dwelling-houses in Scotland at this period, it may be explained, were either built of stone and fronted with wood, or of timber entirely, and were for the most part covered with thatch. Such being the case, the fearful consequences of an outbreak of fire are not surprising.

Following is an account of the fire of 1652, supplied to Cromwell, then Lord Protector, and his council, by the magistrates of Glasgow, and certified by Colonels Overton and Blackmore, the chief military officers in the west of Scotland.

"It pleased the Lord, in the deep of his wisdome and overruling providence, so to dispose, that upon the 17th of June last 1652, being Thursday, a little before two of the clocke in the afternoone, a sudden and violent fire brake up within a narrow alley upon the east side of the [High] street above the crosse, which, within a short space, burnt up six allies of houses, with diverse considerable buildings upon the fore-street. And, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring places of the towne were flocked together for the removal of the goods that could be gotten from amongst the fire, and hindering, so far as in them lay, the spreading of the same, the wind blowing from the north-east, carried such sparks of the flame as kindled, unexpectedly, some houses on the west side of the Saltmarket, where the fire so spread, that it did over-run all from house to house, and consumed, in some few houres, what came in its way, not only houses, but goods also, both of the inhabitants of that street, and of others likewise, who, when the fire began upon them, had brought to that place these of their goods and move-

ables which were gotten safe from the fire that first seized upon them. This fire, by the hand of God, was carried so from the one side of the street to the other, that it was totally consumed on both sides, and in it the faire, best, and most considerable buildings of the town, with all the shops and warehouses of the merchants which were therein, and from that street the flame was carried to the Tronegate, Gallowgate, and Bridgestreet-gate, in all which streets a great many considerable houses and buildings, with the best part of the moveables and commodities of the inhabitants were burnt to ashes. This sad dispensation from the hand of an angry God continued near eighteen houres, before the great violence of the fire began to abate; in this space of time many of those who were wealthy before, were extremely impoverished; many merchants, and others almost ruined; a very considerable number of widowes, orphans, and honest families were brought to extreme misery; the dwellings of almost a thousand families were utterly consumed; and many of these who had a large patrimony, and ofttimes had been a shelter to others in their straits, had not themselves a place to cover their head, or knew wherewith to provide bread for them and their families. That which was preserved from the violence of the fire being cast out in the open street, and by frequent removings thereof from one place to another, and from that to a third, and from a third place to a fourth, as the fire occasioned, so that it was either taken away by stealth, which, in such a confusion, was inevitable, or in a great part so spoiled, that it was made utterly unprofitable. When some hundreds of families, in great distress and wants, had, till the Saturday at night, laine in the open fields, and diverse of them were beginning to get some shelter with such of their neighbours as the Lord had spared, upon the Lord's day, betwixt seven and eight in the morning, the fire brake out anew in the north-side of the Tronegate, and continued burning violently till near twelve o'clock in the forenoon: this new and sad stroke, upon the back of the other, not only destroyed diverse dwelling houses, and occasioned the pulling downe of many more, but it so terrified the whole inhabitants, that all carried out of their houses whatever moveables they had, and took themselves againe, for some nights, to the open fields; and in this feare, and removing of their goods from their houses to the streets, and from the streets to the fields, the loss by stealing and spoiling of goods, was very great to all; and diverse, on whom the fire unexpectedly seized, were altogether ruined.

"As we desire to acknowledge the justice of the Lord in this terrible stroke, having ministred so much fewall to the fire of his indignation, that burnes so hot against the whole land, and to mourne under his heavy displeasure, that his further wrath

against us may, in his Son, be averted, so are we necessitated earnestly to intreat for charitable and timely supply from our christian brethren and neighbours, whom we doe, in all humility, request, if there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels and mercies, that they would tenderly lay to heart and consider the desolate condition of the poore inhabitants of this afflicted city, and with chearfulnesse and a willing mind, in due season, cast some of their seed upon these many waters for the refreshment of us, who are ready to faint in this our languishing condition. As God hath given every one ability, so we hope they will give; a very mite from a willing mind of those who can do no more will be accepted of the Lord, will be to us comfortable, and we are confident will be no small matter of joy to themselves in the day of their accounts, that, in this so considerable an opportunity of charity, they have not hid themselves from their own flesh."

The serious nature of the event is made fully apparent in this account, but in it is omitted any mention of the origin of the fire. Law's *Memorials* contain the following, which may afford some explanation in that direction:—"There followed a great heat that summer and in July [June] of that yeir was Glasgow burnt, the whole Salt-mercat, and a great part of the town; the fire on the one syde of the street fyred the other syde; I observed myself the wind to have changed the time of the burning five or six tymes, which occasioned the burning of severall parts of the city."

In the Burgh Records it is stated that the Town Council met to consider what was to be done towards the relief of the sufferers. The minute of this meeting, held on the 22nd June, the Tuesday after the first outbreak, bears:—"The same day, forsameikle as it hes pleased God to raise on Thursday last was the 17th instant, ane suddent fyre, in the hous of Mr. James Hamiltoune, aboue the Crose, quhilk hes consumed that close—the haill close—on both sydes, belanging to William Stewart, Thomas Norvell, and others; with the haill landis nixt adjacent therto, quhilk belongit to umqll. Peter Jonstoun and Patrik Maxwell, baith bak and foire; and the haill tenement, bak and foir, on the south syde of the said umqll. Patrick Maxwellis tenement, betwixt that and the lands occupyet be Jon Bryssoune and siklyk; the haill houssis, bak and foir, upon bothe sydis of the Salt-mercat; with the houssis on the west syd of Wm. Lawsounis close in Gallowgait; and the houssis on the west syd of Gilbert Merschallis close; with divers houssis on the north syd of the Briggait, whereby after compt it is fund that ther will be neir fourscoir closses all burnt, estimat to about ane thousand families, so that unless spidie remedie be vseit and help saght out fra such as hes power and whois harte God

sall move it is lyklte the toune sall come to outer ruein; and, therfor, they have concludit and appoynted the proveist, with Johne Bell, to ryde to Air to the Inglisch officers there, quha hes bein heir, and seen the townis lamentable condition—such as Collonell Overton, and others, and to obteine from them lettres of recommendatioune to such officers or judges who sitts in Edinburgh, to the effect that same may be recommendit be them to the Parliament of Ingland, that all helpe and supplie may be gotten therby that may be for supplie for such as hes thair landis and guidis burnt." Three days later, on the 25th June, the council appointed several of their own number to survey the whole of the lands burned, and take the names of the heritors and occupiers. It was afterwards ordered that the number of houses destroyed be taken, together with their value, and the loss by the individual sufferers. Probably an account would be made up, and the specification of the total loss contained in the statement submitted to the Protector may be taken as the result of this official inquiry. The magistrates further ordered that the churches be thrown open for people who "now want chalmberis and other places to reteir to for making of their devotioune."

On the 14th of September, John Wilkie, a burgess of the city, was sent to London to petition Parliament, in name of the town, for help in making up the loss occasioned by the fire; and, in all likelihood, he carried with him the statement already quoted. Cromwell and his councillors, in a document dated 7th April, 1653, shortly review the account given them, saying that "in such places, so consumed, were fourscore bye-lanes and alleys, with all the shops, besides eighty warehouses, which alleys were the habitations of a thousand families; all which losses computed amounts to one hundred thousand pounds sterling. . . . We, therefore, taking into our compassionate considerations the lamentable and deplorable conditions of the said poore inhabitants, doe, upon their earnest requests, recommend them an high object of charity, to such pious and well-disposed people as shall be willing to contribute their charity, towards the reliefe of the present and pressing necessities of the said inhabitants."

Whether the city received anything more than a recommendation from Cromwell, and what was the total sum subscribed, is unknown. A committee of the Town Council undertook the work of distribution, and in making their grants for the rebuilding of the property destroyed they made a distinction. They gave more money to those who proposed erecting their houses entirely of stone, than to those who intended to keep by the old system, having their windows and fronts "built with dealls." So stirring an incident in the history of a city such as Glasgow must have created the most intense suffering; and it is surpris-

ing that the Tolbooth, so near the place where the fire originated, was not involved in the general destruction of the district.

One effect of the English occupation of Scotland is shown in an entry in the Burgh Records, under date 12th December, 1654, which states that the council gave liberty to the "haber-dascher," who had been recommended by a Capt. Quick, to exercise his calling within the burgh. Probably he would be the first of his class in the city. On the 30th of the same month, Archibald Grahame, "ypothecar," was admitted a burgess, free of payment, on the understanding that he would give the poor of the town free "help in things relating to his calling," the council paying for the medicines.

A matter of some little moment at the time came before the council for consideration on the 17th February, 1655. The "kairters" within the burgh had been charging exorbitant rates for their services, especially for carting goods from the Clyde to various parts of the city; and it was enacted "That nae kairter, vseing that tread for the present, or wha sall vse the samyne heirefter, sall presume or tak upon hand to tak any more pryces for their drauchts nor is heirefter expressit," viz., from the Broomielaw to the Stockwell, Bridgegate, or the Wynds, 1s. 4d. (1⅓d. sterling); from the Broomielaw to the Trongate, Gallowgate, and the Saltmarket, 2s. (2d. sterling); from the Broomielaw to any place between the Cross and the College, 2s. 8d. (2⅔d. sterling), &c. Those who infringed this regulation would lie under the magistrates' displeasure, and would have their liberty to lead a cart withdrawn in all time coming, a fact which was to be intimated through the town by "touk of drume."

On the 24th of March, 1655, the Town Council agreed to advance, for the good of the inhabitants of the city, to "Patrick Bryce weiver, and James Andersone in Gorballis," the sum of two thousand merks (£111, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling), for the working of their coal-pits in the Gorbals for thirteen years. The first year they were to have the free liberty of the mines, which, of course, were under the superiority of the city, but every year thereafter they were to pay a rent of six hundred merks (£33, 6s. 8d. sterling). There were, however, the restrictions that in supplying coals to the community they were at no time to exceed 4s. (4d. sterling) per hutch; nor were they to employ more than eight "hewars." The consumpt of coal must be presumed to have been very small in those days; nor can the miners' wages have been very high.

Increasing attention was being paid to sanitary affairs, and certain prohibitory acts of the Town Council have already been noticed. Further reform was, however, necessary, for it is related in a minute of council, dated 5th May, 1655, that the

Trongate gutters had become so blocked up that the inhabitants had to place stepping-stones in them before they could get into their houses. An order was therefore made that it be the duty of each person to clear the gutter before his own door. On the same date the treasurer was instructed to pay the "weemen quha dichts the Tolboothe, their beltane pension." The council had been offered the purchase, on the 30th of June following, of nine butts of "canarye seck," at £26 sterling the butt, and fourteen or fifteen "tunnes" of French wine at £30 sterling the tun. They declined, but gave permission for the sale of the wines in the city. A further grant of 600 merks (£33, 6s. 8d. sterling) was made by the magistrates to the building of the college, on the 28th July, 1655. A payment of 500 merks (£27, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling) was, on the 29th November, ordered to be made to James Colquhoun for making a statue of Thomas Hutcheson, to be placed in the hospital he had founded. There is a curiously suggestive entry in a minute of 28th March, 1656. It is there stated that the treasurer was to be repaid £10 sterling he had given to a friend in Edinburgh "for dooing the toune ane guid turne."

Apparently the quality of the Glasgow bread had been deteriorating, and the baxters of the city had fallen from the high position they occupied when Regent Moray paid his visit to it after the battle of Langside. The bakers had failed to make "sufficient bread," and on the 1st of April, 1656, the council agreed to settle with two honest baxters from Edinburgh, who were to come to Glasgow on the undertaking that they bake as good wheat bread as was baked in the metropolis. Another enactment as to the clearing of the street gutters was made on the 10th of April, in view of a visit of the circuit court, and parties were appointed, for each district, to see that that was done. On the following day the bailies were instructed to attend the kirks and take up collections for the relief of the sufferers from a fire in Edinburgh, in the months of October and November, 1654. The amount contributed by Glasgow on this occasion was £910 Scots (£75, 16s. 8d. sterling), certainly a very creditable sum. The council, on the 16th August, 1656, granted a seal of cause constituting the surgeons and barbers into an incorporation, and they were placed in possession of the right to have a deacon or visitor. By a minute of the 4th of the same month the Faculty of Physicians had agreed to this "without prejudice to the old gift granted to them by his Majesty King James."

The terrible experience of fire in 1652 seems to have made the Town Council watchful of all that related to fire-extinguishing apparatus. James Colquhoun, a man of great practical use in the city, was sent, in 1656, to Edinburgh "to visitie the engyne

thair for slockening of fyre;" and on the 23rd August of that year, Bailie Walkinshaw, and the deacon-convener, were appointed to meet Colquhoun and agree with him as to the making of a fire-engine similar to the one possessed by the city of Edinburgh. The engine is quaintly described in the minute as an "ingyne for castyng of water on land that is in fyre." The engine was delivered to the council in May, 1657, and the master of works was instructed to "mack ane hous of daillis thairto." In this way Glasgow became possessed of a fire-engine, very primitive, no doubt, but it would be a wonderful machine in the days of its construction. Edinburgh is believed to have had the first in Scotland—probably Glasgow would have the second.

It will be remembered that the first printer came to Glasgow in 1638. This important personage, George Anderson, is believed to have died in 1648, and in the following year his heirs commenced business in Edinburgh, continuing to do so until 1652. From the time of Anderson's death no one of his craft appears to have been in the city; but, on the 1st September, 1656, the Town Council, with their usual public spirit, agreed to send to Anderson's son, who was then working in Edinburgh, with the request that he should come to Glasgow and exercise his calling. As a subsidy, the town was to pay him yearly during his lifetime the sum of 100 merks (£5, 11s. 1⅓d. sterling), which had been paid to his deceased father. He accepted the offer, and an allowance was granted him to defray the expense of transporting his gear from Edinburgh. But not only was there a wish on the part of the leaders of the community to have printing within their own bounds, but they desired to encourage it elsewhere, and at the same time add to their own information. This is clearly shown by a minute of 5th September, 1657, which states:—"The said day appoynts John Flyming to wryt to his man quha lyues at London, to send hom for the townes use weiklie ane diurnall." Probably this was their first knowledge of a weekly newspaper.

Another municipal crisis arose through what appears to have been the ambitious interference of Patrick Gillespie, Principal of the University. This gentleman, who owed his position to Cromwell, with whom he was a great favourite, lost no opportunity of truckling. On the 29th of September, 1657, the council were in receipt of a letter from the Lord Protector, desiring that the election of the magistrates of the burgh be delayed. That this was due to some of Gillespie's notions is evident from the proceedings recorded on the 2nd January, 1658, where it is stated that a committee of the Council of State had been appointed to examine witnesses for proving the life and conversation of the Glasgow Magistrates and Town Council.

At a meeting two days later, James Campbell, returned from Edinburgh, reported that he and the other commissioners from the town had agreed to remove nine persons from the council at the election of Michaelmas following, and that by lawful election at the same time there should be nine persons of that party "quha are awned be Mr. Patrick Gillespie" put in their places. Probably there had been some eavesdropping going on, for, on the 16th of January the council agreed to follow the laudable custom of other burghs, which was that each member of their body, with the exception of the magistrates, dean of guild, and deacon-convener, should by turns attend to the "opening and steiking of the counsalhous door." In view of the fact that at the previous Michaelmas there had been no election of a new council, in consequence of the letter from the Protector and the subsequent inquiry, all the members took the oath of office for another year. The Council of State, however, ordered a new election; and, on the 13th of March, it was deemed expedient to send commissioners to Edinburgh for the advancement of the liberties of the burgh.

On the 16th of April, 1658, the corporation appointed a commissioner to go to Dumbarton, and, in conjunction with the magistrates of that place, elect three persons for the collection of the dues from vessels arriving in the Clyde, in conformity to an order issued by the Council of State. He was also to require from the magistrates of Dumbarton the restitution of the sails, ammunition, &c., which the people of that burgh had taken from a ship belonging to Glasgow. Possibly there may have been some wrecking going on.

At a meeting of council on the 20th February, 1658, the bailies were instructed to discharge a woman who had taken up a school at the head of the Saltmarket at "hir awin hande." Surely the city must have been overrun by beggars, or there would have been no call for such appointments as are mentioned in a minute of date 9th June following. It was then agreed that the magistrates should settle with two workmen of the name of William Lightbody and John Williamson, who were "to putt the sturdie beggairs, and vtherie the lyk, off the toune and to punisch delinquents, by putting them on the cock-stool or vthir wayes, as the magistratie sall appoynt." Their monthly salary for this work was to be 30s. Scots (2s. 6d. sterling). They were to suffer no stranger to beg, but were to pass them through the town; they were to suffer none of the town beggars, in receipt of the town's contribution, to beg from door to door; they were to search out the mode of living of persons "with no visible means of support," and report to the magistrates any suspicious circumstances; they were to attend every day about the Cross, especially when the Circuit Court was sitting, for the

execution of punishment upon offenders; and any one who injured them was to be severely punished. A very curious order was made on the 18th of September. The keeper of Glasgow bridge was ordained to suffer no carts on wheels to go on the bridge, but the wheels were to be taken off, and the cart "harled" by the horse. The bridge would be becoming crazy through old age, but this method will scarcely recommend itself as a means towards the improvement of that craziness. The coinage issued by the Commonwealth must have been an object of suspicion by the inhabitants of Glasgow, and it was deemed necessary by the council, on the 9th July, 1659, to state that the coins had been found to be "sufficient." Robert Marshall, "pynter," after having shown his skill to the satisfaction of the magistrates, was, on the 1st October, granted a licence to engage in his calling in the burgh. On the 22nd November following, the Market Cross was ordered to be taken down, and the ground was to be levelled like the rest of the street. This cross would be an interesting relic, but as all endeavours to discover it have been futile, it is to be presumed that it has been destroyed. The growing nature of the trade of the burgh is shown by the fact that the council, on the 7th January, 1660, agreed to send all the way to Perth for a plasterer to do some repairs in connection with Hutcheson's Hospital.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

(Circa 1651-58.)

Glasgow during the Protectorate—Description of the City by English Officials and Travellers.

The advancement of letters, and the increased security for travel during the more peaceful times of Cromwell's protectorate, gave the inhabitants of Great Britain greater facilities for seeing places of interest throughout the kingdom, and enabled them to write, for the benefit of posterity, their impressions of what they saw. But in addition to that, there was the continual passing to and fro of English officers, who, in their reports to Government, or in their contributions to the London newspapers, recorded many things which give to later times more or less correct notions of the state of Scotland at that period. Glasgow had now risen to the high position of being the second city in Scotland. It was the centre of an important district, it was

the scene of events of national consequence, it was the seat of a considerable commerce, it was the home of learned men, it possessed a handsome cathedral, and it was prettily situated upon a beautiful river. No stranger could, therefore, be said to have become acquainted with Scottish civilisation until he had seen the ancient city of St. Mungo. Many of the references made to it are of a passing character, and are not worthy of reproduction; but three notices, by officials or travellers, while Cromwell was Lord Protector, afford such excellent information concerning Glasgow that they cannot well be overlooked. They form, in combination, a most exhaustive description of the city and its resources.

In a report on the revenue of the Excise and Customs of Scotland, prepared for the Government in 1656, Commissioner Tucker describes Glasgow as "a very neate burghe towne, lying upon the bankes of the river Clwyde, which rising in Annandale runns by Glasgow and Kilpatrick, disburthening itself into the firth of Dunbarton. This towne, seated in a pleasant and fruitful soil, and consisting of foure streets, handsomely built in forme of a cross, is one of the most considerablest burghs of Scotland, as well for the structure as trade of it. With the exception of the colliginors [collegians], all the inhabitants are traders: some to Ireland with small smiddy coals, in open boats, from four to ten tons, from whence they bring hoops, rongs, barrel staves, meal, oats, and butter; some to France, with plaiding, coals, and herings, from which the return is salt, pepper, raisins, and prunes; some to Norway for timber; and every one with theyr neighbours the Highlanders, who come from the isles and western parts in summer, by the Mul of Cantyre, and in winter by the Tarbon [Tarbet?] to the head of Loquh-fyne (which is a small neck of land over which they usually draw theyr small boates into the firth of Dumbarton), and so passe up into the Clwyde with pladding, dry hides, goate, kid, and deere skins, which they sell, and purchase with theyr price such comodtiyes and provisions as they stand in neede of from time to time. There have been likewise some who have ventured as farre as the Barbadoes, but the losse which they sustained, by being obliged to come home late in the year, has made them discontinue going thither any more. The situation of this towne in a plentiful land, and the mercantile genius of the people, are strong signes of her increase and groweth, were she not chequed and kept under by the shallowness of their river, every day mineasing and filling up, soe that noe vessel of any burden can come up nearer than within fourteen miles, where they must unlade and send up theyr timber and Norway trade in rafts or floats, and all other commodities by three or foure tons of goods at a time, in small cobbles, or boats of three,

four, or five, and none above six tonnes a boate. There is in this place a collector, a cheque, and four wayters. There are twelve vessels belonging to the merchants of this port, viz., three of 150 tons each, one of 140, two of 100, one of 50, three of 30, one of 15, and one of 12; none of which come up to the town—total, 957 tons."

Commissioner Tucker's report reveals a most remarkable improvement in Glasgow shipping as compared with what it was in the closing years of the sixteenth century. As detailed at length in Chapter XVII., the merchants of the city, in 1597, possessed six vessels, with an aggregate measurement of 296 tons. The number of ships had now doubled, while there was an increase of nearly three and a half times on the amount of tonnage. "Let Glasgow Flourish" was the city motto, and Glasgow, notwithstanding its drawbacks and afflictions, was certainly flourishing.

Another description of which notice may be here taken, was written in 1658, and is very brief, but it gives a general view of the city. It is from *The Perfect Politician* (p. 109), and reads:—

"Glasgow, a citie of pleasant site, upon a river navigable for small boats, which usually bring up provisions from Patrick's-town, ten miles thence, where ships of good burden may ride. In Glasgow the streets and houses are more neat and clean than those of Edinburgh; it being also one of the chiefest universities in Scotland."

Of a different complexion from either of these two preceding accounts is the highly ornate—too ornate, indeed—one given in Franck's *Northern Memoirs* (Ed. 1821, pp. 99-103), also written in 1658. Franck was an Englishman who travelled over Scotland, and, visiting the country with an Englishman's prejudice, his favourable remarks concerning Glasgow are all the more noteworthy. Notwithstanding the author's protestations, the reader may well be excused if a strong suspicion of hyperbole take possession of his mind, for the language is of the most precise character, and everything seems as if seen through a magnifying glass. The relation is, however, none the less interesting on that account, and possibly the colouring may not have been so high as it at first appears to be. It is given in the form of a dialogue between two travellers, who may be allowed to tell their own tale:—

"*Arnoldus.* . . . Nor will Glasgow be any impediment in our way, whilst we only survey her beautiful palaces so direct to the lofty turrets of Dumbarton.

"*Theophilus.* Let the sun, or his star the beautiful Aurora, arrest me, if otherwise I rise not before break of day, and be in readiness for a march to the famous Glasgow, where you

purpose to refresh, and briefly examine the city curiosities; as also the customs of their magnificent situations; whose academick breasts are a nursery for education, as the city for hospitality. And let this be your task as we travel to Dumbarton, to give us a narrative of the antiquities of Cloyd, as also of the town of Kilmarnock, where we slept this night, that so bravely refresh'd us.

"*Arn.* That I can do as we ride along. . . .

"*Theo.* Must we dismount these hills to traverse those valleys?

"*Arn.* Yes, surely, we must, if designing to trace the fertil fields and beautiful plains of the now famous and flourishing Glasgow, where we may accommodate ourselves with various curiosities; for the days are long enough, and our journey no more than a breathing to Dumbarton. Now, the first curiosity that invites us to gaze at, is a large and spacious bridge of stone, that directs to the fair imbellishments of Glasgow. But our next entertainment is the pleasant medows, and the portable streams of the river Cloyd, eminent in three capacities. The first is, because of her numberless numbers of trout. The second is, because of her multiplicity of salmon. But the third and last is, from her native original, and gradual descents; because so calmly to mingle her streams with the ocean. Not that we now consider her florid medows, nor shall we recount her nativity from Tintaw [Tintoc] because so strongly opposed and presum'd from Erricsteen, distant from thence some few odd miles.

"*Theo.* If you please, let that argument drop till further opportunity.

"*Arn.* I am thinking to do so, and proceed to discourse this eminent Glasgow. Which is a city girded about with a strong stone wall, within whose flourishing arms the industrious inhabitant cultivates art to the utmost. There is also a Cathedral (but it's very ancient) that stands in the east angle, supervising the bulk of the city, and her ornamental ports. Moreover, there are two parish churches; but no more, to the best of my observation. Then, there is a college, which they call an university; but I'm at a stand what to call it, where one single college compleats a university.

"Now, let us descend to describe the splendor and gaity of this city of Glasgow, which surpasseth most, if not all the corporations in Scotland. Here it is you may observe four large fair streets, modell'd, as it were, into a spacious quadrant; in the centre whereof their market-place is fix'd; near unto which stands a stately tolbooth, a very sumptuous, regulated, uniform fabrick, large and lofty, most industriously and artificially carved from the very foundation to the superstructure,

to the great admiration of strangers and travellers. But this state-house, or tolbooth, is their western prodigy, infinitely excelling the model and usual built of townhalls; and is, without exception, the paragon of beauty in the west; whose compeer is no where to be found in the north, should you rally the rarities of all the corporations in Scotland.

"Here the reader (it's possible) may think I hyperbolize; but let him not mistake himself for I write no ambiguities: Truth stands naked plain simplicity; and partiality I abhor as a base imposture. He that reads my relation, and the morals of this famous Glasgow, will vindicate my description, and place the fault to him that invents the fable; for it's opposite to my genius, as also to my principles, either to deface a beautiful fabrick, or contract a guilt by magnifying it beyond its due merit. I have, and therefore shall, as near as I can, in an equal poize ballance things aright. Permit me, therefore, as a licentiat, to read you but a short, yet pertinent lecture, and I'le tell you what entertainments we met with in Glasgow, as also what hopes we have to meet with the like in the circuit of our intended northern progress. But this I offer to the dubious only; if, peradventure, there be any such as scruple, I'le refer them to the natives to evidence for me, which I am satisfied they will with ten thousand manifesto's.

"In the next place, we are to consider the merchants and traders in this eminent Glasgow, whose store-houses and ware-houses are stuft with merchandize, as their shops swell big with foreign commodities, and returns from France, and other remote parts, where they have agents and factors to correspond, and inrich their maritime ports, whose charter exceeds all the charters in Scotland; which is a considerable advantage to the city-inhabitants, because blest with privileges as large, nay, larger than any other corporation. Moreover, they dwell in the face of France, and a free trade, as I formerly told you. Nor is this all, for the staple of their country consists of linens, friezes, furs, tartans, pelts, hides, tallow, skins, and various other small manufactures and commodities, not comprehended in this breviat. Besides, I should remind you, that they generally exceed in good French wines, as they naturally superabound with fish and fowl; some meat does well with their drink. And so give me leave to finish my discourse of this famous Glasgow, whose ports we relinquish to distinguish those entertainments of Dumbarton, always provided we scatter no corn.

"*Theo.* What to think, or what to say of this eminent Glasgow, I know not, except to fancy a smell of my native country. The very prospect of this flourishing city reminds me of the beautiful fabricks and the florid fields in England, so that now I begin

to expect a pleasant journey. Pray, tell me, Arnoldus, how many such cities shall we meet with in our travels, where the streets and the channels are so cleanly swept, and the meat in every house so artificially drest? The linen, I also observed, was very neatly lap'd up, and, to their praise be it spoke, was lavender proof; besides, the people were decently drest, and such an exact decorum in every society, represents it, to my apprehension, an emblem of England, though, in some measure, under a deeper die. However, I'le superscribe it the nonsuch of Scotland, where an English florist may pick up a posie; so that should the residue of their cities, in our northern progress, seem as barren as uncultivated fields, and every field so replenished with thistles that a flower could scarcely flourish amongst them, yet would I celebrate thy praise, O Glasgow! because of those pleasant and fragrant flowers that so sweetly refresh'd me, and, to admiration, sweetened our present entertainments."

Sir Walter Scott, in a note to this passage from Franck's *Memoirs* (Ed. 1821, p. 365), remarks that "the panegyric which the author pronounces upon Glasgow, gives us a higher idea of the prosperity of Scotland's western capital during the middle of the seventeenth century, than the reader perhaps might have anticipated. A satirist with respect to every other place, Franck describes Glasgow as the 'nonsuch of Scotland, where an English florist may pick up a posie.' Commerce had already brought wealth to Glasgow, and with wealth seems to have arisen an attention to the decencies and conveniencies of life unknown as yet in other parts of Scotland." It will be proper to call attention to that portion of the dialogue where Arnoldus speaks of Glasgow as "a city girded about with a strong stone wall." Here he suffers his imagination to exaggerate, if not to "hyperbolize." Glasgow could at no time be said to be a walled city, though at this time there was a short strip of wall in the vicinity of the Bridge Port.

Such are the flattering testimonies of three strangers to the beauty and prosperity of Glasgow during Cromwell's Protectorate, and they form a marked contrast to the time, now far distant, when

> "'Let Glasgow Flourish,' St. Mungo said,
> As he bowed his white and sacred head
> Over the first foundation stone
> Of a town, where the wild stretched waste and lone."

CHAPTER XXIX.

(Circa 1660.)

The Erection of the University Buildings—Prominent Men of the Time—Principal Strang—Principal Gillespie—David Dickson—Principal Baillie—James Durham—Zachary Boyd.

AFTER the effort made between the years 1630 and 1636, to collect funds for the re-erection and improvement of the Glasgow University buildings in High Street, the work was pushed forward with all possible speed, and by 1660 it was so far advanced that the money had been spent, the college authorities had had to come through considerable hardships, and the corporation was deeply involved in debt.

In the Report of the Commissioners on the Universities of Scotland, published in 1837, it is stated that from 1630 to 1660, the moderators and masters of Glasgow University bestowed great pains in forwarding the work. Some of them contributed largely themselves; and on particular occasions they borrowed considerable sums on their own personal security (5,000 merks [£277, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling] in 1656), that the operations might not be interrupted in consequence of the irregular payment of workmen. The undertaking could scarcely have succeeded as it did, had it not been for the liberal bequests of private individuals, such as that of Michael Wilson, in 1617; of Alexander Boyd, one of the regents, in 1610; of Thomas Hutcheson, one of the founders of Hutcheson's Hospital, in 1641; of John and Robert Fleming, and Zachary Boyd, in 1655; and of others. Houses for the Principal and two Professors of Divinity were built when the fabric was renewed and enlarged, between the years 1640 and 1660; and some idea of the time of building is gained from the fact of the date above the archway in the outer court being 1656. Principal Baillie, in the course of his voluminous correspondence, makes frequent references to the reconstruction of the buildings. In one of his letters he remarks that the professors and students were vexed every day with the din of masons, wrights, carters, and smiths; and he also states that the professors had to be content with much reduced salaries, in order that the work might be carried on. Gillespie was principal at the time, and Baillie indicates extravagance on the part of that gentleman, and puts him in marked contrast with his predecessor, Principal Strang, by saying—

"Ever since Dr. Strang's dismission, our economy has been in an ill condition." In another letter, written in 1661, Baillie writes that "the prodigal wastery of Mr. Gillespie has put us to above 25,000 merks [£1,388, 17s. 9⅓d. sterling] of debt." He also states, in a letter to the Earl of Glencairn, then Chancellor of the University, that Gillespie had left them in 26,000 merks (£1,444, 8s. 10⅔d. sterling) of debt, "beside the ordinary burden of the college, and 10,000 pounds [£833, 6s. 8d. sterling] more will not perfect his too magnificent buildings. He got from the usurpers [Cromwell's Government] to this work, most of the excise of Glasgow, above 20,000 merks [£1,111, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling], and yearly 2,400 [£133, 6s. 8d. sterling] for twelve bursars paid quarterly out of the customs of Glasgow." The reference here may be made plainer by the knowledge of the fact that on the 8th August, 1654, there was granted by the Protector's Government "an ordinance for the better support of the universities of Scotland." That ordinance proceeds, among other things, to say that Cromwell, with the consent of his council, ordained that the superiorities of the lands belonging to the late Bishopric of Galloway, Abbacy of Tungland, Priory of Whithorn, the Abbacy of Glenluce, and all other lands belonging to the bishopric, be granted to the University of Glasgow; and, for the better encouragement of the students of the university, 200 merks (£11, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling) yearly were to be paid from the customs of Glasgow, to be employed by the university authorities for the education of pious and hopeful young men. The revenues from the bishopric of Galloway did not long remain in the power of the college, for the restoration of Charles II., and the re-establishment of Episcopacy, diverted them back to their original channel. However, notwithstanding all the difficulties and hardships to be contended with, there were built, by 1660, the inner court, the steeple, 148½ feet high, five or six of the professors' houses, and a portion of the west front. At this time there were in the university a principal, eight professors, and a librarian, together with a large number of students. The number of professors had, on the restoration of Charles and Episcopacy, to be reduced to five—an act, though necessary through want of funds, sufficient to cripple the college for many years.

Having now considered the condition of the seat of academic culture in Glasgow at the middle of the seventeenth century, it will naturally lead to a series of brief accounts concerning the more notable men connected with it during this period; and also, by relationship, of those who were their equals in learning and position in the Church. It was the Church which in these days gave the directing impulse to all the affairs of life: it had power to move the military and civil authorities in any given

course, and having such, its position was of the highest importance.

John Strang, D.D., who was Principal of the University when the scheme for its reconstruction was set afoot, was the son of William Strang, minister of Irvine, where he was born. He was educated for the Church, and became minister of Errol, in Perthshire. After remaining there some time, he was appointed Professor of Divinity in Glasgow, to which position he was admitted on the 29th July, 1616. Ten years later, King Charles I. promoted him to the office of principal, and, as already stated, Baillie's indirect comparison of Gillespie and him is all in his favour. He was principal until 1650, when the Covenanters relieved him of his duties, owing to his Royalist leanings. The author of several works much esteemed at the time, his careful administration of the affairs of the University, and his great work for the advancement of its condition, entitle him to a notable place in its annals.

After an interval of two years, during which the office was held by Robert Ramsay, of whom little is known, and nothing need be said, Strang's chair was filled by Patrick Gillespie, a man of a very different character. It was he who, then minister of the Outer High, was sent for by Cromwell on the night of his arrival in Glasgow, and was made a convert of by his lengthened prayer. It is recorded of him that he preached before the Protector in a fine velvet cassock, and flattered him as much as Boyd had railed at him. Cromwell, in 1652, made Gillespie Principal of the University, and it has already been seen what Baillie thought of his government of that institution. It should, however, be considered that his critic belonged to the loyal Presbyterian party, while he himself seems to have been one of those who believed Scotland had more to expect from the Protector and the Independents than from the exiled king and the Episcopalians. He has been called a time-serving politician, but possibly his purposes have been misunderstood. Wodrow (*Hist. Ch. Scot.*, Ed. 1829, Vol. I., p. 204) says of him that his works speak for him, and show him to have been a person of great learning, solidity, and piety, particularly referring to his excellent treatise upon *The Covenants of Grace and Redemption.* This writer proceeds (ibid.):—"By some he was said to be a person of a considerable height of spirit, and was blamed by many for his compliances with the usurper, and there is no doubt he was the minister in Scotland who had the greatest sway with the English when they ruled here, yea, almost the only presbyterian minister that was in with them. This laid him open to many heavy reflections, and we need not wonder he was attacked by the managers of this time, when so many who stood firm to the king's interest, were so ungenerously

treated; besides, he was on the protesting side, and had no small share in the 'Western Remonstrance,' and probably it fared the worse with all the ministers of that judgment, because of the reproaches cast on him, and the compliances made by him." The Restoration made a change for Gillespie, and he was cast into prison, being confined in Stirling Castle. On the 6th of March, 1661, he was brought before the Parliament, sitting in Edinburgh, charged with having written and spoken seditiously, with having been in constant correspondence with the usurper, with having prayed for him as supreme magistrate, and with having received several gifts from him. In a spirited reply the principal made an explanation of his writings, and confessed to receiving money from Cromwell, but he said he never put a farthing of it into his own pocket. He had sought and got it for the university, and if that were blameworthy he acknowledged his crime; but it was his opinion that if he could have drained the usurper's coffers for so good an end as the service of the college, he would have been doing no injustice to the king. In the May following, he offered his submission to the Parliament, and was liberated. He retired into obscurity, and was not allowed to hold the office of minister again.

David Dickson, for some time Professor of Divinity in the University, was not the least notable of the clerical *literati* of Glasgow of the seventeenth century—indeed, Wodrow calls him "a star of the first magnitude." He was the son of John Dickson, a wealthy Glasgow merchant, and possessor of the lands of Kirk of Muir, in the parish of St. Ninians and barony of Fintry. Born in his father's house in the Trongate, in the year 1583, he was educated originally for commercial pursuits, but he was unsuccessful, and was ultimately sent by his parents to the university of his native city to study for the ministry. After taking his degree in arts he was appointed assistant Professor of Philosophy, an office which he held until his ordination as minister of Irvine in 1618. Having refused submission to the Five Articles of Perth, he was deposed from his clerical function by Archbishop Law of Glasgow, but, in 1623, he was allowed to return to his parish. He was one of the commissioners from the presbytery of Irvine at the Glasgow General Assembly of 1638. After that, repeated efforts were made for his translation to Glasgow, but without success. In 1640, he was a member of the commission appointed to visit the University of Glasgow, one of the results of the labours of his colleagues and himself being the removal of Principal Strang and others for their leanings towards Episcopacy. This commission instituted a professorship of Divinity in the university, and Dickson was appointed to the chair. In 1650, he was transferred to the Divinity chair in Edinburgh University,

but on the Restoration he was suspended for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. He died in the year 1663. He wrote, in the course of his long career, Commentaries on the Psalms, on St. Matthew's Gospel, and on several of the Epistles; but his most noteworthy works are his *Therapeutica Sacra, or Cases of Conscience Resolved,* and *Truth's Victory over Error.* Wodrow, in his preface to an edition of the last named work, printed at Glasgow, in 1725, remarks that a great friendship existed between Dickson and James Durham, one of the ministers of Glasgow, and that "among other effects of their familiar conversation, which still turned upon profitable subjects and designs, we have the *Sum of Saving Knowledge,* which hath been so often printed with our Confession of Faith and Catechisms." This, it may be added, was written about the year 1650.

Certainly the man of this time who bulks most largely in the literary annals of Glasgow is Principal Baillie. His father, Thomas Baillie, a citizen of Glasgow, was a son of Baillie of Jerviston, a branch of the Lamington family, descended by the female line from Sir William Wallace. He was born at Glasgow in the year 1599, and received his education at his native university, then ruled by Principal Sharp. Having obtained the degree of master of arts, and studied Divinity, he entered holy orders under Archbishop Law in 1622, and was thereafter made assistant Professor of Philosophy. Presented by the Earl of Eglinton to the church of Kilwinning, he retired there for several years; but the innovations which Laud attempted to force upon the Church of Scotland seem to have altered his views on the questions then troubling the country, and when Archbishop Law requested him to preach in Edinburgh, in the year 1636, in defence of the Canon and Service Books, he positively declined. In 1638 he was, along with David Dickson and William Russel, the minister of Kilbirnie, appointed to represent the Irvine Presbytery at the General Assembly held in Glasgow that year. Two years later, he was sent to London by the Lords of the Covenant to impeach Laud. He was frequently in the field as chaplain to the Scottish army. In 1642 he became the colleague of David Dickson in the chair of Divinity; and in the following year he was chosen one of the Scottish Commissioners to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Upon the execution of Charles I. in 1649, he was sent to Holland as one of the Commissioners of the Church to invite Charles II. to Scotland, subject, of course, to acceptance of the Covenant. On the 27th March of that year, in the king's bedchamber at the Hague, he made a short and eloquent speech condemnatory of the "execrable and tragick parricide, which, though all men on earth should pass over unquestioned, yet we

nothing doubt but the great judge of the world will arise, and plead against every one, of what condition soever, who have been either authors, or actors, or consenters, or approvers, of that hardly expressible crime, which stamps and stigmatizes, with a new and before unseen character of infamy, the face of the whole generation of sectaries and their adherents, from whose hearts and hands that vilest villany did proceed." When David Dickson was removed to Edinburgh in 1651, Baillie became sole Professor of Divinity in Glasgow, and this office he held until January, 1661, when he was appointed to the principalship, then vacant through Gillespie's imprisonment. It is said he was then offered a bishopric, but he declined this honour. Death overtook him in July, 1662, at the ripe age of 63 years. Wodrow's estimate (*Hist. Ch. Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 288) was that "Mr. Robert Baillie may most justly be reckoned among the great men of his time, and was an honour to his country, for his profound and universal learning, his exact and solid judgment, that vast variety of languages he understood, to the number of twelve or thirteen, and his writing a Latin style which might become the Augustan age." He was the author of several works which bore upon the controversies of his day; but he will be ever remembered for his *Letters and Journals*, which have at various times been collected and published, most recently by Laing. These throw great light upon the movements of the time, and form most valuable groundwork for civil and ecclesiastical history.

James Durham, for some time minister of the Cathedral, was a son of the laird of Powrie, in Angus, and was born about the year 1622. Having studied Divinity at Glasgow, he was ordained to the High Kirk in November, 1647. He was one of those who preached against Cromwell, when the Protector was on his second visit to Glasgow, in 1651, and he was called to book the following day. Cromwell remarked that he esteemed him to have been more prudent than meddle with public concerns in his sermons; and the reply he gave seems to have been characteristic of the man, that it was not his practice to speak of such matters in the pulpit, but judging it necessary on this occasion he had done so, especially as he had the opportunity of doing so in the Protector's own hearing. He died in 1658, having been chosen by the General Assembly, in 1650, to be minister to the king's family. Several of his works, for the most part expository, were greatly esteemed.

The name of Zachary Boyd has been mentioned on several notable occasions. He is said to have been of the family of Boyd of Pinkill, and was born in Ayrshire about the year 1590. Believed to have been a cousin of Boyd of Trochrig, a former principal of the university, he would consequently be a nephew

of Archbishop Boyd, the first of the Protestant prelates of Glasgow; and he would also have family connections with the noble houses of Boyd and Cassillis. His education was commenced at the University of Glasgow, where he seems to have been in 1605; and after finishing his course there, he went to Saumur, in France, where he studied under his cousin, who was at that time Professor of Divinity in the college in that place. After a four years' course he became one of the teachers at Saumur, being ultimately appointed one of the ministers of the French Protestant Church. In the preface to one of his numerous works, *The Last Battell of the Sovle in Death*, he states that, "after sixteene yeares absence into France, where it pleased God to mak me a preacher of his word the space of foure years: it pleased the same Lord to visite his church there with bloodie warres, whereby manie churches, and mine also, were discipated, by this occasion it was the Lord's will to bring me backe to my native countrie. In that troublous time I remained a space a priuate man at Edinburgh, with Dr. Sibbald, the glory and honour of all the physicians of our land. But againe, within a short space, I was sought out by that most worthie man, our Scots Onesiphorus, even Sir William Scot of Eli. Hee sought mee out diligentlie, and found mee." He had returned to Scotland in 1621, and was two years afterwards appointed minister of the Barony parish of Glasgow. At first, when the Covenanting struggle began in the country, Boyd was Royalist in his tendencies, addressing Charles I. in loyal terms when his Majesty visited Glasgow in 1633, and showing a reluctance to sign the Covenant in 1638. He became, however, a convert to the more advanced state of things, and his feelings had undergone such a thorough change, that of the battle of Newburn, fought on the 28th of August, 1640, "where the Scots armie obtained a notable victorie against the English papists, prelats, and Arminians," he could publish a poem in which these lines appear:—

> "In this conflict, which was both sowre and surely,
> Bones, bloud and brains went in a hurly-burly;
> All was made hodge-podge, some began to croole;
> Who fights for prelats is a beastly foole."

Like many of the Scottish Presbyterians, Boyd was somewhat averse to the ascendency of the Independents after the execution of Charles I.; and he, as has already been seen, railed at Cromwell and his soldiers from the pulpit of the Cathedral, on the occasion of the Protector's first visit to Glasgow. The manner in which Cromwell "managed" him after this incident has also been related. Boyd died in 1654, and to the university, of which he had been vice-chancellor, he left, by a deed dated

9th December, 1652, the sum of £20,000 Scots (£1,666, 13s. 4d. sterling), for the building of the fabric of the college, and for the institution of three theological bursaries. He was twice married, but he left no children. His first wife was Elizabeth Fleming; and his second was Margaret Mure, a daughter of Mure of Glanderstone, and as she survived him she married James Durham, minister of the Cathedral. Slight as this account is, it contains all, or nearly all, that is known of the private and public life of Zachary Boyd, except in its literary aspect. Speaking of Boyd as an author, M'Vean (M'Ure's *Hist. Glas.*, p. 359) remarks:—"As a poet he does not rank high, though he has occasional passages of considerable merit . . . As a writer of prose, Zachary Boyd may stand a comparison with any of his countrymen of the same age. He did not entirely escape from the conceits and the affectation of quaint illustrations so prevalent in that age; but he is in general a serious writer, his exhortations are pious, earnest, vehement, and forcible, and it may be said of him, as of some other writers, that his prose is more poetical than his verse." This estimate by M'Vean is fully borne out by Boyd's works. Of these there are, either printed or in MS., no fewer than forty-three. The fourteen that have been printed, were published between the years 1629 and 1652; and although some of them have been reproduced, even the reprints are scarce. Six of the earlier were printed in Edinburgh, seven in Glasgow, one in London, and of one no account is given. George Anderson, of course, was the Glasgow printer. Among his works, perhaps the most noteworthy are the *Last Battell of the Sovle*, descriptive of his feelings after rising from a bed of sickness; *Garden of Zion*, containing metrical versions of various books of the Old Testament; *The Holy Songs of the Old and New Testaments, dedicated to the Royall lady, Mary his majesties eldest daughter, Princess of Orange;* the Four Gospels, in English verse; *The Popish Powder Plot*, a dramatic poem in which the speakers are Jehovah, King James, "The Divel," Guy Fawkes, and others; and a sermon of Thanksgiving, preached at Glasgow on the 8th October, 1637, "after that God in his mercy had visited his poor people, who three years before had been sore afflicted with want of bread." What has been considered his most important work is his version of the Psalms of David in Metre, the third edition of which was published in Glasgow in 1646. The General Assembly at this time had before it the propriety of having metrical Psalms, and Boyd sought to have his version introduced. In this he was unsuccessful. It may be stated that there is a similarity between Boyd's and the authorised versions; but that may possibly be owing to the Assembly having recommended those who were appointed to revise Rous'

translation of the Psalms, "to make use of the travels of Rowallen, Master Zachary Boyd, or any other on that subject."

CHAPTER XXX.

(A.D. 1660 TO A.D. 1678.)

Restoration of Episcopacy—"The Drunken Meeting of Glasgow"—Fines and Dismissals for Nonconformity—Foundation of Port-Glasgow—"The Highland Host" in the City—Measures against the Covenanters—Another Great Fire, and Release of Prisoners from Tolbooth—First Coach between Glasgow and Edinburgh.

WHEN the restoration of Charles II. took place in 1660, the population of Glasgow is stated to have been 14,678, having doubled in fifty years. Notwithstanding all untoward local circumstances, and the rapidly succeeding national upheavals, the city was gradually increasing in importance, its trade was developing, and its citizens were shrewd and wealthy. It cannot be said that in respect of a larger area there had been any great extension—the fact appears rather to be that Glasgow was losing the aspect of the pleasant country town early travellers have described it to be, and to have been taking more the appearance of a busy commercial centre, compactly, if not yet closely, built. Judging from contemporary accounts the streets were broad, but it is more than probable that they were narrower than modern notions would admit.

In Ray's *Itinerary through Scotland*, the following description of Glasgow, as it stood in 1661, appears; but, interesting as it cannot fail to be, it is matter for regret that no mention is made of the trade of the city, which must at that time have made itself a feature scarcely possible to overlook. Ray states:—"From Stirling we went, Aug. the 22d, to Glascow, which is the second city in Scotland, fair, large, and well built, cross-wise, somewhat like unto Oxford, the streets very broad and pleasant. There is a cathedral church built [re-roofed] by Bishop Law; they call it the high kirk, and have made in it two preaching places, one in the choir, and the other in the body of the church; besides, there is a church under the choir like St. Faith's in London; the walls of the church-yard round about are adorned with many monuments, and the church-yard itself almost covered with grave stones; and this we observed to be the

fashion in all the considerable towns we came to in Scotland. The bishop's palace, a goodly building near to the church, is still preserved. Other things memorable in this city are—1. The college, a pretty stone building, and not inferior to All Souls colleges in Oxon. Here are (as they told us) most commonly about 40 students of the first year, which they call Obedients; near so many of the second, which they call Semies; and so proportionably of the third, which they call Baccalors; and the fourth, whom they call Laureat or Magisters. 2. A tall building at the corner, by the market-place, of five stories, where courts are kept and the sessions held, and prisoners confined, &c. 3. Several fair hospitals, and well endowed; one of the merchants now in building; a very long bridge of eight arches, four whereof are about fifty feet wide each; and a very neat square flesh market, scarce such a one to be seen in England or Scotland."

Such was Glasgow when King Charles II. reascended his ancestral throne, and for the first time undertook the government of a united Britain. His restoration was hailed with great rejoicings throughout the country, and the magistrates of this city loyally sustained their part. On the 26th May, 1660, the day of the king's landing at Dover, the magistrates and Town Council agreed that "ane address and supplicatioune should be made to the King's Most Excellent Majestie, in name of this brughe." The provost, John Bell, had drawn up a scroll of the proposed address, and that having been approved, the duty of its presentation was left in his hands. At another meeting on the 18th June following, the council ordered the "onputting of baill-fyres," and the supply of two hogsheads of wine for the benefit of the city garrison, in honour of the "happie returne of our dread Soverayne the Kingis Majestie, and restauratioune to his throne and dignitie." The congratulations over, Charles set about to put his house in order. One of the steps in this direction is shown in the Burgh Records, under date of 2nd October, 1660. The council had received a letter from the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord High Chancellor, ordering them at their annual election, which fell upon this day, to choose their magistrates from those who were cast out of office in 1648. The command was obeyed, and, although then an old and infirm man, Colin Campbell, the provost of that year, was elected chief of the corporation. In November a petition was presented to the Committee of Estates by those of the magistrates and council of 1658, into whose life and character an inquiry had been made on the suggestion of Principal Gillespie, and who were afterwards discharged from office, asking that the process against them be produced. James Porter, clerk of the sessions, had acted as clerk at this investiga-

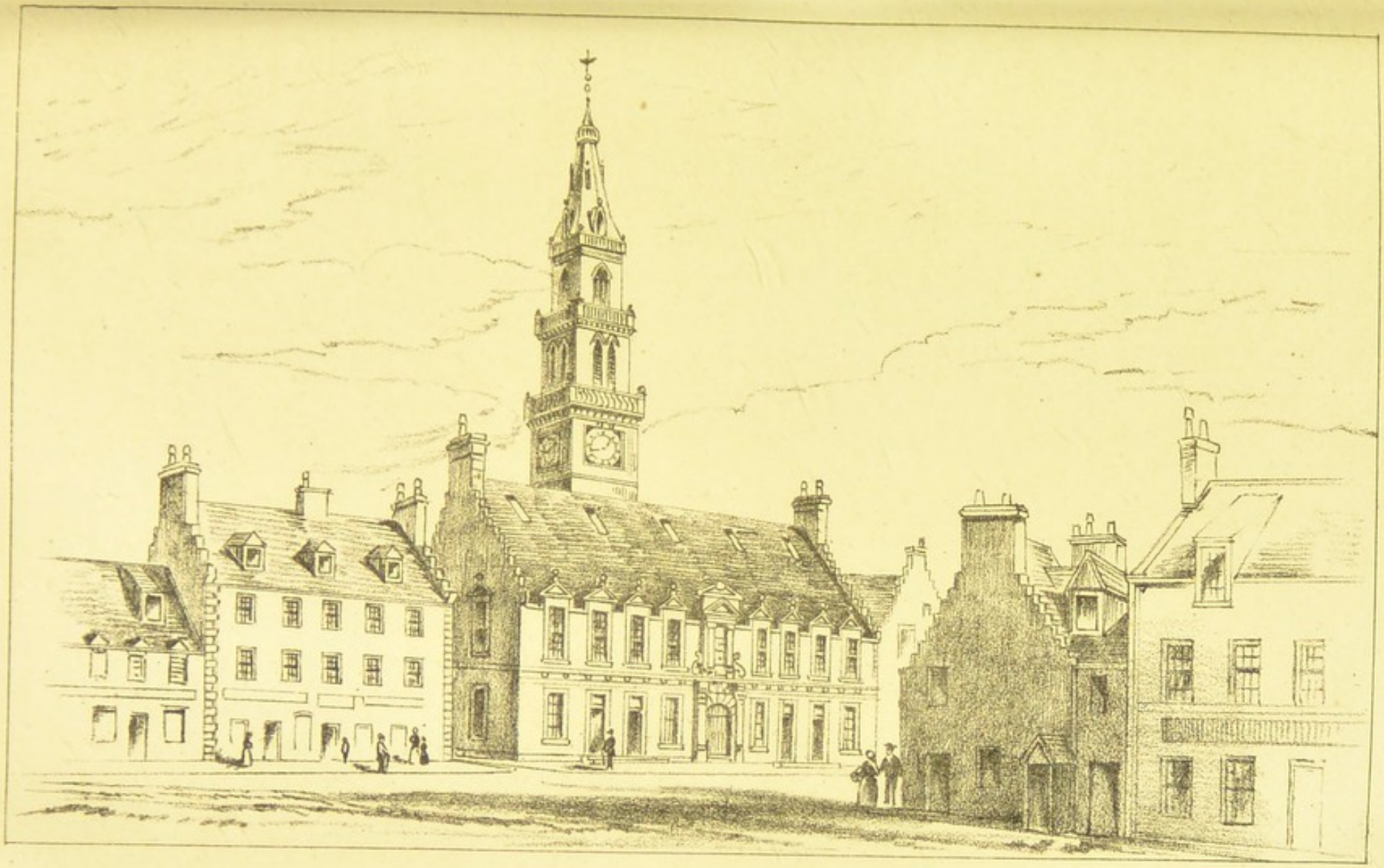
tion; and, in accordance with instructions from the Committee, the Town Council, on the 23rd February, 1661, called upon him to deliver up the process. This he either could not, or would not, do, and he was banished from the burgh, nor was he to appear within ten miles of it. Another retributive act was the dismissal of John Spreul, the town-clerk, on the 7th September, 1661, for having been a subscriber to the Western Remonstrance.

Before dealing with the more momentous changes of which those related were only the earnest, it should be stated that on the 23rd October, 1660, the Town Council voted £2,000 Scots (£166, 13s. 4d. sterling) for the construction of the roof of the "fore building" of the college. On the 9th of April, 1661, the treasurer was ordered to pay "Charles M'Cleane, Jylor," £20 Scots (£1, 13s. 4d. sterling), for his extraordinary pains in attending the Tolbooth, and getting no profit thereby, "having only theifes and lounes as prisoners." Tuesday, 23rd April, 1661, was held as a thanksgiving day for the king's coronation, and bale-fires were lighted throughout the city at night. "The sour milk mercatt" was ordered, on the 24th June, 1661, to be removed from the Cross to the Gallowgate Bridge. Andrew Anderson, the second Glasgow printer, left the city to return to Edinburgh, on the 8th May, 1661. The works known to have been printed by him were not numerous, and in respect of subjects were of no special importance. In order to fill up the vacancy his departure had caused, the Town Council, on the 23rd September following, made arrangements with Robert Saunders to become the burgh printer. He was to have an annual sudsidy of £40 Scots (£3, 6s. 8d. sterling), and he was to print gratis anything short the council should ask him to do. A formal annexation of Gorbals to the royalty of Glasgow was ordained on the 26th October, 1661. On that day it was agreed that a Head Court should be held in Gorbals on the Monday following, and the whole of the magistrates and council were to be present to intimate the union of the lands of Gorbals to the burgh. The magistrates and council, on the 14th May, 1662, "did most gladlie, cheerfullie, and vnanimouslie accept and tak the oath of alledgence, asserting the kings Majesties his royall prerogative over all persones and all causses," and that by "holding up of their hands befor the Eternal God, and confessing the samyne with the tunge." The Merchants' Hospital in Bridgegate had, as stated by Ray, been in the course of building for some years. It was a two-storey erection, with a frontage of seventy-two feet, and was a very handsome structure. The merchants, having appealed to the Town Council, on the 5th February, 1663, were allowed to divert certain of the city customs to the purpose of defraying the

expense of building the steeple. This steeple, 164 feet high, still remains—though the hospital was taken down in 1818—and is now known as the Bridgegate steeple.

The Restoration had, as had been feared by many, brought about the re-establishment of Episcopacy. The Town Council of Glasgow had no desire to be again under the dictation of archbishops, in whose favour there was a reservation even in the charter of royalty. Accordingly, on the 23rd September, 1661, they had under their consideration the propriety of approaching the king with the request that he should grant them the privilege of electing their own magistrates, "and power lyk wthir frie Royall Burrowes." Andrew Fairfoul had been nominated by the king to the see of Glasgow. He was the son of John Fairfoul, minister of Anstruther Wester, in Fife; and, studying for the Church, he was first ordained minister of North Leith, being afterwards translated to Dunse. The king had heard him preach several times while on his fugitive visit to Scotland in 1650, and on the 14th November, 1661, he appointed him archbishop. Along with Sharp of St. Andrews, Hamilton of Galloway, and Leighton of Dunblane, Fairfoul was consecrated to his new office in December following, in Westminster Abbey, by several English bishops. The royal mandate had gone forth that all persons, especially those holding office in the Church, were to acknowledge the bishops, under pain of the king's displeasure. Heavy fines were levied throughout the kingdom on those who were believed to have had complicity with Cromwell, and among those fined in Glasgow were John Spreul, the late town-clerk; John Graham, late provost; and George Porterfield, late provost. No fewer than 439 persons in the diocese were fined, the total sum taken from them being £350,490 Scots (£29,207, 10s. sterling).

So far as Glasgow and the west of Scotland were concerned, Archbishop Fairfoul and his suffragans were not honoured as they had expected, and this nonconformity resulted in a meeting of the Privy Council in Glasgow. The archbishop complained that not one of the young ministers entered since 1649, had acknowledged him bishop. The meeting was held in the college fore-hall, and was, according to Wodrow, "termed the drunken meeting at Glasgow, and it was affirmed that all present were flustered with drink, save Sir James Lockhart of Lee" (*Hist. Ch. Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 282). With Lockhart as the only dissentient, there was passed, on the 1st October, 1662, by this "drunken meeting," an act ordering conformity, and such as did not obey were to remove themselves and their families from their parishes within a month. The people were not to acknowledge such as their lawful pastors, by repairing to their sermons, under the pain of being punished as frequenters of conventicles. This



OLD MERCHANT'S HOSPITAL, BRIDGEGATE, COMPLETED 1668.

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was an act passed by men of whom it is said that afterwards they drank the devil's health at the Cross of Ayr about midnight, when they were in the midst of one of their debauches. However, as a result of the act, nearly four hundred ministers were cast from their charges, fourteen of them being of the presbytery of Glasgow. The more prominent among them were Principal Gillespie, Robert Macwaird, John Carstairs, Donald Cargill, and Ralph Rogers. Three members of the same presbytery conformed, their names being Hugh Blair and George Young of Glasgow, and Gabriel Cunningham of Kilsyth or Monieburgh.

These proceedings naturally brought about opposition on the part of the people, and to support them various steps had to be taken. Numerous complaints were made by the archbishop to the magistrates of Glasgow, that the citizens were not attending church as they ought to do, and that the collection for the poor was consequently diminishing. It was then intimated that the rate or contribution from the inhabitants would require to be increased. On the 21st February, 1663, the Town Council ordered John Bell, wright, and John Dunkieson, brasssmith, to be put in the stocks for their "incivill, bais, contemptable, and vncristian caraige," towards some ministers of the gospel, and also for the indignities they had put on the magistrates during Cromwell's visit to Glasgow. They were further to attend church, according to the acts of the Privy Council, under pain of banishment from the city. Archbishop Fairfoul had, in July of this year, brought the contumacy of several ministers within his diocese under the notice of the Privy Council. Matthew Mackail, minister of Bothwell, had been ordered to confine himself to his own parish; but the citizens of Glasgow went in crowds to hear him preach, and as this had given offence to the prelate, he was one of those against whom a charge was laid. Nothing was done with him at this time, but he was afterwards imprisoned. While in Edinburgh on these prosecutions, and in attendance on Parliament, Fairfoul died on the 2nd November, 1663. He was then fifty-seven years of age, and was in the thirty-first year of his ministry. He was buried in Holyrood Abbey.

Fairfoul was succeeded in the office of Archbishop of Glasgow by Alexander Burnet, then Bishop of Aberdeen. Burnet had been educated for the Church, and when the 1638 troubles arose he entered England, and became rector of a parish in Kent, whence he was driven, some years later, by the ascendency of the Independents. After serving as chaplain to the English garrison at Dunkirk for some time, King Charles, in 1663, appointed him Bishop of Aberdeen. In 1664 he was translated to the more important position of Archbishop of Glasgow.

His feeling towards Presbyterians is stated to have been expressed in this sentence—"The only way to deal with a fanatic was to starve him;" and he was a great stickler for the ceremonial of the Church of England. Among his earliest acts was to summon James Hamilton of Aikenhead, in Cathcart parish, before the High Commission Court, for failing to attend the church; and under this and a number of other charges, for the most part believed to have been trumped up, Aikenhead had to pay heavy fines, and suffer several periods of imprisonment. On the 18th December, 1664, John Spreul, the late town-clerk of Glasgow, was, by an act of the Privy Council, banished the country for his Presbyterianism; while George Porterfield and John Graham, late provosts of the city, were similarly dealt with in 1665. The Town Council, on the 22nd April, 1665, ordered the inhabitants of the city to bring their arms to the magistrates, to be kept in the Tolbooth, and those who failed to obey this disarming act were to be held as being disaffected. In his zeal for the advancement of Episcopacy, Burnet informed the city authorities that he intended to employ the king's militia to collect certain fines which had been imposed for nonconformity; but the council thought it better to do so by their own officials. Numerous were the severities which the archbishop perpetrated within his diocese; and the indulgence granted to Presbyterian ministers drew from him and his synod, in September, 1669, a remonstrance against such indulgence, dealing, also, against the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. This document was considered subversive of his majesty's authority, and Burnet was set aside, in December, from his office, Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, being appointed Commendator of the diocese.

While the Town Council were, to a certain extent, assisting Burnet in his persecuting schemes, they were at the same time engaged in, and had completed, negotiations which were of the highest consequence to the city. With an increasing trade, the merchants of Glasgow found the Clyde unsuitable for their purposes. As early as 1653, they had their shipping port at Cunningham, in Ayrshire, but its great distance from Glasgow created expense and inconvenience. To remedy this, the council, on the 24th July, 1662, concluded, "for many guid reasones and considerationes for the moir commodious laidining and landing of boats, that ther be ane litle key builded at the Broomielaw;" and in July of the next year it was agreed that a "weigh hous" be put on the quay. The most notable commercial venture of the time was the Whale Fishing Company, composed of many of the prominent citizens of Glasgow, which also carried on the manufacture of soap. Their first vessel, the Lyon, was 700 tons burthen, carried forty pieces of ordnance, and was built at

Belfast. They had blubber works at Greenock. This was in the year 1667; and M'Ure relates that each of the eight partners supplied a capital of £1,500 sterling. The company, however, was ultimately unsuccessful. The Wester Sugar-Work Company was started in the same year, and had a large work on the site of what is now known as Stockwell Place. Another sugar refinery, distinguished by the name of the Easter Sugar-Work, was, in 1669, built in the Gallowgate. Both these concerns are recorded to have been profitable.

These and other symptoms of augmented commercial activity in Glasgow, and a probable increase in the amount of shipping, led the council, on the 5th October, 1667, to ordain that "ane book be maid," to lie in the town-clerk's chamber, in which the particulars of every vessel that entered the Clyde might be entered. The question of harbour accommodation was staring the community in the face, and, in the first instance, the magistrates endeavoured to obtain from the burgh of Dumbarton ground on which to construct a harbour. The magistrates of Dumbarton, having the idea that the influx of mariners would raise the price of provisions, declined to come to any arrangement. The authorities of Troon were equally blind to their own interests. Ultimately, on the 4th of January, 1668, the provost, John Anderson, senior, reported to the Town Council of Glasgow, that he and others with him had had "ane meiting yeasternight with the lairds, elder and younger, of Newark, and that they had spoke with them anent the taking of ane piece of land of theirs in feu, for loadning and livering of their ships there anchoring, and building ane harbor there, and that the saids lairds had subscryvit a contract of feu this morning; quhilk, was all allowed and approvine be said magestratis and counsell, and efter this the twa feu contracts made between the saids lairdis of Newark, elder and yor., and the towne were red and subscryvit, being that the saids Newark, elder and yor., had set ane merk land, as a pairt of their lands of Newark, to the towne, in feu for payment yeirlie of four merks [4s. 5⅓d. sterling] feu dewtie, and relieving them of the king's taxatioune effeirand to a merk land," &c. The Laird of Newark was then Sir Robert Maxwell. Three weeks later it was agreed to build a pier, docks, and houses at Newark; and in a minute, dated 21st March, 1668, the acquisition first appears under the name of "Newport Glasgow."

Returning to the ecclesiastical movements of the time, it may be said that the dismissal of Archbishop Burnet was a relief to the Presbyterians of the west of Scotland. Leighton was not a man of a persecuting temper, and by the act of indulgence it was possible to make the state of matters less irksome without any great loss of principle. Several of the inhabitants of

Glasgow were fined in 1670 for keeping conventicles, and those who would not accept the indulgence were subjected to considerable oppression. Leighton is credited with an endeavour to correct some abuses among the clergy of the diocese, and he tried to make peace with the Presbyterians; but, as his proposals would have been contrary to the convictions for which they stood out, they were declined. In 1671, he was formally appointed archbishop of the diocese; but while he had failed to pacify the earnest Presbyterians, he had also come into collision, in the same matter, with his Episcopal friends, and three years later he demitted office, retiring to England, where he died in 1684. Archbishop Leighton was the son of Alexander Leighton, for some time Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. He was born, whether in London or Edinburgh is a moot point, in 1611, but he took his degree in arts in Edinburgh, in 1631. After holding office under the Presbyterian *regime*, he was appointed Bishop of Dunblane at the re-establishment of Episcopacy. He was the author of several works now looked upon with considerable favour. Even Wodrow (*Hist. Ch. Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 238) admits that "he was a man of very considerable learning, an excellent utterance, and of a grave and abstracted conversation. . . . His writings, published since the revolution, evidence his abilities, and that he was very much superior to his fellows." From an entry in the Burgh Records on 8th September, 1677, it appears that Leighton had bequeathed £300 sterling to the city, one-half to be applied to the foundation of two bursaries in the university, and the other half to the support of two poor men in St. Nicholas' Hospital.

Burnet was restored to the archbishopric, and affairs resumed their former aspect. In July, 1674, the Privy Council passed a decreet against Glasgow, fining the city in £100 sterling, for Andrew Morton and Donald Cargill having been allowed to hold a conventicle in it. On the 30th November, 1676, James Dunlop of Househill, was fined 1,000 merks (£55, 11s. 1⅓d. sterling), for having failed, as bailie-depute of the regality of Glasgow, to suppress conventicles in Partick, Woodside, and other places, and he was declared incapable of holding office. So great was the exodus of Glasgow people to conventicles outside the city, that in this year, Colonel Borthwick, commander of the garrison in Glasgow, was instructed to place a guard at each of the gates on Sabbath mornings, to prevent attendance at the prohibited meetings.

The Highland chieftains had been called upon, in December, 1677, to collect their forces at Stirling, in order to proceed to suppress the numerous conventicles in the west of Scotland. About 5,000 men were brought together, and this army is known to history as the Highland Host. A committee of the Privy

Council was appointed to accompany this force, and obtain the signature of all in authority declaring that their families and tenants should not, in any way, recognise conventicles. According to instructions, the Highland Host arrived in Glasgow on Sunday, 13th January, 1678, and while public worship was in progress a strict search was made for arms. Several persons were cast into prison. The soldiers took up their quarters upon the inhabitants, and they are alleged to have made their absence very desirable. The committee of the Council met during the last days of January, and the bond was signed by James Campbell, the provost, all the magistrates and council, together with a number of citizens, making a total of 153. After sitting for ten days in Glasgow receiving signatures to the bond, during which time the soldiers plundered most shamefully, the whole force moved towards Ayrshire, the great Covenanting stronghold. There they robbed and destroyed until the end of April, when they were recalled. While the Highlanders were returning home laden with spoil, and were about to pass through this city, the students at the college, and the youths of the city, blocked the bridge of Glasgow against nearly two thousand of them. They would not permit them to pass, until they had delivered up the spoil they carried with them. Only forty of them were allowed to pass at once, and they were escorted out at the west port, and not suffered to go through the town. The custom-house was nearly filled with pots, pans, bed-clothes, wearing clothes, rugg coats, gray cloaks, and such like, taken from the military plunderers.

In terms of the bond the magistrates of Glasgow gave orders for the suppression of the conventicles, but their commands seem to have been no more effectual than those of the Privy Council. On the 4th March, 1679, Sir William Fleming of Farme, Commissary of Glasgow, was fined 4,000 merks (£222, 4s. 5⅓d. sterling) on account of his lady having attended conventicles at Langside.

During the progress of these arbitrary proceedings, Glasgow suffered from two local misfortunes of no small magnitude. The first occurred on the 7th July, 1671, the Fair day. The southmost arch of Glasgow Bridge fell, and though it was noon, and there was a great stir in the vicinity, it is recorded no one was hurt by the accident. The damage was soon repaired by the community.

The other misfortune was greater, and took place on the 3rd November, 1677. The apprentice of a blacksmith whose workshop was situated at the back of a tenement at the north-western corner of Saltmarket and Trongate, had been beaten by his master, and in revenge he set fire to his employer's premises. The flames spread rapidly, and in a few hours the houses on the

south side of the Trongate, as far as the Tron Church, were destroyed, together with several tenements in the Gallowgate. The Tolbooth was threatened, and as it was then filled with Covenanters, the doors were broken open by the people, and the prisoners released. It was not injured, however, though the great heat rendered the steeple clock useless. It appears from a petition presented to Parliament in 1698, that the destruction of property by this fire must have been very great. The petitioner, John Gilhagie, a Glasgow merchant, lost 20,000 merks (£1,111, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling) by it. This petition further discloses some interesting facts. It is stated that Gilhagie lost £500 sterling in the same year by trade in several voyages in ships to Archangel, Canaries, and Madeira (the first undertakings to these places from Glasgow), and by a ship of his being wrecked on the coast of Ireland; and since then he had lost above 20,000 merks on some coal-pits near Glasgow. Apparently he had been incarcerated by his creditors, for he seeks release. After this fire the Town Council endeavoured to effect improvements on the construction of the houses, especially in the use of stone instead of wood. On the 9th of October, 1678, they licensed Alexander Thom to carry on his calling "in architectorie or in measounrie" in the burgh.

A most important step in advance was taken by the provost and magistrates on the 6th August, 1678, when they entered into a contract with William Hoom, or Hume, of Edinburgh, to run a stage-coach between Glasgow and the Scottish metropolis. Under this contract Hume bound himself to have in readiness "ane strong coach, with sax able horses," to run between the two places, once a week, or twice a week if he had sufficient encouragement. The fare from the 1st of March to the 1st of September, being considered summer weather, was to be 8s. sterling, and between 1st September and 1st March, it was to be 9s. sterling. Burgesses of Glasgow were to have the preference. In the first instance the provost and magistrates were to pay him 400 merks (£22, 4s. 5⅓d. sterling), and he was to have a subsidy of 200 merks (£11, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling) for five years; but if he failed to implement his contract he was to repay a proportion of the original grant.

CHAPTER XXXI.

(A. D. 1679 TO A. D. 1689.)

The Battle of the Gallowgate—Claverhouse proposes to Burn Glasgow—The Duke of York entertained in the City—Martyrdom and Persecution—Glasgow supplies a Regiment to the Army—Presbyterian Ascendency—Disturbance in the High Churchyard.

UPON the murder of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, on the 3rd May, 1679, and the consequent severities of the Government, the now desperate Covenanters took the field, and appeared in arms against the king and his Episcopal advisers. They, in the first instance, determined "to publish to the world their testimony to the truth and cause which they owned;" and for this purpose it was agreed that Robert Hamilton, brother to the Laird of Preston, Rev. Thomas Douglas, and about eighty armed men should go to Glasgow, burn the Acts of Parliament and Privy Council establishing Episcopacy and overthrowing Presbytery, and against themselves, and publish their testimony "to those of the worthies who have gone before us." Glasgow, however, happened to be occupied by a strong garrison of the royal troops, so the Covenanters made their way towards Rutherglen. This was on the 29th May, 1679, the king's birthday. Rutherglen was celebrating the occasion, and numerous bale-fires were lighted. When the intending protesters arrived in the town in the afternoon, they extinguished the fires, burned the Acts of Parliament and Council at the burgh cross, where they read their declaration, and to which they affixed a copy of it. This daring act completed, the company retired to Evandale and Newmilns. The news of it spread rapidly, the greatest sensation was caused throughout the kingdom, and Grahame of Claverhouse was ordered immediately to march upon Rutherglen, and punish those who had thus contemned the royal authority. On Saturday, the 31st May, he arrived in that town, and endeavoured to extort from the inhabitants, by threats and abuse, information as to who had been the offenders two days previous. The afternoon of the same day he surprised the town of Hamilton, and seized fifteen Covenanters. Next day, 1st of June, Claverhouse came upon a conventicle at Loudonhill, at which Mr. Douglas was preaching, and he endeavoured to

disperse the meeting. The Covenanters, of whom about two hundred were armed, determined to show battle, and the two forces met at Drumclog, with the result that the king's men were defeated with considerable slaughter, and the prisoners were rescued. Claverhouse had his horse shot under him, and he only escaped with difficulty.

Retiring upon Glasgow, the remnant of the defeated troop alarmed the garrison in the city, and, as an attack from the Covenanters was now probable, the streets were barricaded, and every precaution was taken to prevent surprise. The insurgents had retired to Hamilton, where they spent the night. On Monday, 2nd June, they advanced upon Glasgow, and on the way their numbers were considerably augmented from the surrounding country. The city was held by a strong force under Lord Ross, Major White, and Claverhouse. About ten o'clock in the forenoon, Hamilton and his party arrived at the east side of the town, and there divided into two bodies, one of which went up the Gallowgate, and the other up the College Vennel. The attack was then commenced, but it was soon apparent on whose side the advantage lay. Having taken possession of houses and closes, the soldiers were able to pour a destructive fire upon the assailants, while the barricades that had been hastily thrown up in the streets did good service. The Covenanters, however, notwithstanding their awkward position and want of discipline, fought bravely and well, and are said to have driven the royal troops back for some distance, so that the officers found it advisable to seek refuge behind the Tolbooth stair. The battle, nevertheless, was against them, over half-a-dozen of their men were killed, several were wounded, and they thought it necessary to retire to the outside of the city, expecting the soldiers to follow them and fight on open ground. They drew up at Tollcross Muir, and there they were followed by 200 troopers from Glasgow, but these were speedily compelled to retire. Thus ended the battle of the Gallowgate—a battle in its practical effects favourable to the Covenanters. Claverhouse is said to have given orders that the bodies of the dead Covenanters lying on the streets should not be buried, but left for the butchers' dogs. Several of them lay until night, the soldiers preventing any one carrying them away; and when, at night, some of the sympathisers of the Covenant in the city took them into their houses to be dressed for burial, the soldiers entered, and took the linen clothes from the corpses. It was with the greatest difficulty, and by suffering gross indignities, that the women of Glasgow were able to convey the bodies to the almshouse near the Cathedral, where they lay several days previous to interment.

The royal forces, finding the Covenanters were increasing in

strength, deemed it prudent to leave Glasgow, and they marched towards Kilsyth. The magistrates of the city were, however, acting upon an order they had received from the Privy Council, which ordained them to give a list of the names and designations of all strangers who were lodged in the city each night to the guards, under pain of 1,000 merks (£55, 11s. 1⅓d. sterling), and to turn out the widows and families of "utted" ministers, fugitive and vagrant preachers, and intercommuned persons. A proclamation to this effect had been issued by sound of drum, so that none of the inhabitants could plead ignorance.

Notwithstanding all repressive measures, the Covenanters mustered so well as to be able to encounter the king's troops at Bothwell Bridge, but on this occasion they suffered a most disastrous defeat. The Duke of Monmouth, who was in command of the royal army, was solicited by Major White, Claverhouse, and others to burn Glasgow, because of the favour it had shown to the rebels, but this he would on no account allow. An endeavour was then made to get him to sanction a three or four hours' sack of the city, but this he also refused. "Yet is said," says Wodrow (*Hist. Ch. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 113), "that the town of Glasgow was obliged to quit to the town of Edinburgh, for the behoof of some particular persons who were to be gratified, a debt of thirty thousand merks [£1,666, 13s. 4d. sterling] they had upon the Canon-mills, that they might be saved from plunder at this time." Whether that be the case or not, the Burgh Records at least reveal that the sum of £3,211 Scots (£267, 11s. 8d. sterling) was spent upon the soldiers at the barricades, and in supplying provisions and baggage horses to the king's army.

In the year 1679, upon the death of Archbishop Sharp, Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, was translated to the primacy of St. Andrews. Arthur Ross, Bishop of Argyle, succeeded to the see of Glasgow. He was an Aberdeenshire man, and after he had held two curacies in that county he became Parson of Glasgow, in 1665. Two years later he was made Bishop of Argyle, but he continued to hold his parsonage. In September, 1679, he was elected to the Bishopric of Galloway; but before his translation could be completed, he was promoted to the archiepiscopal see, of which he would otherwise have been but a suffragan. Burnet's appointment to St. Andrews was on the 15th October.

The council of Glasgow, on the 30th of October, 1680, recommended the bailies to take strict course with those inhabitants who would not give to the guard lists of the strangers who lodged in their houses. Upon the advent of the new archbishop they would seem to have feasted him, for they had to meet a

bill for £1,236 Scots (£103 sterling) in payment of the French wines they had presented to him and others.

The work of persecution went on, and among the more notable of the Glasgow sufferers were John Spreul, an apothecary, who was long imprisoned on suspicion of attending conventicles, and Rev. Donald Cargill, late minister of the Barony parish, who, after great hardships, was executed in Edinburgh, on the 27th July, 1681, for partaking in the work of the Covenanters. Cargill was one of the most noted of the Covenanting preachers. A native of the parish of Rattray, in Perthshire, in which he was born about the year 1610, he was educated for the Church at Aberdeen University. In 1650, he was presented to the Barony parish of Glasgow; but, on the restoration of Episcopacy, ten years later, for his refusal to accept collation from the archbishop, and to celebrate the king's birthday, he was banished beyond the Tay by an Act of Privy Council. He ultimately took to the fields, preaching and fighting for the Covenant. At Bothwell Bridge he was wounded. Numerous were the hairbreadth escapes of Cargill when pursued by soldiers. He is credited with being the author of a violent protest, known to history as the Queensferry Covenant; while he was concerned with Richard Cameron in publishing the Declaration of Sanquhar. After he had excommunicated the king and his ministers, a reward of 5,000 merks (£277, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling) was put on his head, and in May, 1681, he was captured at Covington in Lanarkshire. As already stated, he was executed at Edinburgh in the July following.

In the midst of all these troubles, Glasgow was visited by the Duke of York, the king's brother, who afterwards ascended the throne with the style and title of James II. of England, and James VII. of Scotland. On the 1st October, 1681, John Bell, the provost, informed the town council that he had received intimation that His Royal Highness the Duke of York was to visit Glasgow on the Monday following. It was then agreed that the whole council should attend the magistrates on this occasion, and the handsomest young men in the city were to wait upon the royal visitor. A proclamation was issued that the inhabitants were to light bonfires at the head of each close or wynd when the bells should announce the duke's arrival. Provost Bell, it should be stated, was a zealous loyalist, and had fought against the Covenanters. On the 3rd of October, the Duke of York arrived in Glasgow. The garrison fired a *feu de joie;* Archbishop Ross, and the provost, magistrates, and council, gave him an obsequious welcome; while the citizens fulfilled their part by the lighting of bonfires and the ringing of bells. The prince was entertained by the provost in his house in Bridgegate; he and several of his servants were

made burgesses, the box containing the royal burgess ticket being of gold, and weighing a pound; and the Principal and professors of the university addressed him in loyal speeches. Another class of the community—indeed, the principal class—also approached him. While he was passing along the street a paper was put into his hand, in which was a violent protest against the persecuting acts of the king, against the duke himself being welcomed to the city by the ringing of bells and the lighting of bonfires, and against him for sending his baggage to Glasgow on the Lord's day. This paper is related to have caused the prince some little uneasiness. On the Tuesday, however, he went to Dumbarton, of which burgh he was also made a burgess; and, returning at night, he left the city for Edinburgh on the Wednesday. Provost Bell would appear to have been knighted either on this occasion or shortly after, for while he is mentioned prior to this time as plain John Bell, he is afterwards called Sir John. The council had an opportunity, on the 8th October, of counting the cost of the royal visit. The account for the gold and silver boxes in which the burgess tickets were presented, and for other silver work, amounted to £1,588, 14s. Scots (£132, 7s. 10d. sterling); that for "confections," to £432 Scots (£36 sterling); £660 Scots (£55 sterling) were given by the provost as drink money to the duke's servants; two persons, probably waiters, from Edinburgh, were paid £64 Scots (£5, 6s. 8d. sterling); there were £860 Scots (£71, 13s. 4d. sterling) for provisions to the provost's house; and £402 Scots (£33, 10s. sterling) for wines; the total accounts passed amounting to £4,006, 14s. Scots (£333, 17s. 10d. sterling), certainly a very respectable sum to spend in two days in these times.

Matters went on as they had been doing for some years: if anything greater severity was felt through the Duke of York being at the helm of affairs in Scotland. Petty persecution was continual, imprisonment or death for nonconformity was common. In 1683, Lady Muir of Caldwell, the widow of the Laird of Caldwell—who resided in the Saltmarket of Glasgow—was, with her eldest daughter, cast into prison on suspicion of holding a conventicle in her house. On the 8th October of this year, the Laird of Dundas and the Trades of Glasgow were brought before the Privy Council for having allowed conventicles on their grounds. James Renwick, of martyr memory, had held a conventicle on Dundas' lands on the 3rd October, and had baptized several children; while two days later he had held another meeting on the Trades' lands at Little Dumbuck, in the parish of New Monkland. The defenders were each fined £50 sterling, but they were allowed to reimburse themselves from their tenants and cottars. In the March of 1684, a large number of persons suffered for "Christ's Crown and Covenant"

in Glasgow. John Richmond, of Loudon; James Winning, a Glasgow tailor; James Stuart, of Lesmahagow; James Johnston, of Calder; and John Main, of Old Monkland, were tried before a military tribunal, and all sentenced to death, and they suffered with great fortitude at the cross of Glasgow. They were hanged and beheaded. Their heads were put on pikes at the Tolbooth steeple, as a warning to their fellows. They were buried on the north side of the Cathedral, and the tablet erected to the memory of them and others discovers the brutal nature of their execution:—

> "These nine, with others in this yard,
> Whose heads and bodies were not spared,
> Their testimonies foes to bury,
> Caus'd beat the drums then in great fury,
> They'll know at Resurrection day
> To murder saints was no sweet play."

James Nisbet, of Loudon, was apprehended in Glasgow while attending the funeral of his friend, John Richmond, and the other martyrs. He was condemned to die for his Covenanting principles; but as the previous executions had caused some uproar, he was taken to the foot of the Howgate, outside the city, where he suffered on the 5th of June, 1684; and on the 24th October, James Lawson and Alexander Wood were executed at the same place. Here a fountain, known as the Martyrs' Fountain, has been erected, and it proclaims the severities of the time. On the 22nd of April, the Town Council ordained a proclamation to be issued, ordering all nonconformist preachers to leave the burgh within forty-eight hours, and throughout the whole of this year the most extraordinary sufferings were undergone in the city. Two hundred of the smaller heritors of the district were banished to the plantations for refusing to take the test and bond; and sickly women and famished men were cast into prison, where many of them died before they could be brought to trial. The Tolbooth was so much overcrowded that all the prisoners could not lie down at one time, but had to take turns; and when the unfortunate people were brought before their judges, they were sent to the plantations. Such a thing as an acquittal upon insufficient evidence was unknown—any evidence, however trivial, or nothing but the flimsiest suspicion, was quite enough to ensure their condemnation.

When James II. ascended the throne on the death of his brother, the Town Council forwarded a letter to him expressing "sincere joy" at the event. The work of persecution, of course, went on without abatement, and was being carried to such an extent, that on the 14th of July, 1685, the magistrates of Glasgow presented a petition to the Privy Council stating that

the Tolbooth "was pestered with many silly old women, who were a great charge to the town." The Council ordered those who were guilty of "reset and converse" to be whipped and burned on the cheek, and those who were guilty of "ill principles" were to be whipped only. All were to be dismissed. The city was being continually searched for Covenanters, and numerous arrests were made, though what was principally done was thieving by the soldiers.

As an instance of how municipal matters were managed at this time the following may be given. It was reported to the council on the 28th January, 1687, that the king had granted them the privilege of taxing all spirituous liquors consumed in the city. The corporation finances were in an unhealthy condition, for in addition to extra charges and uncertain payment of rates, there was a suspicion that the previous council had done a little peculation; but it was agreed that a letter be sent to the king thanking him for his gift, together with another to the Earl of Melford, the king's secretary, to which latter epistle there was the addition of £1,000 Scots (£83, 6s. 8d. sterling), as an acknowledgment to him for promoting the town's interest. The money had to be borrowed. It having come to the knowledge of the provost, John Barns, that many persons were married and had their children baptized in meeting-houses, the Town Council, on the 28th September, 1687, issued an order that these be registered in the town books, under the penalty of a fine. On the 14th October, the king's birthday, bells were rung, bonfires were lighted, and Glasgow seemed most loyal; but the garrison surrounded the city, and in the evening searched it for Covenanters. Several were cast into jail, though none appear to have been executed.

These troubles were reflected in the frequent changes made on the episcopal bench. Archbishop Ross had been transferred to St. Andrews in 1684, and to him, in Glasgow, succeeded Alexander Cairncross, then Bishop of Brechin. As Cairncross was rather lukewarm in the persecution, he was deposed from office in 1687; but he afterwards became Bishop of Raphoe, in Ireland, where he died in 1701, aged sixty-five years. His successor was John Paterson, who had held the deanery of Edinburgh and the bishopric of Galloway, and who was Bishop of Edinburgh at the time of his translation. He seems to have been anxious in every way to forward the schemes of the Court, and to enact the penal laws against the Covenanters.

But the end came at last. William of Orange threatened an invasion, and the king, while endeavouring to renew friendship with every one, called out the army. On the 13th October, 1688, according to the Burgh Records, the Glasgow Town Council received a letter from the Lord High Chancellor, the

Earl of Perth, thanking them for raising ten companies of 120 men each for the service of the king. Probably these men never left the city, for it is stated, on the 23rd January, 1689, that in respect that the regiment had refused to obey the magistrates, it was to be disbanded. It was probably this regiment that the community sent to Edinburgh afterwards to guard the Convention of Estates while deliberations were going on as to the settlement of the crown upon William and Mary. It was composed of 500 men, and it latterly became known in the army as the Scotch Cameronians,—later still, as the 26th Regiment of Foot. Although the Town Council of the city was strongly affected towards the king's interest, and the provost, Walter Gibson, was a violent Episcopalian, the inhabitants in general hailed the landing and the proclamation of the Prince of Orange with great joy. The proclamation was read publicly at the Cross; and, on the 30th November, 1688, Lord Loudon, then a student at the university, and a number of his companions, burned the effigies of the pope and the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow without opposition. In a half-hearted way the Town Council considered the propriety of an address to the prince. On the 24th of January, 1689, the provost gave in an address to be presented to the Prince of Orange. This was subscribed by many of the council, but it was left to the provost himself to decide whether it should be forwarded or not. Archbishop Paterson left for the Continent, but afterwards returned to Edinburgh, where he died in 1708, aged seventy-six years. The fearful effects of the troublous times through which Glasgow and the country at large had passed, are shown to a certain extent by the fact that the population of the city, which in 1660, at the Restoration, was 14,678, had declined in 1688, at the Revolution, to 11,948, a very large decrease for a community which had been prospering in every other respect.

The changed state of affairs gave the Covenanters an opportunity of retaliating on the Episcopalians. In 1689, it is said to have been a common occurrence in Glasgow to see a number of those who so lately had suffered under penal statutes, chasing the Episcopal clergymen through the streets with cudgels, annoying their former persecutors on the way to church, and preventing the ringing of the church bells. A serious disturbance took place, however, on the 14th February, 1689. The parson of Glasgow had been thrust from the pulpit of the Cathedral, and on this day, Bailie Gibson, a brother of the provost, with a number of his sympathisers, endeavoured to obtain for one of their clergymen a forcible entrance into the church. They found the door surrounded by about forty women, who obstructed their passage, and would on no account allow them

admission. In a skirmish nearly all the women were severely injured, but their cries had attracted many men to their assistance, and the fight raged with unabated fury in the churchyard. Sticks and stones were freely used, and the scene was of the most extraordinary description. Victory, however, favoured the Episcopalians, and they seem to have obtained possession of the church.

CHAPTER XXXII.

(A. D. 1690 TO A. D. 1705.)

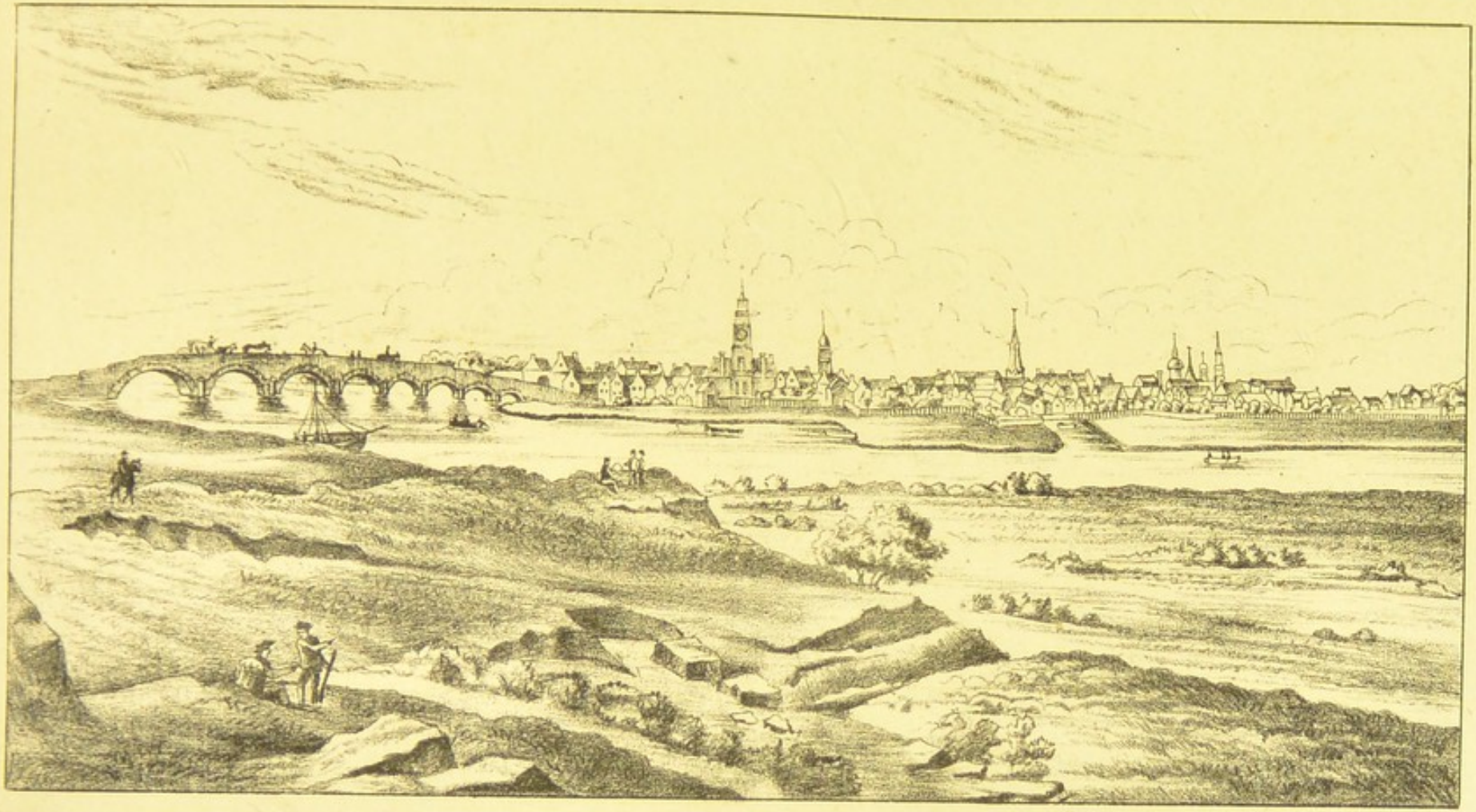
Free Election of Magistrates granted the Community—Publicans' Disabilities—Acts of Violence and Repressive Measures—Commercial Condition of Glasgow in 1692—*The "Second City" in the Kingdom—The Darien Expedition and its Results on Glasgow—The Earldom of Glasgow—Miscellaneous Matters.*

IN a previous chapter reference was made to the erection of Glasgow to the status of a royal burgh, and also to the fact that the charter of royalty contained a reservation by which the election of the city magistracy was retained to the archbishop, contrary to the custom in royal burghs. Various attempts had been made by the Town Council to effect a change, but without any successful result, until the final abolition of Episcopacy, and the settlement of William and Mary on the throne. On the 16th August, 1689, there was read before the Town Council the duplicate of a letter of gift, which was to be presented to the king and queen, for getting the election of the provost and bailies of the city into their (the council's) own hands, bishops being abolished. John Anderson of Dowhill was appointed to ride to London to obtain their majesties' signatures. He was successful, and returned with the charter. The following minute, under date of 18th January, 1690, contains the drift of the charter:—"The said day the said John Andersone, proveist, produced ane Letter of Gift, granted be their Most Sacred Majesties King William and Queen Marie, whilk their majesties ordaine to be made and passed under their Great Seall of this Kingdome of Scotland, not onlie ratifieing, approveing, and confirming the haill chartors, priveledges, grants, and concessions, from any of their Majesties Royall Predicessors, to and in favour of the communitie and city of Glasgow, to the Gildrie, Trades,

and severall Incorporationes or Deacones thereof, as effectuallie as if every severall erection, chartor, or grant were particularlie enumerated, or therein repeated; And, likewayes, their Majesties being come in place of the Archbishop of Glasgow, for themselves, and for any other right competent to them, of new, give, grant, and dispone to, and in favour of, the said City of Glasgow and Towne Counsell thereof, full power, right, and libertie to choise and elect their Proveist, Baillies, and haill other Magistrats, In the ordinar maner and at the ordinar tyme, as freelie as any other royall burgh in the said kingdome doe or may choise their Proveist, Baillies, and Magistrats, beginning the first election at Michaelmas nixt, and so to continow in all tyme comeing; and their Majesties ordaines the said letter to be extended in the most ample and best forme, and to pass the great seall, and promise to ratifie the same in the nixt session of their Majesties parliament." This charter was dated at Kensington, on the 4th January, 1690.

The ratifying act of Parliament was duly passed on the 14th of June, 1690; and runs in the following terms:—

"OUR Soveraign lord and lady taking to their consideration, that the city of Glasgow is amongst the most considerable of the royal burrows within their ancient kingdom of Scotland, both for the number of inhabitants, and their singular fitness and application to trade, and the convenient situation of the place upon the river of Clyde; and that the common good of the said city hath been greatly wasted and exhausted, by draining vast sums of money from magistrates, who were not freely elected and chosen, as is usual in other royal burrows; and likeways considering the firm adherence, and constant zeal for the Protestant religion of the community of the said city, their majesties did grant a full and ample charter, in favours of the said city of Glasgow, and the common council thereof, confirming all former charters granted to them, by any of their royal predecessors in favours of the community of the said city, or gild-brethren, tradesmen, or any society, or deaconry within the samen; and also of new granting and disponing to the said city and common council thereof, a full and ample power, right, and faculty of electing their provost, baillies, and other magistrates, at the ordinary time of election, als freely as any other royal burgh might do within their said ancient kingdom, promising to confirm the foresaid charter in the next Parliament. Therefore their majesties, with advice and consent of the estates of Parliament, do statute, enact, and ordain, that the city of Glasgow and town council thereof, shall have power and priviledge to choose their own magistrats, provost, baillies, and other officers within burgh, als fully, and als freely, in all respects, as the city of Edinburgh, or any other royal burgh within the kingdom enjoys



GLASGOW FROM THE SOUTH EAST, ABOUT 1690.

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the same; beginning the first election at Michaelmas next, and so furth, yearly, in time coming. And further, their majesties, with consent foresaid, do ratify, confirm, and approve the foresaid charter, granted by them, in favours of the community and common council of Glasgow, of the date the fourth day of January, 1690, in the whole heads, articles, and clauses thereof, als fully and amply as if the samen were, word by word, herein engrossed, whereanent their majesties, with consent foresaid, do hereby dispense for now and ever. It is always hereby expressly provided and declared, that this present act shall be without prejudice or derogation to their majesties of their rights to the regality of Glasgow, or other rights, except as to the power and freedom of the burgh of Glasgow, in relation to the choosing of their own magistrats, and the several erections of incorporations and deaconries within the same."

Now that it has been seen that the vital principle of a royal burgh has been conceded to Glasgow, it will be interesting to reproduce the clause in the *Laws of Burghs* which regulated the election of magistrates. It is there stated that "at the fyrst meete, nixt eftir the feste of St. Mychael, the aldirman and the bailyeis sal be chosyn, thruch the consaile of the gud men of the toune, the quhalk aw to be lele and of gud fame. And thai sal suer fewte till the lord the King, and to the burges of the toune. And thai sal suer to keep the customys of the toune, and at thai sal nocht halde lauch [law] on ony man or woman, for wrath, na for haterit, na for drede, or for luve of ony man, bot thruch ordinans, consaile and dome of gud men of the toune. Alswa, thai sal suer that nothing for radnes [fear], na for luve, na for haterit, na for cosynage [relationship], na for tynsale of their siluer, thai sal nocht spare to do richt to all men."

The abolition of Episcopacy and the ascendency of the Presbyterian party in all public affairs brought about a movement for social reformation. Without saying that those in high places were previously immoral and corrupt in their social relationships, it must at least be conceded that they were very lax in their conduct. As an example of what was done in this direction, the following instance may be taken. On the 1st February, 1690, the Town Council ordered a proclamation to be sent through the city prohibiting the inhabitants from drinking in taverns after ten o'clock on week nights, or during sermon time on Sundays, under pain of a fine of 40s. Scots (3s. 4d. sterling), one-half to be paid by the furnisher of the drink, and the other half by the drinker. The fine was afterwards to be divided equally between the informer and the poor of the city. "Kail-herbs" were not to be sold on the streets, nor was water to be carried from the wells, on Sundays;

and no strangers were to have houses let to them unless they produced certificates of good character from the place of their previous residence. The council, on the 7th August following, received a letter from the Earl of Crawford, Lord President of the Privy Council, thanking them for keeping the inhabitants in arms for the king's service, and stating that their majesties' greatest satisfaction would be their "quiet and contented peace and prosperitie, in mutuall love, sobrietie, and the solid practice of true pietie." But perhaps the most remarkable enactment of the Town Council, was one passed on the 4th October, 1690. On that day the provost, magistrates, and council, considering the abuses which had been committed by the election of magistrates and deacon-conveners from those who kept change-houses or taverns, causing debauchery and drunkenness, and inducing poor people to spend their money, it was ordained that in all time coming no person should be chosen to occupy the offices of provost, bailies, dean of guild, deacon-convener, bailie of Gorbals, or water bailie, who kept a change-house or tavern; and in case any such person who then kept a change-house should be elected to any of these offices, he was to find caution that he would not keep such a house during the time of his exercise of office under pain of 1000 merks Scots (£55, 11s. 1⅓d. sterling). It is under this date that the Incorporation of Gardeners must be mentioned. When it received its first charter is not now known, for the deacon died of the plague in 1649, and his furniture and papers being burned to prevent contagion, the original charter of the incorporation was inadvertently destroyed among the rest. However, on the 22nd November, 1690, the Town Council granted a new seal of cause. This completes the list of the fourteen incorporations composing the Trades House of Glasgow.

There is sufficient evidence in the Burgh Records of the lawless state of the community at this time, and of the necessity for repressive measures. On the 13th October, 1690, John Reid, a wright, while in the exercise of his duty as corporal of the city guard, was killed in a street brawl; and the council bore the expense of a criminal prosecution in Edinburgh against Captain Bryce and other officers of Sir James Leslie's regiment, who were charged with Reid's murder. Again, on the 12th September, 1691, the council, on account of the midnight disturbances, and the consequent scandal brought upon the town, prohibited persons from passing through the city with viols or other musical instruments, under heavy penalties. They were, however, in favour of music in its proper place, for a fortnight later they arranged with "Mr. Lewis de Francie, musitian," to teach music in the town. The loyalty of Glasgow to the Protestant faith is shown by an address, agreed to on

the 6th May, 1692, which was to be forwarded to the Lords of the Privy Council for presentation, in name of the city, to the king and queen, and in which it was stated that the inhabitants were ever ready to assist against all invasions by "French or Irish papists."

An exceedingly important inquiry took place at Glasgow on the 6th May, 1692. The Convention of Burghs had appointed commissioners for different districts of the country to investigate the affairs of the burghs, and as a result some interesting facts were elicited, all the more important and interesting in the case of Glasgow because they were official. The commissioners for the burghs south and west of the Forth were James Fletcher, provost of Dundee, and Alexander Walker, bailie of Aberdeen, and the persons examined in this city were James Peadie, "proffiise," as he signed himself, the bailies, and the town-clerk. These witnesses stated that the common-good of the city amounted to the sum of £16,902 Scots (£1,408, 10s. sterling), and that its debts extended to £178,800 Scots (£14,900 sterling). The most exact calculation they could make of the foreign export and import trade, was that it was of the yearly value of £205,000 Scots (£17,083, 6s. 8d. sterling), or thereby; but they could not condescend upon any statement as to the inland trade they had by their ships, it being for the most part included in the above calculation. There were sold in the city yearly, about twenty tuns of French wine, twenty butts of sack, and ten or twelve butts of brandy; but the consumption of wine was according as the price was high or low. About 1,000 bolls of malt were monthly sold and consumed. The city merchants possessed fifteen ships, eight of them lying in the harbour, and the rest abroad; while they also owned eight lighters. Following is a list of the ships in the harbour, with their burthen and value:—The James, 100 tons, 5,000 merks (£277, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling); Elizabeth, 150, £6,000 Scots (£500 sterling); Friendship, 80, 4,000 merks (£222, 4s. 5⅓d. sterling); Lark, 80, £6,000 Scots (£500 sterling); Grissell, 30, 2,000 merks (£111, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling); Amity, 80, £6,000 Scots (£500 sterling); James, 160, £6,000 Scots (£500 sterling); and Fortoun, 50, £2,000 Scots (£166, 13s. 4d. sterling). The vessels abroad were:—The Concord, 150, £5,000 Scots (£416, 13s. 4d. sterling); James, 80, £1,800 Scots (£150 sterling); The James, 36, £1,000 Scots (£83, 6s. 8d. sterling); The William and Marie, 36, £1,000 Scots (£83, 6s. 8d. sterling); The Margaret, 50, £1,400 Scots (£116, 13s. 4d. sterling); The Robert, 70, £2,000 Scots (£166, 13s. 4d. sterling); and The Small Yaught, 30, £1,000 (£83, 6s. 8d. sterling). This shows an aggregate measurement of 1,182 tons, against twelve vessels, with a tonnage of 957 tons, in 1651, and six vessels, with a tonnage of 296 tons, in 1597; while the total value is £3,877, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling.

Owing to the decay in trade, stated the witnesses on further examination, a great number of the best houses in the city were unoccupied; and those inhabited were let at rents nearly one-third less than in better times. The rents of the best houses, of which only eight were occupied by burgesses, were about £100 Scots (£8, 6s. 8d. sterling) yearly; while the rents of the worst were about £4 Scots (6s. 8d. sterling) yearly. Their yearly income as a corporation was £16,902 Scots (£1,408, 10s. sterling), and their yearly outlay £15,994, 6s. 8d. Scots (£1,332, 17s. 2⅔d. sterling).

The abolition of the episcopate was a pecuniary benefit to the Scottish seats of learning, for in the year 1693, the Government settled an annuity of £300 sterling on the universities in Scotland, that of Glasgow among the rest. This was a great benefit to the college, and materially assisted its governors in their improvements, and they were able to offer additional inducements to ambitious students. In 1695, King William III. founded six bursaries, known as the Exchequer Bursaries—three for students in arts, and three for students in divinity. Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, had also placed funds for bursars at the disposal of the college authorities in 1694. Previous to this, in 1677, John Snell, of Uffeton, in the county of Warwick, a native of Scotland, and formerly a student at Glasgow, devised to the trustees an estate in Warwickshire, for the education of Scottish students at Oxford. The founder's intention is said to have been the support of Episcopacy in Scotland.

On the 12th May, 1694, the Town Council agreed to purchase, on behalf of the city, from Ninian Hill of Lambhill, the lands of Ramshorn and Meadowflat, for the sum of 20,300 merks (£1,127, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling). It is on this ground that the Ramshorn Kirk and Ingram Street, George Square, and adjacent thoroughfares are now built. A committee of the council was appointed, on the 8th September, on the petition of the merchants, for the establishment of three posts to Edinburgh in each week. In October of this year, Robert Park, the town-clerk, was stabbed in his own office, by Major James Menzies. A citizen and a soldier had come before one of the magistrates to have a dispute settled. Menzies spoke on behalf of the soldier, while Park supported the civilian, and in the course of what seems to have been an excited debate, the major drew his sword and ran the town-clerk through the body. He immediately absconded, but the citizens were incensed at the murder, and started in pursuit. Among the more prominent pursuers were Ex-Provost Anderson, John Gillespie, tailor, and Robert Stevenson, wright. These men overtook Menzies in what was then known as Renfield Gardens, but as he refused to surrender he was shot down by Gillespie.

As Glasgow became wealthier, and as it advanced in importance as a centre of commerce, it was assessed in a higher sum for national purposes. On the 5th June, 1556, it stood eleventh on the roll of Scottish burghs, contributing £13, 10s. Scots (£1, 2s. 6d. sterling), the burghs contributing more, in the order of their sums, being Dundee, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Perth, Haddington, St. Andrews, Montrose, Cupar, Stirling, and Ayr. The roll for 14th April, 1557, gives it the tenth place for £202, 10s. Scots (£16, 17s. 6d. Sterling), its superiors being Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, Perth, St. Andrews, Montrose, Cupar, Stirling, and Ayr. A great change, however, had taken place by 1695. An Act of Parliament passed in that year imposed the monthly cess of £1,800 Scots (£150 sterling) on Glasgow, placing it second, the first burgh being Edinburgh. None of the other burghs, which before stood higher than Glasgow did, then paid one-half that amount—a remarkable evidence of the rapid progress of the city.

But while Glasgow was thus contributing in more ways than one to the prosperity of Scotland, it suffered to an enormous extent from the ill-fated Darien scheme, which nearly caused national bankruptcy, and which certainly crippled the commercial energies of the country for many years. William Paterson, a native of Dumfriesshire, and founder of the Bank of England, had been able, by a highly coloured account of the wealth and commerce to be gained by the establishment of a company for the colonisation and development of the natural advantages of the isthmus of Darien, to draw from the Scottish people about £400,000 sterling, and that at a time when the whole circulating capital of Scotland is said to have only been double that amount. Paterson's idea was that by the establishment of a colony of Scotchmen in Panama, a port might be there founded at which the treasures of east and west might be exchanged, to the advantage of the merchants—especially to the advantage of the proposed community. The people of Scotland concurred in his view, and high and low hastened to embark their means in the adventure. The corporation of Glasgow, infected by the fever of speculation which had then overspread the country, risked the funds of the city. On the 5th March, 1696, the council, taking into consideration that the company for trading to Turkey and the Indies, established by Act of Parliament on the 26th June, 1695, seemed to be very promising, and might tend to the honour and profit of the kingdom, and seeing that royal burghs were empowered by Act of Parliament to take stock in the company, they resolved to do so to the value of £3,000 sterling. They afterwards granted a bond to the company for £750 sterling, one-fourth of their subscription; but more money seemed to have

been called up than was required, for in October, 1696, the directors lent to the town £500 sterling of its contribution, at four per cent. interest. Most, if not all, of the city merchants are believed to have invested in the concern. Several ships left Scotland in the three following years for the West Indies, with nearly two thousand men, many of them belonging to aristocratic families, to colonise Darien. On their arrival they founded what they called Caledonia, named its capital New Edinburgh, and erected a fort, known as St. Andrew's Fort. The English, however, were jealous of the adventurous Scots, and did all in their power to bring about the failure of the Darien scheme. The king—"William of Immortal Memory"—regarded it coldly. The English Secretary of State issued orders to the governors of Jamaica, Barbadoes, and New York, that no assistance of any kind was to be given the settlers. Famine and disease followed, and the Spaniards, by force of arms, completed the ruin, so that only a few of the emigrants survived to return to their native country. The news of the disaster seemed to have reached the council of Glasgow on the 29th June, 1700, for on that day mention is made of the event in their minutes. National bankruptcy was almost caused by the collapse of the scheme, and it is said that not until 1716 did the merchants of Glasgow so far recover their position as to possess ships of their own.

While these events were happening, one of the pioneers of printing in Glasgow died. This was Robert Sanders, who had succeeded Andrew Anderson in 1661, and who continued at work in the city until his death in 1696. In virtue of his subsidy from the Town Council, he made frequent use of the city arms on his title-pages, but he was much annoyed by the action of his predecessor, Anderson, who had been appointed king's printer. About the year 1672, Sanders published a black-letter edition of the New Testament; but, while he was engaged in the preparation of the work, Anderson persuaded his printers to desert him. The matter came before the Privy Council, who decided that every printer in Scotland had an equal right with Anderson to print the Testament, and Sanders accordingly finished the book. He was enterprising enough, afterwards, to bring workmen and material from Holland, and he produced a large number of works, principally of a theological character. On his death, his son, Robert Sanders, of Auldhouse, succeeded to the business.

On the 1st June, 1697, the magistrates let the dues payable at the Broomielaw for the sum of 1,300 merks (£72, 4s. 5⅓d. sterling); and in the same year they made arrangements for the support of the poor of the city by means of church-door collections and assessment. John Smith, dancing master, was

permitted, by an act of the Town Council, passed on the 11th November, 1699, to teach dancing within the burgh, on the express conditions that he was to do so at seasonable hours, have no balls, and not allow promiscuous dancing. In the following year, 1700, the community suffered severely from famine, brought on by the lamentable result of the Darien scheme. On the 13th September, 1701, it was agreed by the council to divide the city, which then contained 9,994 adults, into six parishes or "quarters"—the north, mid, east, south, south-west, and north-west. Each district contained only a few streets, and an idea of their extent may be gained when it is stated that the mid "quarter" extended from the Blackfriars Kirk to the Cross. Further restrictions were imposed upon the drinking habits of the people on the 20th November, 1701.

Under date of 21st November, 1701, a minute of the Town Council gives some very interesting information as to the financial condition of Glasgow. It shows that, notwithstanding the Darien failure, and the consequent famine, the city had been increasing in riches; and this is all the more evident on comparison with the figures for this year and those given by Provost Peadie to the commissioners from the Convention of Burghs in 1692. In this minute of 1701, it is stated that the income of the corporation during the previous financial year had been £21,175, 13s. 4d. Scots (£1,764, 2s. 9⅓d. sterling), and the expenditure is given at £24,289 Scots (£2,024, 1s. 8d. sterling).

The importance in which the city was held by those in authority may be assumed to have been great, for on the 10th October, 1702, the magistrates and council, considering that her majesty (Queen Anne) had been pleased to nominate Hugh Montgomerie of Busby, then provost, to be one of the commissioners to treat in the proposed union of the two kingdoms, agreed to bear the expense of his visit to London on that business.

Perhaps it may not be inappropriate at this point to refer to a matter which, while it has no direct bearing upon the city or its affairs, is at least interesting in its indirect relationship to Glasgow. The earldom of Glasgow was created under royal patent, dated 10th April, 1703, in favour of David, Lord Boyle. The noble house of which this peer was the representative had been connected with Ayrshire for fully four centuries prior to this time. Richard Boyle of Kelburne was married in the time of Alexander III.—whose reign extended from 1249 to 1286—to a daughter of Sir William Cumming, and his son Robert was one of the Scottish barons who in 1296 swore allegiance to Edward I. of England. Another of the Boyles of Kelburne was killed in

the battle before Stirling Castle in 1488, when King James III., for whom he fought, was assassinated by a pretended priest. James V. granted this soldier's son certain lands in the island of Cumbrae. One of the family was devoted to the interests of the unfortunate Queen Mary; while another shared the misfortunes of her ill-fated grandson, Charles I. The latter, named John Boyle, married a daughter of Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, and left three sons and a daughter. His heir, also named John, took to wife the daughter of Sir Walter Stewart of Allanton, in Lanarkshire; and it was in favour of his eldest son, David, that the earldom of Glasgow was created. David Boyle had been returned in 1689 by the County of Bute as its representative in the Convention of Estates, which declared William of Orange King of Great Britain. William made him a Privy Councillor, and in 1699 conferred on him the dignity of a baron, under the style of Baron Boyle of Kelburne, Stewarton, Cumbrae, Largs, and Dalry. Queen Anne, in 1703, created him Earl of Glasgow, Viscount Kelburne, and Baron Boyle of Fenwick, in the peerage of the United Kingdom. Afterwards the first Earl of Glasgow held several high offices of state in Scotland, and represented the Queen as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly. The peerage has now descended to a collateral branch of the family, and its representative in 1815 received the additional title of Baron Ross of Hawkhead.

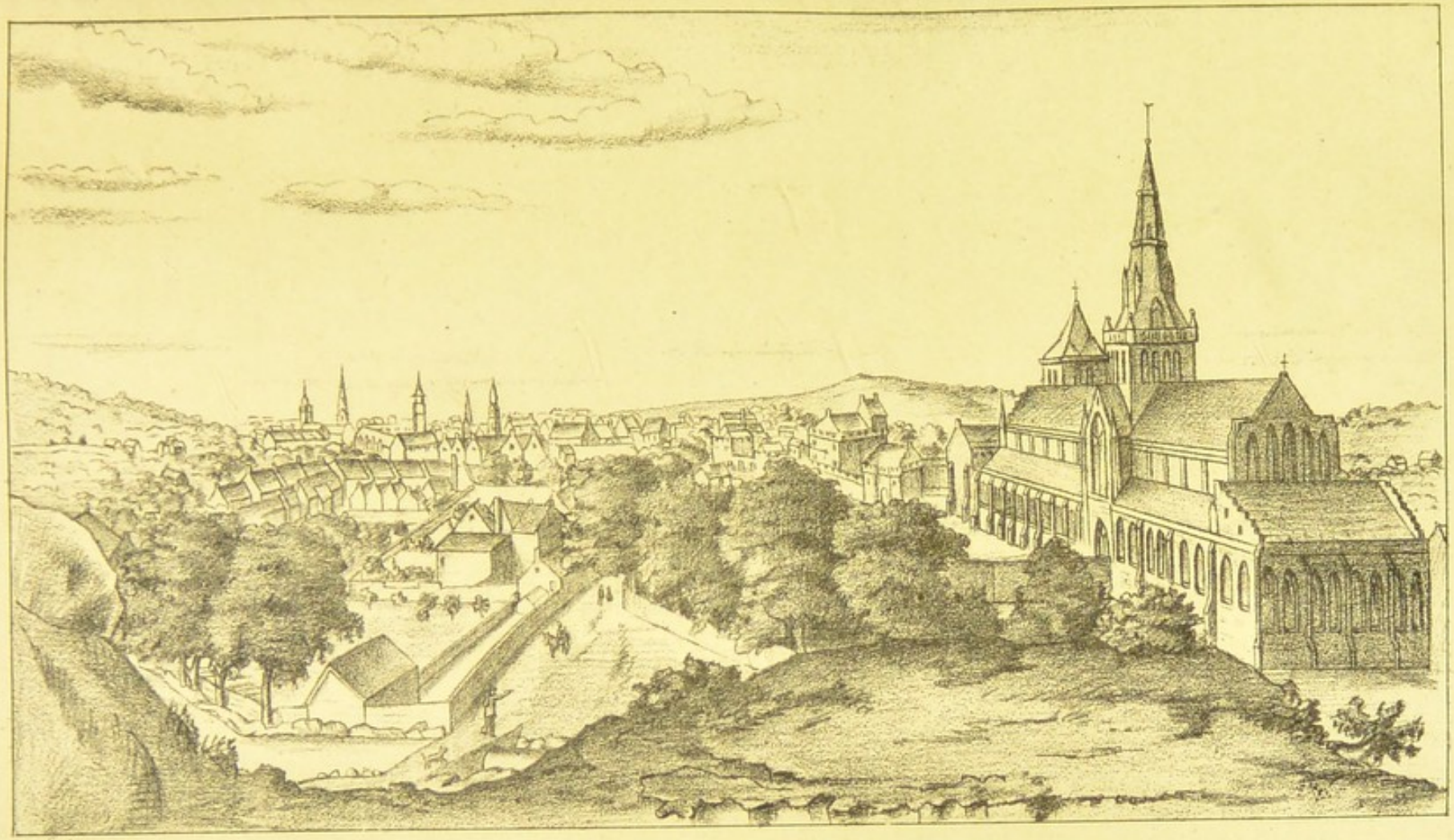
In 1705, Walkingshaw of Barrowfield purchased from the community of Glasgow some pasture land to the east of the city, then known by the name of Blackfauld, and he projected what was afterwards the village, latterly the burgh of Calton.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

(A.D. 1706.)

Glasgow at the Time of the Union—Its Neighbouring Burghs—Dumbarton—Greenock—Paisley—Renfrew—Rutherglen.

WHILE the progress of Glasgow has been traced step by step in the preceding chapters, it may be well, on the eve of such a noteworthy event as the union of England and Scotland, to view the city as it then stood, and see what was its position in reference to trade and commerce. In extent it had not greatly increased from the time of the Restoration, and it generally retained the same topographical features. The troubles of the



GLASGOW FROM THE NORTH EAST, ABOUT 1690.

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Covenanting period had left the city in a somewhat dilapidated condition; and the abolition of Episcopacy had brought about the decay of what was at one time the centre of the life of the community, and, following the Cathedral and the university, the most interesting of its buildings. The bishop's palace or castle was in ruins; but Glasgow continued to flourish under the cautious rule of a secular authority, and it only required national peace to develop its resources. It has been seen that prior to the Darien misfortune the city was in a comparatively high state of prosperity. The manufacture of tobacco, sugar-refining and soapmaking, had been commenced on a small scale, while fishcuring was the staple trade, and had been for a long time. But if Glasgow could at this time pride itself upon anything it was upon its beauty. All along it has been referred to by visitors as a city far superior in appearance to Edinburgh, "Scotia's Queen." Judging from a picture of it as it looked in 1693 from Firpark, now the Necropolis, it certainly was a remarkably pretty place; yet it may be gravely questioned if classical graces of expression are not too freely used, and imagination too lavish, in the following verses descriptive of it as it was at the close of the seventeenth, or beginning of the eighteenth century (M'Ure's *Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 119):—

"Glasgow, to thee thy neighbouring towns give place;
'Bove them thou lifts thine head with comely grace.
Scarce in the spacious earth can any see
A city that's more beautiful than thee.
Towards the setting sun thou'rt built, and finds
The temperat breathings of the western winds.
To thee, the winter colds not hurtful are,
Nor scorching heats of the canicular.
More pure than amber is the river Clyde,
Whose gentle streams do by thy borders glyde.
And here a thousand sail receive commands,
To traffick for thee into forraign lands.
A bridge of polish'd stone doth here vouchsafe,
To travellers o're the Clyde a passage safe.
Thyne orchards full of fragrant fruits and buds,
Come nothing short of the Corcyran woods.
And blushing roses grow into thy fields,
In no less plenty then sweet Pæstum yealds.
Thy pastures, flocks, thy fertile ground, the corns,
Thy waters, fish, thy fields the woods adorns,
Thy buildings high and glorious are; yet be
More fair within then they are outwardly.
Thy houses by thy temples are outdone,
Thy glittering temples of the fairest stone:
And yet the stones of them how ever fair
The workmanship exceeds which is more rare.
Not far from them the place of justice stands,
Where senators do sit and give commands.
In midst of thee Apollo's court is plac't
With the resort of all the muses grac't.
To citizens in thee, Minerva arts,
Mars valour, Juno staple wealth imparts;

That Neptune and Apollo did, its said,
Troy's fam'd walls rear, and their foundations laid.
But thee, O Glasgow! we may justly deem
That all the gods who have been in esteem,
Which in the earth, and air, and ocean are,
Have joyn'd to build with a propitious star."

In the *Dictionnaire Geographique*, published in Paris in 1705, the following paragraph, generally descriptive of Glasgow, finds a place:—"Glasco, Glasguou, Glascua, Glascovia, Glascum—Town of southern Scotland, within its western part, and within the province of Clydesdale, upon the river of Clyde, on the borders of the provinces of Cunningham and Lennox, with an archbishopric, which was established by Pope Sextus IV., and a small university, founded in 1454. The town is large enough, but thinly peopled, and without walls." Such was the French estimate of the city.

Cleland (*Annals*, Vol. I., p. 23) states that, at the period of the Union, Glasgow "was bounded by the original ports—viz., on the east, by the Gallowgate Port, which stood near to St. Mungo's Lane; on the west, by the West Port, near to where the Black Bull Inn is erected [at the head of Stockwell]; on the south, by the Water Port, near the old Bridge; on the north, by the Stablegreen Port, at the Bishop's Palace; and on the north-west, by the Rottenrow Port; the adjoining ground without the ports, and that upon which Bell Street, Candlerigg Street, King Street, Princes Street, &c., are now formed, being then cornfields; and even where a number of the streets were formed within the ports, there were but few houses built, and these chiefly covered with thatch. The population at this period was reckoned to be about 14,000 souls. The commerce and manufactures of Glasgow being then only in their infancy, the inhabitants were generally poor; the circulating medium, it would appear, was not very abundant, even with the higher ranks, for, subsequent to the Union, the community paid for the services of their members of Parliament."

The "neighbouring towns" of Glasgow, as the poet calls them, were, like itself, gradually rising into importance with the commercial advancement of the age. Some of them were very ancient, even of greater antiquity than their diocesan metropolis; but others were newly founded, and existed in little else than name. At this stage a short history of each may be interesting, the more especially as some of the older of them have been frequently mentioned in relation to the history of Glasgow itself.

Dumbarton, the ancient capital of the British kingdom of Strathclyde, and in its early days known as Alclwyd, was, in 1221, made a royal free burgh by Alexander II. Its history prior to the downfall of the Cumbrian kingdom has been traced in

the opening chapters of this work, and the events do not need to be again rehearsed here. After the fusion with the Scottish kingdom, Dumbarton played many important parts at different periods. A community of some size, and incorporated under a royal charter, it was in the time of Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, who occupied the episcopal throne from 1208 to 1232, checked in its encroachments upon the liberties of the city. Numerous disputes, however, occurred between the two burghs, but in most, if not all, Glasgow was victorious. Tradition credits the castle with having been visited by Wallace, the Scottish liberator; and during the time of Queen Mary's troubles it was one of the last of her strongholds. Captain Crawford of Jordanhill successfully surprised it in 1571, and since that time it has not been the object of any military manœuvres. In 1609, the town received a charter from James VI., conveying to it the right to levy customs dues upon shipping leaving the Clyde between the Kelvin and Loch Long; but this was the occasion of great heart-burning in Glasgow, and, ultimately, in 1700, the Town Council of Dumbarton sold to the Town Council of Glasgow the dues payable to the former burgh by all vessels coming into the Clyde of which the burgesses of Dumbarton were not owners. Glasgow paid 4,500 merks (£250 sterling); and it was agreed that vessels belonging to Glasgow and Port-Glasgow should not pay duties within the harbour of Dumbarton, while, on the other hand, the vessels of Dumbarton burgesses should be exempt from duty in the harbours of Glasgow and Port-Glasgow. Commercially, ancient Alclwyd had not made much progress; and in 1695, when Glasgow was paying a monthly cess of £1,800 Scots, Dumbarton only contributed £30 Scots, or £2, 10s. sterling in comparison with £150 sterling.

Greenock was at this time only beginning its history. Charles I. had granted, on the 5th June, 1635, a charter in favour of John Shaw, proprietor of the barony of Greenock, by which the village of Greenock was erected burgh of the barony. Charles II., in 1670, confirmed this erection by another charter, under which the superior was empowered to appoint officers for the government of the burgh. By 1674 the infant community is said to have had no less than 900 boats employed in the herring fishing, and about the same year its inhabitants exported 1,700 lasts—equal to fully 20,000 barrels—of herring. A Glasgow company, originated in 1667, had their blubber and curing works in Greenock. The burgh, though small, seems to have been possessed of a large spirit of enterprise. In 1696 and 1700, petitions were presented to Parliament for aid in building a harbour; but these were refused, because, it is hinted, of the jealous opposition of neighbouring royal burghs, who feared an encroachment upon their trade. A private agreement was,

however, made between the inhabitants of Greenock and their superior, by which a tax of 1s. 4d. sterling was levied on each sack of malt brewed into ale in the town, and shortly after the Union the harbour was begun.

Paisley, like Glasgow, owed its origin to a religious establishment. A monastery was founded in 1164 by Walter, Steward of Scotland, on the east bank of the Cart, and there does not appear then to have been any township in the vicinity. Prior to that time there is believed to have been a Roman station in the neighbourhood, known as Vanduara; but that village, if a village previously existed, seems to have been obliterated from the map. During the thirteenth century the religious community was raised to the dignity of an abbacy. Robert III., in 1396, granted to the abbot and monks certain lands in the barony of Renfrew, to be held from his majesty and his successors in free regality. Gradually, afterwards, a village arose on the side of the river Cart, opposite the abbey, and it was in 1488 erected by James IV. into a burgh of barony. The abolition of Roman Catholicism put the superiority of Paisley into the hands of Lord Claud Hamilton, third son of the Duke of Chatelherault, and it afterwards went into the Dundonald family. Ultimately, the superiors gifted their rights to the magistrates of the burgh; and in 1665 Charles II. granted a charter confirming to the council of the community the right of electing their own magistrates, and establishing a weekly market and two annual fairs. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Paisley is described as consisting of one principal street of about half a mile in length, from which a few lanes struck off. By that time, however, its inhabitants had devoted themselves to trading and manufacturing pursuits, and had attained to fame for the manufacture of thread. Christian Shaw, daughter of Shaw of Bargarren, whose talents led to the belief, in her young days, that she was bewitched, invented the spinning of fine yarn into thread, and the article having found acceptance in England, regular factories were started, and a profitable business founded. In the course of its history the burgh was frequently visited by the plague. The abbey was, as shown by the following verses, built or enlarged by George Shaw, one of its abbots, in 1484:—

> "Thy call it the abbot George of Shaw
> About my abbey gart mak this waw;
> An hundred four hundreth zeir
> Eighty-four the date, but weir
> Pray for his salvatie
> That laid this noble foundation."

Renfrew, though created a royal burgh as early as 1396, had made very little progress in trade or commerce. Its history is

comparatively uneventful. A curious deed was drawn up at Glasgow on the 21st October, 1580, from which it appears that the bailies, council, and community of the burgh of Renfrew agreed to become followers or military vassals of the Earl of Argyle, both in Scotland and Ireland, as he should have occasion, and against all parties except the king; and, in addition, the earl and his heirs were to have the nomination of the burgh magistrates and officers, provided his nominees were residents of Renfrew. No indication is given of what return Argyle was to make for these advantages; but, probably, they were granted owing to some family relationship with the ancient Stewards of Scotland, to whom this territory originally belonged. However, in 1703, Queen Anne, as coming in place of the Princes and Stewards of Scotland, granted, of new, a charter of royalty to the burgh. In the seventeenth century, it is said, vessels of small burden were built in the vicinity of the town. That industry did not continue long, and although the county town and a royal burgh, Renfrew was at this time principally dependent upon the active enterprise of Glasgow and Paisley, whose merchants gave employment to its weavers and other tradesmen.

Rutherglen, on the other hand, had had a chequered career, and the vicissitudes of its history have been productive of interesting antiquarian research. Ure (*Hist. Rutherglen*, p. 72) says that the origin of its name may be traced to Reuther, one of the early kings of Scotland. Whatever foundation there may be for this, it seems undoubted that the community was erected by David I., as early as 1126, into a royal burgh. There is reason to believe that at that time, and for a century or two later, Rutherglen was a place of considerable trade and importance; while the extent of its jurisdiction has been seen in the fact that, in 1226, Glasgow, then simply a small village dependent upon the bishops, was freed by royal charter from its customs. Indeed, Rutherglen was then the only town of importance in the south-west of Scotland. In the parish church, peace was concluded between England and Scotland on the 8th February, 1297; and here, also, Sir John Menteith is said to have contracted to betray Wallace to the English. Rutherglen Castle was accounted one of the fortresses of Scotland during the wars of Bruce; and, having fallen into the possession of the English, Bruce laid siege to it in 1309. The Earl of Gloucester raised the siege, but the castle soon afterwards was taken by Edward Bruce. Near the main street of the town is said to have been the scene of the incident between Queen Mary and the two field-workers, which may be here recalled. After the battle of Langside, the Queen made for Dumbarton, and she intended to cross the Clyde in the vicinity of Rutherglen, but while passing through a narrow lane, known as Din's Dykes, she and Lord Herries were stopped by

two men who had been mowing grass in an adjoining field, and whose uplifted scythes and threatening attitude caused her to retreat towards England. The Regent Moray burned the castle of Rutherglen, and, after various attempts at restoration, it was allowed to fall into utter ruin. The overshadowing influence of episcopal Glasgow, however, prevented anything like development of the resources and enterprise of the burgh, and it dwindled into a place of comparative insignificance. It was, nevertheless, the scene of the first outbreak of the Covenanters, who, on the 29th May, 1679, burned at the Cross the Acts of Parliament made against them, with the result that an armed force was sent to punish them. In 1695, Rutherglen paid a monthly cess of £12 Scots (£1 sterling), and it stood among the least of the royal burghs. At the time of the Union it was a quiet country town, with little pretension to importance.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

(A.D. 1706 to A.D. 1716.)

Union Riots in Glasgow—Some Effects of the Union on the City—The Population—A Bread Famine—Presentation of "Swatch of Plaids" by Glasgow to Royalty—Glasgow and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715*—Description of the City.*

THE proposals for union between Scotland and England, while they were supported by an influential class, found scant favour among the generality of the Scottish people, and that for several reasons. A confederation for trade was desired by all, but it was felt that union would mean the absorption of Scotland into the larger kingdom, and the destruction of the national independence. By the commissioners on the treaty of union, it was agreed that the Scotch should retain Presbytery as the national form of church government, and that their legal and municipal systems should remain unaltered. During the negotiations, however, the question of representation in the Imperial Parliament emerged, and as the number of Scottish representatives was to be only equal to one-thirteenth of the total number of members in the House of Commons, a great outcry took place against the whole scheme. Almost every party in the northern state had objection to some portion of the proposals, and the condition of the country bordered on rebellion. While the Scottish Parliament had the treaty under consideration at

the end of 1706, the populace showed their condemnation of the articles of union in a very pronounced and decisive manner.

In addition to the general feeling against union, the citizens of Glasgow had a particular cause of offence. Ever since the close of the sixteenth century, the Town Council of the city had returned a representative to the Scottish Parliament; but by the proposed treaty the community would only have one member in combination with Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Rutherglen. Little was needed to cause a tumult, and that little was supplied on Thursday the 7th November, 1706. The day was being observed as the Sacramental Fast. The Rev. Mr. Clark, minister of the Tron Kirk, preached a sermon suitable to the times, from the words:—"Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance" (Ezra viii. 21),—and he concluded by exhorting his hearers to be up and be valiant for the city of God. The drift of the discourse was thoroughly understood, and quickly acted upon. By one o'clock, two hours after the conclusion of the service, the city was in a state of the highest excitement, drums were beaten in the streets, and the mob thronged the thoroughfares. Nothing of a startling nature occurred that day, but on the following day, Friday, the 8th November, several of the deacons of the crafts, with a considerable following, proceeded to the Tolbooth. The deacons entered the council chamber, and demanded that Provost Aird should address a remonstrance to Parliament on the subject of the Union; but the provost declined firmly to do so, and he and others requested the leaders to disperse their friends and keep the peace of the city. When these returned to the street, and stated that Provost Aird had refused to comply with their request, the crowd, greatly augmented, threw stones at the windows of the council-house, and indulged in such excesses that the provost and his friends deemed it expedient to retire secretly from the building. The mob next attacked the provost's house, in the vicinity of the Stockwell Gate, and ransacked it of the arms it contained; while they also broke the windows of the house of a prominent citizen, the Laird of Blackhouse. Having done so their fury moderated, and the city subsided into a quieter and more orderly state. An address was signed by the people, the ringleaders of the tumult threatening those who refused to append their names to the document, and it was forwarded to Parliament. When the riots were over, Provost Aird returned from Edinburgh, where he had taken refuge.

But the peace was not of long continuance. A man whose name was Parker—and who is described by the celebrated

Daniel Defoe, the historian of the Union, as "a loose vagabond, profligate fellow, of a very ill character, a spinner of tobacco by employment, but a very scandalous person"—was committed to prison for offering for sale a musket which had been taken from the provost's house in the tumult of the 8th November. While he lay in the Tolbooth undergoing his sentence, several persons of a questionable character, among them a Jacobite publican named Finlay, were observed to hold communication with him through the prison window. The provost thought it advisable, to save the disturbance which seemed to be brewing, to discharge Parker, taking from him a bond for his reappearance. Aird's good intentions, however, were defeated, for when the "very scandalous person" informed his comrades of the state of matters, it was resolved that the bond held by the magistrates should be given up. To attain this, Finlay and his companions, who were numerous and whose apparent want of character led them to any excess, proceeded to the town-clerk's office next day, and demanded the bond. The magistrates, seeing that the mob had possession of the town, thought it prudent to order the clerk to deliver up the bond, and their action was attributed to fear by the assemblage outside. Accordingly, when Provost Aird left for his house, he was attacked by the mob, who threw stones and every available missile at him, roundly abused him, and compelled him to take refuge in a house. He was followed by some who seemed intent upon murdering him, but these, entering the house in which he was concealed, overlooked a bed folded against the wall, and in which the unfortunate provost was hid. When the search was over, he slipped out, and again sought safety in Edinburgh.

A reign of terror ensued in Glasgow, for the anti-unionists were in full possession. They searched for arms in the houses of those who were supposed to be favourable to the English. The magistrates were almost helpless, but seeing the turn affairs had taken, they resolved to do all in their power to put down the anarchy that existed. The city guard was to be doubled, and only the most faithful persons were to be employed on the duty at the Tolbooth; and, in addition, the local militia were secretly called out to preserve the peace. This was done, but a collision took place on the first night between the people and the guards. About nine o'clock a mob collected at the Cross, and Finlay was deputed to go into the council chamber to see what the magistrates were about. At the stairhead in front of the Tolbooth, he was stopped by the sentinel on duty, but in the struggle ensuing he got past. One of the militia arrived at this juncture, and he went to the assistance of the guard, by knocking Finlay down with the butt-end of his musket. The guard flew to arms,

expecting the disturbance which immediately followed, and by a bold manœuvre they cleared the streets.

The city was in comparative peace during the next few days, though Finlay had set up a guard in the vicinity of the Cathedral. The whole of the inhabitants were idle, and rumours were afloat that the people in Hamilton and elsewhere were in arms against the Union. Finlay supplied forty-five men with munitions of war, and with them he marched towards Hamilton. Parliament had, in view of the insurrectionary state of the country, suspended the Act of Security, and declared those who assembled in arms, without the Queen's special order, to be guilty of high treason. The messenger sent to Glasgow with this enactment read it at the Cross, but before he had finished the mob threw stones at him with such fury that he was driven wounded from the Tolbooth stair. One of the town's officers commenced where he left off, but he also was forced to desist. A third man continued the reading under the protection of the city guard, and, as he was interrupted, orders were given for the guard to disperse the rioters. Several of the people were knocked down, but in the time of need some of the tradesmen in the guard deserted, and left their more faithful comrades to the fury of the enraged multitude. The guardhouse was attacked and broken in upon, the men were disarmed and bruised, and the people were exultant. Their next act was to storm the Tolbooth itself, and after they had taken from it two hundred and fifty halberts, the property of the city, they returned to their own guardhouse at the Cathedral. In the afternoon some of them, well armed, searched many of the merchants' houses, took from them all the arms they could find, and, it is said, even helped themselves to the ordinary property of the citizens. The town was now in the hands of an armed force consisting principally of the lower classes, and the more respectable inhabitants felt their lives and goods were jeopardised. During the night, a strict guard was kept by the rioters, and the tattoo was beat round the city in military fashion.

The riots at Glasgow had now assumed such a serious aspect that the authorities in Edinburgh felt that military force must be used to suppress them. A detachment of dragoons and a party of grenadiers of the guard, under Col. Campbell, received orders to march on the city. Finlay was, with his force, now at Kilsyth, on his way to Edinburgh, and, having heard that Col. Campbell was approaching, he despatched a messenger to Glasgow to bring to his assistance four hundred men who should have joined him. These very wisely declined to enter the field, so Finlay had to retreat towards Hamilton. It would seem that a number of men had gone towards that place to help him, but at Rutherglen they held a meeting, which resulted in

their precipitate return to the city. Finlay, disappointed at their non-arrival, also returned. The rioters now began to think seriously of the awkwardness of the position in which they had placed themselves—from the time of the proclamation at the Cross they had been guilty of high treason—so they quietly laid down their arms and returned to their houses. Within two hours after this event the dragoons entered the city, and their first act was to apprehend Finlay and another of the ringleaders. They stood three hours with their prisoners at the Cross to see if any attempt at rescue would be made; but the people were cowed at their appearance, and though two of the bolder among them beat the assembling drum in some of the back streets, they refused to turn out. The consequences of their actions were now very apparent, and many considered it prudent for their personal safety to fly the city. Having secured their prisoners to horses, the soldiers marched towards Edinburgh that same afternoon, and when leaving the town a few stones were thrown after them.

The riot was now practically at an end, having lasted about four weeks, for although the mob assembled on the departure of the dragoons, and forced the magistrates to send to Edinburgh for the release of the prisoners, the demand was not complied with by the authorities there, and the Glasgow worthies had now such a vivid knowledge of what might befall them that they made no further demonstration. In the middle of December the soldiers returned to the city, and laid hold of some other persons. After the consummation of the Union these prisoners were liberated without further punishment.

The union of the two kingdoms, so long antagonistic, was safely accomplished on the 1st May, 1707, amid the discontent and gloomy forebodings of the greater proportion of the Scottish people. On the 22nd of April of that year, the Scottish Parliament ceased to exist, Ex-Provost Hugh Montgomerie being the last member for Glasgow. The Town Council paid his expenses—according to the custom of the time—at the rate of 6s. 8d. per day; and for his services from 8th October, 1706, to 15th March, 1707, he was paid the sum of £633 Scots (£52, 15s. sterling). His successor to the Imperial Parliament was Sir John Johnston, elected on the 23rd June, 1707, as the representative of the burghs of Glasgow, Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Rutherglen. The Darien disaster and the troubles which had preceded the Union had crippled to a large extent the foreign trade of Glasgow, which was principally with France and Holland; but one of the first effects of the Union was to give vent to the enterprise of the city merchants, who sent out goods to Maryland and Virginia, bringing back tobacco leaf in return.

Peaceable times enabled the inhabitants of Glasgow to look

around them, and see what was to be done for the future. In 1708, a census, ordered by the magistrates to be taken, revealed the population to be 12,766, being 1,912 less than it was at the Restoration in 1660, but 818 more than at the Revolution in 1688. Food at this time was at famine price. On the 22nd January, 1708, the Town Council considered a petition from the bakers, setting forth that, as the price of wheat was then £10 Scots (16s. 8d. sterling) per boll, they were unable to sell bread at the price to which they had been restricted by the council. It was agreed, therefore, that the twelve-penny loaf of fine flour should weigh eleven ounces and three drops, with other bread in proportion. Again, on the 29th March, 1709, the same subject came up. Wheat had advanced to £12, 10s. Scots (£1, 0s. 10d. sterling) per boll, and the bakers were authorised to reduce the weight of the twelve-penny loaf to eight ounces and fifteen drops. By the year 1712, the population of Glasgow had increased to 13,832, an increase of 1066 in four years; while the rental amounted to £7,840, 0s. 11d. The lower part of the town, in the vicinity of the Bridgegate and Saltmarket, was submerged, in 1712, by the Clyde overflowing its banks. The river rose eighteen and a half feet above the ordinary high tide level; but no serious damage was committed by the flood. In the two following years the magistrates had several times to regulate the price of bread in accordance with the price of wheat, which in July, 1714, was no less than £13, 10s. Scots (£1, 2s. 6d. sterling) per boll. On the 1st January, 1715, they complained that eight gipsies, who had been sentenced at Jedburgh, in the autumn previous, to transportation for some offences, had been sent to the Tolbooth of Glasgow until occasion offered for shipping them to the colonies, and that the citizens had had to bear the expense of their residence in the town. The matter was settled by an agreement with the owners of the ship "Greenock," and the gipsies were sent to Virginia at a total expense of £13 sterling, which the magistrates expected they would soon save by being rid of their unwelcome boarders.

Glasgow had been attempting new manufactures since the beginning of the eighteenth century, the most notable being linen and cotton checks and plaidings. There is an interesting entry in the Burgh Records, under date 26th August, 1715, relative to the manufacture of plaids. On that day, Provost Aird informed the Town Council that their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales, had frequently expressed their affection for the city of Glasgow, and he had therefore judged it not improper to send the Princess "a swatch of plaids as the manufactory peculiar only to this place, for keeping the place in Her Highness' remembrance, and which might contribute to the advantage thereof, and to the advancement of the credit of

that manufactory." He had sent some pairs of the best plaids in the city, and the Duke of Montrose, then chancellor of the university, had introduced Thomas Smith, dean of guild, and member for the Glasgow group of burghs, to the princess. Mr. Smith duly presented the plaids, and they were most graciously accepted. That the worthy member was delighted with his interview is apparent from the following quotation from his letter to the provost:—"She was extremely pleased with the complement, and said a great many kind things of the city of Glasgow—that she would make that use of the plaids as should keep you in her remembrance. I had the honour to kiss her hand; and when I was going out of her clossett, she said, pray, Mr. Smith, forgett note to return my hearty thanks to the magistrats of Glasgow for their fyne present."

When the Jacobite rising took place in 1715, Glasgow, though not actually involved in the turmoil of civil war, was at least ready to be so, and gave valuable aid to the government of George I. It was agreed by the magistrates and council, on the 26th of August of that year, to send an address to the king, offering to supply for his service a regiment consisting of 500 men, to be sustained for sixty days at the expense of the city. Lord Townshend, the royal secretary, replied, thanking the magistrates, on behalf of the king, for the offer they had made; but stating that effectual measures had been taken for the security and defence of the kingdom, without putting Glasgow to any trouble and expense. The chief magistrate of the city is, in this letter, addressed as "My Lord," a royal recognition of the title of Lord Provost. Proper steps were taken for the defence of the town in the event of an attack by the Highlanders; and, on the 18th of September, the magistrates were requested by the Duke of Argyle to send to him, at Stirling, five hundred men for the king's service, and he also asked them to inform the loyalists in the west country of the absolute necessity there was for all "fencible" men being gathered at Glasgow, so that he might have them whenever occasion should require. For the defence of the city, lines of entrenchments were dug around it, and the sum of £500 sterling was borrowed to meet the expenditure. Three hundred stand of arms were received in December, from Edinburgh Castle, for distribution among the volunteers; barricades were erected in the streets, and guns brought from Port-Glasgow were planted in advantageous positions. A large quantity of arms, found in a vessel in the harbour, believed to be for the use of the disaffected in the Highlands, was seized, and martial law reigned. While that was the state of matters existing within the city, the Glasgow regiment, under John Aird, the ex-lord-provost, was at Stirling. It had been left to defend Stirling Castle and Bridge when the king's troops met the

Jacobites on Sheriffmuir, and though in a position of great responsibility, there had been no necessity for their facing the enemy. Many of the prisoners captured by Argyle were sent to Glasgow, and were confined in the castle prison; but by the end of December the duke was requested to remove the 353 prisoners then on the "town's hand," and ease the town of the care and maintenance of them, in respect that the militia who had formerly guarded them had been disbanded, while the necessity of looking after them would weaken the city forces in the event of an attack. Argyle had visited Glasgow on the 5th December, and on the following day he had reviewed two regiments of dragoons, and examined the entrenchments on the west side of the town, at the Cowloan, now known as Queen Street. Fortunately, the speedy repression of the rebellion saved an attack upon Glasgow, and the warlike preparations were practically unnecessary. Col. William Maxwell, of Cardonald, had taken the command of the city guards and volunteers during the anxious time, and when he was no longer required, the magistrates and Town Council considered his services worthy of a special recognition. They presented him with a silver tankard, weighing "fourty-eight unce thirteen drop," at 7s. sterling the ounce; a set of sugar boxes, weighing fully nineteen ounces, at 8s. per ounce; and "a server wing," weighing fully thirty-one ounces, at 6s. 4d. per ounce—the whole account amounting to £35, 1s. 9d. The minute of presentation relates that he had undertaken the duties at the request of the magistrates, and had performed them from the 2nd October, 1715, until the 9th February, 1716.

An interesting account of Glasgow is given in *The Present State of Scotland*, published in 1715, and it may appropriately be quoted here. The author says:—

"The chief city of this county [Lanark] is Glasgow, the best emporium of the west of Scotland; it is a large, stately, and well-built city, and for its commerce and riches is the second in the kingdom; it is pleasantly situated upon the east bank of the river Clyde, which is navigable to the town by ships of considerable burthen, but its port is Newport Glasgow, which stands on the mouth of Clyde, and is a harbour for ships of the greatest burthen. The city obliges merchants to load and unload here: have a large publick house, and the custom house for all the coast is in this place. The city is joyn'd to the suburbs on the west bank of Clyde by a noble and beautiful bridge of eight arches built with square hewen stone. Most of the city stands on a plain, and lies in a manner foursquare; in the middle of the city stands the tolbooth, a magnificent structure of hewen stone, with a very lofty tower, and melodious chimes, which ring pleasantly at the end of every hour. The four principal streets

that divide the city into four parts centre at the tolbooth, and all of them are adorned with several publick buildings. In the higher part of the city stands the great church, formerly a cathedral, and called by the name of St. Mungo's church; it is a magnificent and stately edifice, and surprises the beholders with its stupendous bigness, and the art of the workmanship; it consists of two churches, one above the other, and the several rows of pillars and exceeding high towers, show a wonderful piece of architecture. Near to the church stands the castle, formerly the residence of the archbishop; it is encompassed with an exceeding high wall of hewen stone, and has a fine prospect into the city; but the chief ornament of this city is the college or university, a magnificent and stately fabrick consisting of several courts; the front towards the city is of hewen stone and excellent architecture; the precincts of it were lately enlarg'd by some acres of ground purchased for it by the king and the states, and it is separated from the rest of city by a very high wall. . . . It ought also to be mentioned for the honour of this city, that it has always, since the reformation, been very zealous for the protestant religion, and the liberty of the subject."

CHAPTER XXXV.

(A.D. 1715 TO A.D. 1730.)

The First Glasgow Newspaper—Manufacture of Tobacco, Soap, and Sugar—Improvement of the University—The Dwellings and Habits of the People—English Enmity to the Glasgow Tobacco Merchants—The Shawfield Riots and Imprisonment of the Lord Provost and Magistrates—Institution of a Spinning School.

IN one important respect the rebellion of 1715 was memorable for Glasgow, for, during its progress, the first newspaper was started in the city. Robert Sanders, of Auldhouse, was still printing and publishing books, for the most part of a religious and moral class. His shop was first in the Grammar School Wynd, but ultimately he removed to the Saltmarket. A brother craftsman, named Hugh Brown, had also settled in Glasgow, and among the works published by him was *The Jacobite Curse, or Excommunication of King George*, an octavo volume, dated 1714. Endeavours had been made to establish a printer in con-

nection with the university, as the authorities there were obliged to go to Edinburgh to have even one sheet rightly printed—not a favourable testimony to the productions of the local tradesmen. Donald Govan, a merchant, had gone into the business about 1714, under the benign patronage of the university; but somehow or other Brown had, in the imprint to the *Jacobite Curse*, called himself the university printer. The principal and professors were scandalised at having their institution in any way identified with this work, and after an interview with Govan, they issued a statement setting forth that Brown was not their printer, and that he had published the pamphlet without the knowledge and sanction of Govan, who seems then to have been Brown's employer. As Govan had received his appointment for a term of seven years, he would probably be the printer of the first Glasgow newspaper, which made its appearance on the 14th November, 1715. This was "*The Glasgow Courant*, containing the occurrences both at Home and Abroad: Glasgow, printed for R. T., and are to be sold at the Printing House in the Colledge, and at the Post Office, Price Three half-pence.—N.B. Regular customers to be charged only one Penny." The prospectus then issued bore that "this Paper is to be printed three times every week for the Use of the Country round; any Gentleman or Minister, or any other who wants them, may have them at the Universitie's Printing House, or at the Post Office. It's hoped this Paper will give satisfaction to the Readers, and that they will encourage it by sending Subscriptions for one Year, half Year, or Quarterly, to the above directed Places, where they shall be served at a most easie Rate. Advertisements are be taken in at either the Printing House in the Colledge, or Post Office. The Gentlemen in the Towns of Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Inverness, Brechen, Dundee, St. Johnstoun, Stirling, Dumbarton, Inverary, Dumfries, Lanerk, Hamiltoun, Irvine, Air, Kilmarnock, and Stranraer, are desired to send by Post any News they have, and especially Sea-Port Towns, to advise what ships come in or sail off from those Ports." The *Courant*, published on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, was a small quarto twelve-page paper; and the matter it contained consisted principally of extracts from London and foreign newspapers, while there were occasional letters, poetical effusions, and scraps of local intelligence. In the second number there was a letter from Ex-Provost Aird to the Lord Provost, detailing the movements of the Glasgow regiment at Stirling. The promoters seem to have considered the name inappropriate, for the fourth number was published under the title of the *West Country Intelligence*. It is believed not to have lived longer than May, 1716, sixty-seven numbers having been issued by that time. On one of the copies of this paper under its new name, the

imprint is:—"Glasgow. Printed, and are to be sold by Robert Johnston in his shop at the Cross; where advertisements are taken in." There was, however, no uniformity in this respect. Glasgow would, for the next quarter of a century, be indebted to the Edinburgh papers for news from the great world outside, and to rumour and the gossip of garrulous packmen for local or district intelligence.

The merchants and people of Glasgow had by this time felt the advantages of the Union, which, as already stated, opened up the American colonies to them. Their tobacco trade was assuming large proportions. Unable yet to supply themselves with ships, they chartered vessels belonging to Whitehaven to convey their finished goods to Virginia and Maryland, whence the tobacco leaf was brought in return, and manufactured to such advantage that Glasgow merchants had a monopoly of the French supply, and could even undersell the English merchants in their own markets. This was due, in a large measure, to cash transactions with the American producers, but it caused their southern rivals to raise the *fama* against them that they were not trading fairly. A complaint to that effect was made to the Customs Commissioners. Nothing came of it, however, and the trade continued so satisfactory that in 1718, Glasgow was again in possession of a ship of its own. This was a vessel of sixty tons, built at Greenock. Another industry, seemingly in a flourishing condition at this time, was the manufacture of soap. The company formed in 1667, though the fishing branch of their business had failed, had been highly successful with their soap manufactory, which was situated in the Candleriggs. The name of this street was derived from the fact that it was the locality of the soap and candle works of the city, and that it passed through a field which was let in "rigs" to the neighbouring residenters. The company was enterprising enough to be the first advertisers in the *Courant*, when they informed the public that "any one who wants good black or speckled soap, may be served by Robert Luke, manager of the Soaperie of Glasgow, at reasonable rates." The curing of herrings, and their export to France and Holland, continued to be extensively carried on. The sugar-refining trade was in a prosperous condition, but it, also, was subjected to a little annoyance by the authorities. The refiners of Glasgow and Leith had long enjoyed exemption from import duties, but in 1715, the Crown instituted a process against them for the byegone duties. They were found liable in the sum of £40,000 sterling; but, as the trade was unable to meet such a demand, negotiations were entered into with the result that the exchequer remitted the award on the condition that the manufacturers relinquish the privilege of exemption formerly held by them, and subject themselves to the operations of the excise.

Passing from the private adventures of the citizens, it may be well to see what the members of the Town Council were doing for Glasgow. In January, 1718, they received, through Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, the district member of Parliament, the sum of £735, 13s. 5d. sterling, voted by Parliament to defray their expenses in connection with the maintenance of the Jacobite prisoners at the time of the rising. Hitherto complete darkness had prevailed within the burgh after nightfall, but in this year the first street lamps were erected. They were of a conical form, and were supplied with tallow-wicks. In January, 1719, the city treasurer was instructed to pay William Stewart and his son, gardeners at the head of the Candleriggs, £108, 16s. 4d. Scots (£9, 1s. 4⅓d. sterling) for the damage done to their apple trees, gooseberry and currant bushes, &c., in the preparations then being made for the erection of what was afterwards known as the Ramshorn Kirk. On the 31st March, 1720, the magistrates and council, considering that the provost had to maintain a suitable position in the city, agreed to make him a yearly allowance to defray the expenses in furnishing wines for the entertainment of gentlemen who had occasion to wait upon him at his house. No doubt he would also be supplied with wines for exercising civic hospitality in the council chambers.

In scholastic matters the city had progressed greatly within the few previous years. The university was becoming more complete, and more fitted for the duties it was called upon to perform. At the beginning of the century its teaching staff consisted of the Principal, and seven professors, whose respective branches were—Logic and Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Greek, Divinity, Humanity, and Mathematics. By 1720, five additional chairs had been instituted:—Oriental Languages, in 1709; Physic, in 1713; Civil Law and Law of Scotland, in 1713; Anatomy, in 1718; and Ecclesiastical History, in 1720. Houses for the accommodation of the Principal and two Professors of Divinity had been erected when the university buildings were renewed and enlarged in the middle of the seventeenth century; and in 1720, steps were taken for the construction of houses for the other professors.

The people of Glasgow were then very simple in their habits. Their finest houses were such as might have been seen a few years ago in the vicinity of the High Street, Saltmarket, Bridgegate, and Main Street, Gorbals, and in respect of accommodation and general arrangement would now be considered insanitary. A self-contained house was almost unknown, the better classes contenting themselves with flats entering from a common stair. The only public room these dwellings contained was a dining room; but it was reserved for special occasions only, and a family ordinarily took their food in one of their bed-rooms. At

all meals the diet was of the most unpretentious, but plain and substantial, nature. The dinner hour was about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and after that the gentlemen of the family went to business, while the ladies devoted themselves to their household duties. Tea was taken about four o'clock in the afternoon; but the gentlemen, who rarely appeared at these repasts, repaired to their public-house clubs, where they drank, smoked, and talked until nine o'clock, when they went home as well as circumstances would permit.

But while the citizens of Glasgow were thus industriously attending to their own business, and becoming wealthy in consequence, their English rivals in the tobacco trade were doing all in their power to cripple their enterprise, and divert the profits from them to the coffers of the south. The merchants of London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Whitehaven, were still being undersold by the merchants of St. Mungo, and they made further representations to the Treasury, which amounted to charges against the Glasgow traders of defrauding the public revenue so as to be able to sell at lower prices. An inquiry was instituted in 1721 into the basis of these allegations, with the result that the Lords of the Treasury found "that the complaints of the merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Whitehaven, &c., are groundless, and proceed from a spirit of envy, and not from a regard to the interests of trade, or of the king's revenue." The English merchants appealed to Parliament, and Commissioners from the House of Commons were sent to Glasgow in 1722. The tobacco manufacturers of the city endeavoured to rebut the charges laid against them; but, in 1723, it is related by Gibson (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 208), new officers were appointed at the ports of Greenock and Port-Glasgow, who put the trade under such restrictions as successfully interfered with its prosperity. Bills of equity were filed in the Court of Exchequer against Glasgow merchants in relation to the cargoes of no less than thirty-three ships, and they had to declare upon oath whether or not they had imported in these vessels any, and, if so, how much, more tobacco than had been exported, and if they had faithfully paid the king's duty. This state of matters continued for several years.

A further development of the printing trade in Glasgow had taken place within the past few years. James and William Duncan had commenced business, in 1718, at the foot of the Saltmarket; and under the same year references are made to "James Duncan, letter founder in Glasgow." The types he used were very primitive in their form, but to his enterprise Glasgow is indebted for its first type-founder. The brothers continued in partnership for two years, and in 1720 they separated. William printed until 1738, among his works being Buchanan's *History of the Surname of Buchanan*, published in 1723. James was in business for a

quarter of a century later. Another printer was Thomas Crawford, who, in 1721, issued from his press an octavo volume on *The Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland.* The Town Council seemed willing to encourage literary effort within their jurisdiction; and, on the 21st September, 1723, they granted a small sum to James Robison, schoolmaster, for his encouragement in preparing and printing a little book entitled *A Dialogue Betwixt a Young Lady and her School Master, showing the right way of Sillabing.* The title itself was worth the grant.

The year 1724 is chiefly remarkable for the completion and opening of the Ramshorn, or St. David's Church, begun in 1721. It was the fifth church in Glasgow, and the fact that it was necessary for the accommodation of the inhabitants shows an increasing population. Candleriggs and King Street, then known as New Street, had been opened up in 1722, and the city was slowly spreading to the westward. The western suburbs were about to be formed; and, in 1725, Anderson of Stobcross prepared a plan for the erection of a village on his property.

In many respects the year 1725 was important in the history of Glasgow, and not the least noteworthy event of that year was the introduction into the city of the manufacture of white linen. Several gentlemen of substance entered into the venture, and brought the necessary workers from Holland and Ireland; but the progress of the new industry was at first very slow, and it was a considerable time before it attained to any great dimensions. Of a different character, but consequent upon the wealth which these additional manufactures were bringing to the city, was the institution of the Buchanan Society. A number of gentlemen, in the year 1725, formed themselves into a society for the purpose of assisting deserving widows and children of that name. While referring to such a benevolent institution, it may be stated that two years later, in 1727, another of a similar nature, the Highland Society, was instituted for the assistance of Highlanders and their children.

But certainly the event of the year which possessed the most immediate interest to the inhabitants, was the imposition of the malt tax. The revenues of Scotland were in an unsatisfactory condition, and it was considered proper by the Government to propose to the House of Commons the imposition of a tax of sixpence on every barrel of beer brewed in the country; but, as a bitter outcry followed the publicity of the scheme, the proposed impost was ultimately reduced to threepence. The Jacobites, who formed no inconsiderable section of the population, were then in a state of thinly "veiled rebellion," and they took every chance of annoying the Government by tumults and petty raids. This tax gave excellent opportunity for fostering

an agitation, and they did not fail to avail themselves of it. There were, however, other elements at work to make the people resist the imposition of the tax, the most important being that, as their favourite and almost only beverage was beer, its cost would be largely increased to them. The Scotch members of Parliament—among them Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, then member for the Glasgow district of burghs—had agreed to the modified tax of threepence per barrel, and it was accordingly approved by Parliament. The 23rd June, 1725, was the day fixed for it taking effect, and in Glasgow the excise officers were prevented from executing their duties by the action of crowds of persons strongly opposed to the measure. Next day the city was in an excited state, and the popular feeling was not improved by the appearance, about seven o'clock in the evening, of two companies of Lord Deloraine's Regiment of Foot, under the command of Captain Bushell. The magistrates gave orders for the preparation of the guard-house, then situated at the western corner of the Candleriggs and Trongate, for the accommodation of the troops, who numbered fully 100 men. The populace had hitherto shown the utmost contempt for the soldiers, and an attack was made upon the town's-officers while executing the orders of the magistrates. These officers were turned out of the guard-house by the people, the place was locked up, and the keys were carried away. Provost Miller, afraid of a collision between the military and the inhabitants, gave instructions for quartering the former throughout the city for the night; and he and his fellow magistrates, in company with Campbell of Blythswood, a justice of the peace, retired to the Tolbooth, where they waited until nine o'clock, but as no rioting seemed to be afoot, they adjourned to a tavern.

What has been related may be regarded as the introduction to most serious disturbances. Campbell of Shawfield had his Glasgow house in the Trongate, facing the Stockwell, and its site was on ground afterwards taken in the formation of Glassford Street. It was erected in 1711, and was perhaps the most elegant mansion in the city of which it was the westmost building. Campbell and his family had removed, on the 22nd June, to their country residence at Woodhall, a few miles distant, and it was believed by some that this movement was because of information he had received of the probable course of events. Whether it be the case or not that an attack upon his house in the Trongate was premeditated by the people is of no great importance, but it seems a rumour had become prevalent that Campbell had sent to Edinburgh for the troops. A large crowd, armed with hatchets and weapons of various kinds, made a sudden attack upon Shawfield's house. An alarm was carried to the provost and magistrates, who endeavoured to

persuade the rioters to desist; but the cry of "Down with Shawfield's house! No malt tax!" put the mob into such a frenzy that the mansion was soon completely gutted. The military seem to have been absent while this was taking place, for about midnight, when the magistrates were deliberating on their serious position, Captain Bushell sent a messenger to them asking if he should parade his men. The provost thought that manœuvre inadvisable. This occurred on the 24th June. Next day the passages of Campbell's house were shut up by order of the magistrates, and the troops obtained possession of the guard-house. In the course of the afternoon, crowds assembled in the Trongate, and, preliminary to another visit to the ruined mansion, they amused themselves by throwing stones at the sentinels in front of the guard-house. Captain Bushell, annoyed at this, ordered his men to form into a hollow square in the middle of the street, each side of the square facing the four streets which here centred—Trongate (east), Trongate (west), Candleriggs, and New or King Street. The crowd continued their stone-throwing, and the soldiers received the order to fire. This they did, and two of the towns-people fell dead. The provost and magistrates, then in the council chambers, sent a messenger to Bushell objecting to his having taken such an extreme step without their sanction, but the answer he returned was that he and those with him would not submit quietly to be knocked down with stones. The death of the two men so exasperated the people, that they broke open the doors of the town magazine and armed themselves, and the fire-bell was rung to alarm the city. Provost Miller, seeing the collision which must ensue would certainly result in the annihilation of the troops, requested Captain Bushell to withdraw. While the captain was acting upon the suggestion, the citizens in great force attacked his men, who again fired with fatal effect. At last they were able to retire to Dumbarton Castle. In these skirmishes nine people were killed and seventeen were wounded. Two of the soldiers were captured by the mob, but one made his escape, and the other was rescued from abuse by some of the more prudent citizens.

The *Caledonian Mercury*, an Edinburgh newspaper, in its issue of the 29th June, contained an account of the riots, and alleged that the provost and magistrates had been accessories to them, in that they had not used their proper influence with the people. The report threw the most damaging reflections on the authorities of this city. It was believed to have been prepared by the magistrates of Edinburgh, who had first offered it to the editor of the *Courant*, another metropolitan newspaper, but he declined to use it on account of the statements it contained, and it was sent to the *Mercury*. On the 7th of July, the magistrates

of Glasgow approved of their version of the riots being sent to the *Courant*, but the editor of that journal was ordered by the magistrates of Edinburgh not to publish it, under pain of imprisonment; and hawkers of printed copies of the Glasgow statement were put under a similar restraint.

The Government became alarmed at the serious nature of the disturbances, and on the 9th of July, General Wade marched on Glasgow with Deloraine's Regiment of Foot, six troops of the Royal Dragoons, a troop of the Earl of Stair's Dragoons, and a company of Highlanders. He had also with him one piece of artillery, and a large quantity of ammunition and stores. The Lord-Advocate, Duncan Forbes, accompanied this force for the purpose of taking precognitions concerning the riots. Nineteen persons were apprehended and lodged in prison, and on the 16th July, they were despatched to Edinburgh under the escort of Captain Bushell and the two companies he had with him during the progress of the disturbance. The Lord-Advocate also thought it proper to issue warrants for the apprehension of Provost Miller, Bailies John Stirling, James Johnston, and James Mitchell, Dean of Guild John Stark, and Deacon-Convener John Armour, all for complicity in the riots. They were imprisoned in the Tolbooth, bail being refused; and they were, on Saturday the 17th July, sent to Edinburgh in charge of a guard of the Royal Dragoons. Both the sets of prisoners arrived in Edinburgh on the afternoon of Monday, 19th July, and they were committed to the custody of the governor of the castle. Next day, the Lords of Justiciary unanimously granted the application of the magistrates to be admitted to bail; and on Wednesday, the 21st, two of their number returned to Glasgow. About six miles from the city they were received by two hundred citizens on horseback, who formed themselves into a guard of honour, and the magistrates' entry into "St. Mungo's Freedom" was triumphal in its character, bells being rung, and every other demonstration of joy being shown. The trial of the rioters took place before the High Court of Justiciary, when a man and a woman were sentenced to perpetual banishment, eight persons were liberated, and the others were whipped through the streets of Glasgow. The city magistrates raised a criminal process against Captain Bushell for the murder of those killed by the soldiers; but the Solicitor-General, in the absence of the Lord-Advocate, refused his concurrence, and the case fell through. Bushell, it is stated, was afterwards promoted to the command of a troop of dragoons.

Campbell of Shawfield, who had acquired a large fortune through having farmed the customs leviable in the Firth of Clyde, applied to Parliament, in 1726, for redress of the damage he had sustained during the riots, and the House of Commons

passed a resolution enabling the king to grant him the sum of £6,080 out of the supplies. The magistrates of Glasgow had, on the 31st July, 1725, forwarded to his majesty an address, in which was embodied their statement of the unfortunate occurrence. On the 14th of August following, a reply was received from the king's secretary, stating that he was sorry the magistrates' account did not agree with the one furnished by the Lord-Advocate. Now they had to repay the grant, and on the 26th April, 1726, it was agreed to raise the money by a tax on the ale and beer sold in the city. The money was afterwards borrowed, and repaid from these taxes. After this, Campbell, it is stated, purchased the island of Islay with the indemnity money, and thus founded the well-known family of the Campbells of Islay. Such were the Shawfield riots and their results, and their story certainly contains some curious points. Their whole cost to the city was something approaching £10,000.

Glasgow progressed peaceably during the next few years. Dean of Guild Stark, referred to in connection with the Shawfield affair, was, on the 25th September, 1725, refunded the £50 sterling he had paid in London for a fire-engine for the use of the city. On the 22nd January of the following year special precautions were ordered by the Town Council to be taken for the prevention of fires in sugar-houses. An act was passed by the council on the 11th March, 1726, relative to the manufacture of linen and cotton handkerchiefs, the special provisions of it being that false or loose colours were not to be used, and handkerchiefs were not to be made shorter in length than they were in breadth—they were, presumably, to be made square.

In October, 1728, an interesting appointment was made. The Town Council then approved of a contract between the magistrates and Susannah Smith, widow of the late Rev. Archibald Wallace, minister of Cardross, by which Mrs. Wallace was nominated mistress of the public school erected in the city for teaching girls "to spin flax into fine yarn fit for making thread or cambrick." The lady was to receive an annual "encouragement" of £30 sterling, granted by the Commissioners and Trustees of the Improvement of Fisheries and Manufactories in Scotland.

Within the next two years nothing very eventful occurred in the history of the city.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

(Circa A.D. 1727.)

Description of Glasgow by Daniel Defoe—Its Appearance and Manufactures.

Daniel Defoe, the celebrated author of *Robinson Crusoe*, made a tour through Scotland in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and he published an account of it in 1727. He appears to have taken great pains to inform himself on the various points of interest relating to the places he visited, and his description of Glasgow is remarkably complete. The following is what appears in the fifth edition of his *Tour*:—

"Glasgow is the emporium of the west of Scotland, being, for its commerce and riches, the second in this northern part of Great Britain. It is a large, stately, and well-built city, standing on a plain, in a manner four-square; and the four principal streets are the fairest for breadth, and the finest built that I have ever seen in one city together. The houses are all of stone, and generally uniform in height, as well as in front. The lower stories, for the most part, stand on vast square Doric columns, with arches, which open into the shops, adding to the strength, as well as beauty, of the building. In a word, 'tis one of the cleanliest, most beautiful, and best-built cities in Great Britain.

"It stands on the side of an hill, sloping to the river. Only that part next the river, for near one-third of the city, is flat, and by this means exposed to the water, upon any extraordinary flood. It is situated upon the east bank of the Clyde, which is not navigable to the town but by small vessels. Its port therefore is Newport-Glasgow, which stands near the Clyde's mouth, and is an harbour for ships of the greatest burden. Here it is, on a good wharf or quay, the merchants load and unload. Their custom-house is also here, and their ships are here repaired, laid up, and fitted out either here, or at Greenock, where work is well done, and labour cheap."

After referring to the "noble bridge" over the Clyde, the tolbooth and the Cross, the university and the cathedral, in terms which need not here be reproduced, Defoe proceeds:—

"Glasgow is a city of business, and has the face of foreign as well as domestick trade; nay, I may say, 'tis the only city in Scotland, at this time, that apparently increases in both. The union has, indeed, answered its end to them, more than to any

other part of the kingdom, their trade being new formed by it; for as the union opened the door to the Scots into our American colonies, the Glasgow merchants presently embraced the opportunity; and though, at its first concerting, the rabble of this city made a formidable attempt to prevent it, yet afterwards they knew better, when they found the great increase of their trade by it; for they now send near 50 sail of ships every year to Virginia, New-England, and other English colonies in America.

"But if this city could have a communication with the firth of Forth, so as to send their tobacco and sugar by water to Alloway below Stirling, as they might from thence again to London, Holland, Hamburgh, and the Baltic, they would very probably in a few years double their trade.

"The share they have in the herring-fishery is very considerable; and they cure the herrings so well, and so much better than they are done in any other part of Great Britain, that a Glasgow herring is esteemed as good as a Dutch one.

"I have no room to enlarge upon the home trade of this city, which is very considerable in many things. I shall therefore touch at some few particulars:

"1. Here are two very handsome sugar-baking houses, carried on by skilful persons, with large stocks, and to a very great perfection. Here is likewise a large distillery, for distilling spirits from the melasses drawn from sugars, by which they enjoyed a vast advantage for a time, by a reserved article in the union, freeing them from English duties.

"2. Here is a manufacture of plaiding, a stuff cross-striped with yellow, red, and other mixtures, for the plaids or veils worn by the women in Scotland.

"3. Here is a manufacture of muslins, which they make so good and fine, that great quantities of them are sent into England, and to the British plantations, where they sell at a good price. They are generally striped, and are very much used for aprons by the ladies, and sometimes in head-cloths by the meaner sort of Englishwomen.

"4. Here is also a linen manufacture; but as that is in common with all parts of Scotland, which improve in it daily, I will not insist upon it, as a peculiar, here, though they make a very great quantity of it, and send it to the plantations, as their principal merchandize. Nor are the Scots without a supply of goods for sorting their cargoes to the English colonies, without sending to England for them; and it is necessary to mention it here, because it has been objected by some, that the Scots could not send a sortable cargo to America, without buying from England; which, coming through many hands, and by a long carriage, must consequently be so dear, that the English merchants can under-sell them.

"It is very probable, indeed, that some things cannot be had here so well as from England, so as to make out such a sortable cargo as the Virginia merchants in London ship off, whose entries at the custom-house sometimes consist of two hundred particulars, as tin, turnery, millinery, upholstery, cutlery, and other Crooked-Lane wares; in short, somewhat of every thing, either for wearing or house-furniture, building houses or ships.

"But though the Scots cannot do all this, we may reckon up what they can furnish, which they have not only in sufficient quantities, but some in greater perfection than in England itself.

"1. They have woolen manufactures of their own, such as Stirling serges, Musselburgh stuffs, Aberdeen stockens, Edinburgh shalloons, blankets, &c.

"2. The trade with England being open, they have now all the Manchester, Sheffield, and Birmingham wares, and likewise the cloths, kerseys, halfthicks, duffels, stockens, and coarse manufactures of the north of England, brought as cheap or cheaper to them by horse-packs, as they are carried to London, it being at a less distance.

"3. They have linens of most kinds, especially diapers and table-linen, damasks, and many other sorts not known in England, and cheaper than there, because made at their own doors.

"4. What linens they want from Holland or Hamburgh, they import from thence, as cheap as the English can do; and for muslins, their own are very acceptable, and cheaper than in England.

"5. Gloves they make better and cheaper than in England; for they send great quantities thither.

"6. Another article, which is very considerable here, is, servants, whom they can transport in greater plenty, and upon better terms, than the English, without the scandalous art of kidnapping, wheedling, betraying, and the like; for the poor people offer themselves fast enough, and think it their advantage, as it certainly is, to serve out their times soberly in the foreign plantations, and then become diligent planters for themselves; which is a much wiser course, than to turn thieves, and then be transported to save them from the gallows. This may be given as a reason, and, I believe, it is the only one, why so many more of the Scots servants who go over to Virginia, settle and thrive there, than of the English; which is so certainly true, that, if it holds on for many years more, Virginia may be rather called a Scots than an English plantation.

"I might mention many other particulars; but this is sufficient to shew, that the Scots merchants are not at a loss, how to make up sortable cargoes to send to the plantations; and that, if we can outdo them in some things, they are able to outdo us in

others. If they are under any disadvantages in the trade I am speaking of, it is, that they may not, perhaps, have so easy a vend and consumption for the goods they bring back, as the English have at London, Bristol, or Liverpool; for which reason, they have lately set up a wharf at Alloway in the Forth, whence they send their tobacco and sugars thither by land-carriage, and ship them off from thence for Holland, Hamburgh, or London, as the market offers; and indeed they carry on a profitable trade with England in tobacco, which, from the difference of duty, &c., they do with no small advantage.

"Now, though the carrying their tobacco and sugars several miles over land may be some disadvantage; yet, if on the other hand, it be calculated, how much sooner the voyage is made from Glasgow to the capes of Virginia, than from London, the difference will be made up in the freight, and in the expense of the ships, especially in time of war, when the chanel is thronged with privateers, and the ships wait to go in fleets for fear of enemies; for the Glasgow vessels are no sooner out of the firth of Clyde, but they stretch away to the north-west, are out of the road of the privateers immediately, and are often at the capes of Virginia before the London ships get clear of the chanel. Nay, even in times of peace, there must always be allowed one time with another, at least fourteen or twenty days' difference in the voyage, both going out and coming in, which, taken together, is a month or six weeks in the whole voyage; and, considering wear and tear, victuals and wages, this makes a considerable difference in the trade.

"One thing still I must take notice of, before I quit Glasgow. I have mentioned, more than once, the duties laid on ale and beer sold in divers towns in Scotland, for the benefit and public emolument of the said towns; but have here to take notice of the like duty laid for a different purpose, that is to say, for a punishment. The case was this:

"When the malt-duty was extended, for the first time, to Scotland, it occasioned much murmuring; and particularly Daniel Campbell, Esq., who lived at Glasgow and was member for that town, having given his vote for it in parliament, the populace rose, entered his house, destroyed all his goods and furniture, and committed other acts of violence and outrage.

"This the legislature resenting, as a defiance of lawful authority, an act passed, in the 12th of King George I., 1725, to take from the town of Glasgow the benefits of an act before passed, for laying a duty of two penies Scots on every pint of ale or beer brewed for sale in the said city, and its privileges; and vesting it, for the remainder of the term, which was for thirteen years to come (viz., from 1725 to 1738), in his majesty, to be put under the commissioners of excise, in order to raise the sum of £6,080, for

satisfying the damages and losses sustained by Mr. Campbell in the said riot; but it provided, that when the said sum was paid, the duty of two penies Scots was to return, for the remainder of the term, to the magistrates, for the purposes for which they were originally granted. This occasioned no good blood, it may be believed, between the city and Mr. Campbell; but yet, this was not the last time this city had the honour to be represented in parliament by the same gentleman, as it is joined with the burghs of Renfrew, Ruglen, and Dunbarton!—So placable, and so forgiving, are the generous Scottish nation; or, at least, so little title has the city of Glasgow in particular to the national motto of Scotland! Nor did this good behaviour of theirs turn out to its disadvantage; for, in the 9th of George II., a new act passed, continuing the former act for twenty-five years longer, and extending it to the villages of Gorbells, and Port-Glasgow, both which places were in the jurisdiction of the city, and reaped all their advantages from its neighbourhood; the latter especially, at which the people of Glasgow had built, and constantly maintained, a very commodious harbour, and yet were neither of them in the former act."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

(A.D. 1730 TO A.D. 1745.)

Commerce and Manufactures—Erection of the Town's Hospital—Presentation of the Statue of King William III. to the City—M'Ure's "View of the City of Glasgow"—Deepening the Clyde—Dr. Alexander Carlyle's Opinions Concerning the City and its Inhabitants—Robert Wodrow, the Historian of the Church.

GLASGOW was now becoming a place of manufactures. Its people were inspired by the spirit of commerce and trade, and they were willing to enter upon whatever exhibited any prospect of success. They were busy in the endeavour to extend the local industries, and to engage in augmented traffic with foreign countries; and in the period from 1730 to 1745, a large number of new branches of business was introduced into the city.

In the year 1730, the first glass-bottle work was erected, on ground fronting the river, near the foot of what is now Jamaica Street, though that thoroughfare was then non-existent. The site of the present Custom House was probably the location of

the works. The trade, however, was so exceedingly limited that the workmen were only employed four months in the year. This work was erected on what was then known as the Old Green —a strip of land parallel to the river, extending from Stockwell Street to Jamaica Street, then, and for some years later, a fashionable promenade. According to Cleland (*Rise and Progress*, App., p. 273), the banks of the Clyde at the Laigh Green were rugged in 1730, and its bed was very unequal. During that year, James Moor, a land-surveyor, under the direction of Lord-Provost George Murdoch, made a plan of the Green and the portion of the river adjoining it; and from that plan it appeared that the extent of the ground was fully fifty-nine acres, and that there was an island in the Clyde of fully an acre in extent. The Merchants' Lane, leading off the Bridgegate, was then used as a horse-road to a ford, which came out on the Gorbals side, near the place where the Union Railway bridge is now situated. The principal salmon shoots then on the river were at the island referred to, and on a bank in the vicinity of the present Rutherglen Bridge. The first bleachfield connected with the city was commenced in this year, at Wellhouse, under the patronage of the Trustees for Manufactures.

In the following year, 1731, the Bank of Scotland established a branch in Glasgow. This concern was originated by Paterson—the promoter of the Darien Expedition, and the founder of the Bank of England—in 1695; and, in 1697, the managers sent a branch to Glasgow, but as it was unsuccessful, it was withdrawn in the same year. The reason for the failure was that Glasgow merchants had really no use for such an establishment. However, in 1731, the directors of the Bank of Scotland seemed to consider that the rapidly increasing commerce and trade of Glasgow would have rendered a bank necessary, and they accordingly re-established their branch. On this occasion, as on the former, the step was premature, not so much on account of small trade and the poverty of the merchants, as because the city traders, when in need of money, could obtain it from private bankers. This is shown from an advertisement which appeared in the Edinburgh *Evening Courant*, in July, 1730, stating that James Stewart, merchant, at the head of the Saltmarket, in Glasgow, was willing to negotiate with all persons who had occasion to buy or sell bills of exchange, or wanted money to borrow, or had money to lend at interest. Probably, there would be one or two more of this class of traders, and there would consequently be no room for the Edinburgh bankers. In the September of this year, the Town Council bought "spinning wheells, and chack wheells, and chack reells," for use in the Girls' Spinning School. The manufacture of thread was also begun on a small scale.

The manufacture of what are known as inkle-wares was commenced in Glasgow in 1732, by Alexander Harvey, a city merchant. He had the enterprise to go to Holland, the seat of the manufacture, and, having purchased two looms, and engaged an experienced Dutch workman, he returned to Glasgow, where he introduced the trade, then totally unknown in Great Britain. It was very successful from the first, but, unfortunately, the Dutchman quarrelled with his employer, and making his way to Manchester, he initiated the people there into the mysteries of the trade. The patrons of Hutcheson's Hospital, in 1743, sold to the Inkle Factory Company three roods of ground in the Ramshorn yard, at a yearly feu of £33, 15s. Scots (£2, 16s. 3d. sterling), and this transaction would probably be due to an extension of business. Of another kind, but no less important in its results, was the institution in this year of the Smithfield Company, for the manufacture for export trade of ironmongery goods, such as nails, hinges, axes, hoes, spades, locks, &c. It is probably the premises of this company that M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 257) describes as being "built on an eminency near the north-side of the great key, or harbour, at the Breamielaw," and of which he states the proprietors to be Bailie John Craig, Robert Luke, goldsmith and city treasurer, and Allan Dreghorn, deacon of the Incorporation of Wrights. He says it is "a great building of ashler-work for accommodating a great manufactory of all sorts of iron work, from a lock and key to an anchor of the greatest size." Developing their resources still further, the Glasgow merchants in this, or the preceding year, opened a trade in sugar and rum with the West Indies.

The year 1733 is chiefly notable to Glasgow on account of the erection of the Town's Hospital. It was built at the joint expense of the Town Council, General Session, Trades House, and Merchants House, and from assessments, for the purpose of accommodating the poor, who, under the system of out-door relief hitherto pursued, were becoming rather burdensome on the community. It was opened on the 15th November, 1733. The building is thus enthusiastically, though incoherently, described by M'Ure (*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 251), who wrote three years after its erection:—"As you walk westward from the great bridge [now Stockwell Bridge], towards the stately harbour of the city, stands the most celebrated hospital built by the city of Glasgow for alimenting and educating one hundred and fifty-two poor decayed old men, widows, and orphans of this city. The building is of modern fashion, and exceeds any of that kind in Europe, and is admired by strangers, who affirms that Sutton's hospital called the charter-house at London, which indeed is a noble foundation: but the house neither of that, nor Christ's Church, or any thing of that kind at Rome or Venice,

comes not up to the magnificence of this building, when it is finished, resembling more like a palace, than a habitation for necessitous old people and children. I confess Heriot's hospital at Edinburgh is more embellished over the windows thereof. Our hospital is likewise accommodated with a fine well, and stately garden, fenced round with a curious wall of ashler work, together with a handsome chapel and hall for the poor people and boys to eat in." While engaged in looking so well to the interests of their own poor, the community of Glasgow did not fail to lend a helping hand to distressed neighbours, and a disastrous fire having occurred in Paisley in this same year, 1733, the Town Council of the city voted £40 sterling to the sufferers.

The magistrates of Glasgow had, in 1729, sold the lands of Provan, consisting of 2,012 acres, which had come into their possession after the Reformation, for the sum of £64,495, 12s. Scots (£5,374, 12s. 8d. sterling), and an annual feu-duty of £103, 8s. sterling. In the year 1734 they appointed the first Bailie of Provan.

The equestrian statue of King William III. at the Cross was erected in 1735, having been presented to the city by one of its natives, James Macrae, then Governor of Madras. The venerable M'Ure became poetic over the event, and, prompted more by zeal for the Protestant cause than by the "Divine afflatus," he constructed a poem of fifty-four lines, commencing—

> "With grateful hearts the statue we receive
> Of great King William glorious and brave,
> Nassaw the Prince of Orange, by heav'n design'd,
> To curb the proud oppressors of mankind,
> With generous thoughts of liberty inspir'd,
> And against tyrants and oppressors fir'd."

(*Hist. Glas.*, M'Vean's Ed., p. 256.) At this period the town's herd drove the cows belonging to the burgesses to the north-west common, in the neighbourhood of Port-Dundas Road, by way of Cow Loan, now Queen Street, and Cowcaddens, then pasture land, where the cows were milked. The city treasurer's accounts for this year, 1735, show a sum paid to Walter Lang, taxman of the multures and "trone," to refund the loss he had sustained by "steel milns set up in Calton." A small sum was also paid to Robert M'Kell, a stranger millwright, for having made a machine for slitting, clipping, and rolling iron. The entry relating to Lang may possibly refer to a manufactory established in the Calton that year for making turret-bells, of which several were then cast bearing the inscription—"Ferrie, Fecit, Calton." Glasgow had by this time become noted for the manufacture of saddles, an industry begun in 1725, but which until 1735 was in a poor condition.

After having come through a period of great depression, owing to the restrictions imposed by Parliament, the Glasgow tobacco merchants encountered the returning tide of revival in 1735. They established agents and partners in the tobacco-producing colonies, and conducted their business upon a more extensive scale than formerly. The Clyde shipping of this year numbered sixty-seven vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 5,600 tons. The destination of fifteen of them was Virginia; four were for Jamaica; two for Antigua; two for St. Kitts; six for London; three for Boston; four for the Straits Settlements; one for Gibraltar; one for Barbadoes; two for Holland; and seven for Stockholm. The others were employed in the river, coasting, and Irish trades.

The year 1736 is interesting on account of the fact that then the first history of Glasgow was issued by John M'Ure, the clerk to the Register of the Sasines of the burgh. M'Ure was born about the year 1651, and had family relationship with some of the local gentry. Little is known concerning his life, and the little he has supplied in his own book is confused and unintelligible. However, after occupying the post mentioned for some years, he seems, in the decline of his days, to have conceived the idea of issuing a history of his native city—an idea hitherto unacted upon, and one which his official position gave him considerable facilities to carry out. This work was published, as already stated, in 1736, when its author would be in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and it is entitled—*A View of the City of Glasgow; or, an Account of its Origin, Rise, and Progress, with a more particular Description thereof than has hitherto been known.* The title-page further conveys the information that the book is "illustrated with many curious and useful Observations and Reflections;" and that the facts it contains had been "collected from many antient Records, Charters, and other antient Vouchers, and from the best Historians and private Manuscripts." The imprint is—"Glasgow; Printed by James Duncan, Printer to the City, and are sold at his shop, near Gibson's-Wynd, in the Saltmarket Street, MDCCXXXVI." It is dedicated to the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the city for 1736; and on the 4th October of that year, the author presented a petition to the Town Council craving from them "some consideration for defraying his charges in putting forth a book which he calls *The Hystory of the Present State of the City.*" The petition was remitted to the annual committee, and was, in all likelihood, favourably received.

This is neither time nor place to refer to the literary merits or demerits of M'Ure's history. The facts remain that it was the first attempt to collect together what would form an account of the city; that the materials could not have been obtained

then without an extraordinary amount of labour; and that as the book has been, and must necessarily be in the future as it has been in the past, the primary foundation upon which the subsequent historians of Glasgow have constructed their works, it would be ungracious, probably unjust, to criticise it on modern lines.

The most valuable feature of M'Ure's history is the account he gives of the appearance and the trade of Glasgow in his own time; and the following general summary of it may prove acceptable.

The city of Glasgow is stated by M'Ure to have been, at the date of the publication of his history, 1892 ells in length from north to south, a measurement which will be better understood when it is stated to be about equal to a mile and one-third: while the extreme breadth of the city, from the west end of Rottenrow to the east end of Drygate, was about three-quarters of a mile. The Molendinar Burn skirted the north-eastern portion of the town, crossed the Gallowgate, ran close to the east side of the Saltmarket, and joined the Clyde on the south side of the Bridgegate. It was crossed, within the city, by eight stone bridges. St. Enoch's Burn, which had its course on the west side of the city, was crossed by three stone bridges, before its waters mingled with the Clyde, at a little to the west of what was then the only Glasgow bridge across the Clyde, but the successor of which is now designated as Stockwell Bridge. Glasgow was then in possession of three parks. The first was known as Craig's Park, on the side of the Molendinar, opposite the Cathedral, which then, as now, was the property of the Merchants House. It had, some time prior to 1736, been planted with fir trees, from which it derived what is perhaps the better known name of Firpark. There was, second, the New Green, "adorned with pleasant galleries of elm trees," but now called Glasgow Green. It was 2,500 ells, fully a mile and three-quarters, in length. In the summer months two or three hundred women were to be seen at a time bleaching on it the clothes they had washed in the Clyde; and there was built on it a lodge for the accommodation of the town's-herd, who watched the cattle grazed upon this portion of the burgh lands. The Old Green, as it was called, extended from the foot of Stockwell to the site of the present Jamaica Street. It was ornamented by a hundred and fifty trees; in it was a rope-work, giving employment to about twenty men; and at the west end of it, as mentioned in a preceding page, was the glass-work. The city was accommodated with four malt mills, paying yearly seven or eight thousand merks, about £400 sterling. There were eleven or twelve coal-pits within two miles of the burgh; there were sixteen public, and several private wells in the city; there was abun-

dance of free-stone to be had from quarries in the vicinity; there was a plentiful supply of slates, from Bute, "perhaps the most beautiful in the world, they being, as it were, set with diamonds and chrystal;" and timber was brought from Norway in sufficient quantities. Here is a delightful picture:—"The city is surrounded with corn-fields, kitchen and flower gardens, and beautiful orchyards, abounding with fruits of all sorts, which by reason of the open and large streets, send forth a pleasant and odoriferous smell" (M'Vean's Ed., p. 122). The salmon fishing was then on the decline, "by reason of lyming of land and steeping green lint in the river, which kills the salmon." There were twenty stone bridges, twelve within and eight without the city, built by the inhabitants; there were eight gates; ten principal streets; and seventeen lanes or wynds. The High Street and High Kirk Street were about three-quarters of a mile in length; Drygate Street, about half a mile in length, contained the Glasgow residence of the Duke of Montrose; Rottenrow Street was about one-third of a mile long; Gallowgate Street was nearly three-quarters of a mile in length, and seems to have been principally occupied by the better-class merchants and lawyers of the city; Saltmarket Street, about a quarter of a mile long, was also a fashionable quarter, and contained "the great and stately tenement of land built by the deceast Walter Gibson, merchant and late provost of Glasgow, standing upon eighteen stately pillars or arches, and adorned with the several orders of architecture. . . . This magnificent structure is admir'd by all foreigners and strangers" (M'Vean's Ed., p. 126); Gibson's Lane, or Princes Street, was occupied by the best people of the city, in addition to accommodating the Post-office of the time; Bridge Street, or Bridgegate Street, contained several of the residences of important tradesmen and merchants, among the latter being Colin Campbell of Blythswood; Stockwell Street was then comparatively new, and contained the city houses of several of the landed gentry of the district; and St. Enoch's Street, or Trongate, was very fashionable, on the line of it being the house built by Campbell of Shawfield, and adverted to in a previous chapter, then possessed by Col. Wm. M'Dowall of Castle-Semple, together with the guard-house, the flesh-market, and, of course, the Tron Kirk and the Tolbooth. This concludes M'Ure's list of the ten principal streets; and the names of the seventeen wynds or lanes need only be mentioned:—Limmerfield Wynd, from Drygate to High Kirk Street; Greyfriars Wynd; New Vennel; Grammar School Wynd; Blackfriars Wynd; Bell's Wynd, which "hath a noble gate and entry of curious workmanship that excells all others in the city;" Old Vennel; King's Street; Spoutmouth Wynd; Bakers' Wynd, or St. Andrew Street;

Armour's Wynd; Main's Wynd, or Back Wynd; New Wynd; Old Wynd; Aird's Wynd, or Goosedubs; Moodie's Wynd, and St. Enoch's Wynd. Curiously enough there is no mention made of Candleriggs Street, which had been formed some time prior to 1736. This is the illustration which M'Ure (M'Vean's Ed., p. 133) uses to describe the shape of the city:—"The five large streets of this city may be justly compared to a double wooden comb, viz., the street, the wood in the middle, and the teeth of each side, the closses or small lanes." This author also gives a list of 144 shopkeepers then in the city. The "public works" he enumerates are:—Wester Sugar Work, in Stockwell Street; the Easter Sugar Work, in Gallowgate; the South Sugar Work, at the foot of Stockwell Street; the King Street Sugar Work; the Rope Work on the Old Green; three tanyards and a brewery on the Molendinar; an iron work at the Broomielaw; tobacco spinning factory in King Street; a linen manufactory; and "the little sugar-house" in King Street.

So much for M'Ure. He died in 1747, in the ninety-sixth year of his age.

In the year 1736 the music bells in the Cross Steeple were finished, the cost of them having been £316, 1s. 9d. sterling; and, in 1739, the erection of St. Andrew's Church was commenced. On the 20th October, 1739, it was remitted by the Town Council to the magistrates to obtain authentic copies of the city charters and papers, which had been carried away at the Reformation in 1560 by Archbishop Beaton, and which were then deposited in the Scots College at Paris.

On the night between the 13th and 14th days of January, 1739, a violent storm burst over the city, and caused so much damage to the Cathedral that the magistrates made application to the Exchequer for £400 sterling to assist in repairing the church. In the November of this year a company, consisting of some of the principal merchants of Glasgow, was started, under the name of the Glasgow Cattle Slaughtering Company, but in the February of 1740 the firm ceased operations. The Cattle Market was at this time outside the West Port, a little to the westward of the Trongate end of Stockwell Street; beef was 2d. the lb.; and the price of cattle was so low that this company was able to buy fifty head of cattle for the slump sum of £100 sterling.

The population of Glasgow was, in the year 1740, no less than 17,043, being an increase of 3,211 over the return for 1712. The magistrates and Town Council appear to have been anxious to make the city a river port of greater importance than it then was, but the extreme shallowness of the Clyde was for some time an almost insurmountable obstacle to the development of

that project. They were, however, groping for a solution of this difficult problem, and on the 8th May, 1740, they agreed "that a tryal be made this season, of deepening the river, by carying away the banks below the Broomielaw, and remitt to the magistrates to cause do the same, and go the length of £100 sterling of charges thereupon, and to cause build a flatt-bottomed boat for carying off the sand and chingle from the banks." This was done, but to no advantage. In 1741 the Rev. James Fisher became the first Secession minister in Glasgow, and in 1742 the congregation entered their new church in Shuttle Street. On the 20th July of the same year *The Glasgow Journal* was begun. It was edited by Andrew Stalker, and was printed by Robert Ure & Co. for Andrew Stalker and Alexander Carlile, booksellers. The magistrates and council in March, 1742, requested Neil Buchanan, then M.P. for the Glasgow District, to support a bill for the abolition of septennial in favour of triennial Parliaments. In 1742, also, lawns, or cambric, were begun to be manufactured in the city; and the first printfield belonging to its citizens was fitted up in this year at Pollokshaws by Messrs. Ingram & Co. By 1743 the population had still further increased to 18,366.

Dr. Alexander Carlyle, minister of Inveresk, gives in his autobiography some very readable notes concerning the state of Glasgow during the years 1743 and 1744. He was for two years a student at the university, and mixed in the best society. Carlyle says (*Autobiography*, 1860 Ed., p. 67, *et seq.*) that one difference he remarked between the University of Glasgow and that of Edinburgh, where he had previously been, was that, although there appeared to be a marked superiority in the best scholars and most diligent students of Edinburgh, yet in Glasgow learning seemed to be an object of more importance, and the habit of application was much more general. The chief branches of trade in the city were with Virginia in tobacco, and in sugar and rum with the West Indies; but there were not manufactures sufficient, either in the city or at Paisley, to make up a sortable cargo for Virginia, and for that purpose Glasgow merchants were obliged to have recourse to Manchester. Manufactures were in their infancy, and the inkle factory was shown to strangers as a great curiosity. The merchants, however, Carlyle adds, had industry and habits of business, and were ready to seize with eagerness, and prosecute with vigour, every new object in commerce or manufactures that promised success. Few of them could be called learned men, but Provost Andrew Cochrane had founded a weekly club for the discussion of the nature and principles of trade in all its branches. Provost Cochrane was himself a man of high talent and education, and he was of great service to Adam Smith in collecting materials

for *The Wealth of Nations*. The people of Glasgow at that time were very far behind, not only in their manner of living, but also in those accomplishments and that taste which belonged to people of opulence, much more to persons of education. Only a few families pretended to be gentry; and the rest were shopkeepers and mechanics, or successful pedlars, who occupied large warerooms full of manufactured goods of all sorts for furnishing cargoes to Virginia. It was usual for the sons of merchants to attend the college for one or two sessions, but very few of them completed their academical education. In this respect the females were worse off, for at that time there was neither a teacher of French nor music in the city, with the consequence that the young ladies were entirely without accomplishments, and in general had nothing to recommend them but good looks and fine clothes, for their manners were ungainly. The manner of living in the city was "coarse and vulgar." The wealthier portion of the citizens did not know how to give good dinners; not above half-a-dozen families kept men-servants; and there were neither post-chaises nor hackney coaches in town, but only two or three sedan chairs. The merchants usually took an early dinner at home, and then repaired in companies of four or five to a tavern, where they read the newspapers over a bottle of claret or a bowl of punch, always returning home at nine o'clock. The students of the university had a club for reviewing books and reading papers, which met weekly in Dugald's Tavern at the Cross, where they dined on beefsteak and pancakes to the value of 1s. or 1s. 6d. each. Among those then at Glasgow College were Walter, Lord Blantyre; Lord Cassillis; and Andrew Hamilton, afterwards Earl of Selkirk, who was so studious and diligent in his habits that Carlyle remarks that he came before the world more fitted to be a professor than an earl. As a conclusion to this summary of Carlyle's opinions of Glasgow, an amusing story which he relates may be re-told. He and some others paid a visit to Port-Glasgow in the month of March or April of 1744, and while in an inn there awaiting their dinner, they were alarmed by lamentations from the kitchen. Going to see what was the matter, they found that *Peden's Prophecies* had got into the hands of one of the women, and she had read from it that the Clyde was to run with blood in 1744. Their consternation was great, but the visitors succeeded in pacifying them.

The first public slaughter-house in Glasgow was built in 1744, at the north side of the Clyde, a short distance east of Stockwell Street. Another encroachment on the Green was attempted in the beginning of 1745. A company had presented a petition to the Town Council requesting that they might be granted a certain portion of the Green upon which to erect works where they could "carry on ane woolen manufactory;" and on the 26th

March, 1745, the council passed an act conveying to the company fully a quarter of an acre of ground from the Green. There was to be an annual feu-duty of 40s. sterling paid to the corporation, with a duplication every twenty years. From some unexplained reason the agreement was never carried out, though it is probable that the opposition of the citizens may have been the cause.

This work would be to a certain extent incomplete did it not notice the life of one of Glasgow's most illustrious citizens, in the person of Robert Wodrow, the author of the *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland.* Wodrow was born in Glasgow in the year 1679, and was the second son of James Wodrow, Professor of Divinity in the University. In 1691 he entered as a divinity student in the college; and during his educational course, he not only wrought faithfully at his ministerial studies, but he displayed a remarkable aptitude for historical and antiquarian research. He obtained presentation to the parish of Eastwood, at Pollokshaws, in 1703, from Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollok, a distant relation of his family. Here Wodrow faithfully performed his parochial duties, but as the parish was one of the smallest in Scotland, his work was consequently light, and he was able to devote a large portion of his time to his favourite studies in history and antiquities. In 1707 he began his history of the church, and after fourteen years' labour it was published, in 1721 and 1722, in three large folio volumes. The excellence of the work was quickly acknowledged, and George I. gave an order to the Scottish Exchequer for the payment of an *honorarium* of one hundred guineas to the author, as a testimony of his majesty's favourable opinion of his merits. Wodrow was a most eloquent preacher, and he held a high position in the church courts, taking a prominent part in most of the religious and ecclesiastical controversies of the day. After a busy life, in which he collected a great mass of literary and historical material never published, he died on the 21st March, 1734, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. His remains were interred in Eastwood churchyard.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

(A.D. 1745-49.)

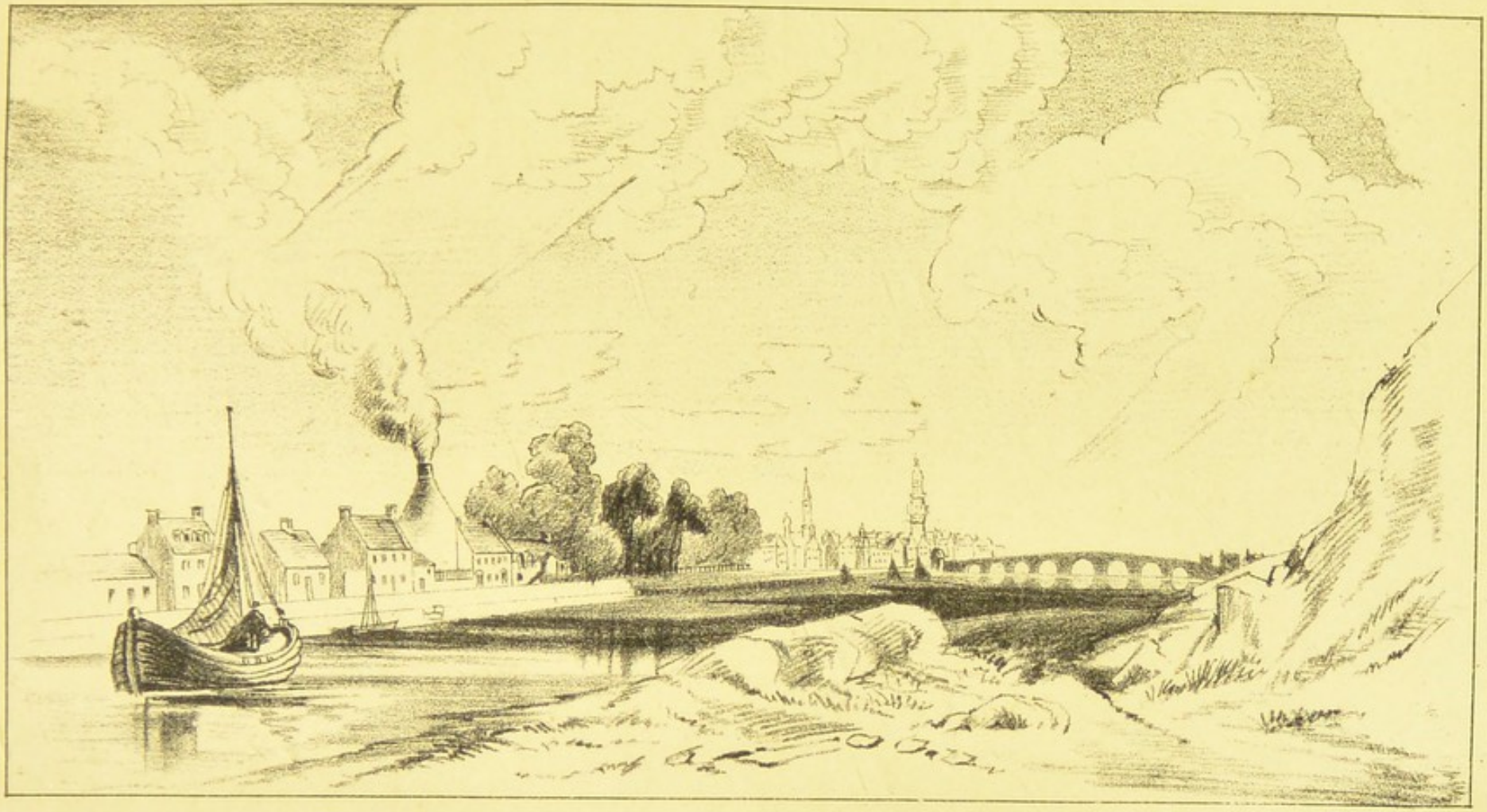
The Rebellion of '45—The Magistrates of Glasgow Scared by "The Wanderer"—The Prince and his Army Visit Glasgow—The Magistrates Compelled to Supply the Highlanders with Clothing—Review on the Green—The Glasgow Volunteers at Falkirk—Rejoicings in the City over the Battle of Culloden—Glasgow Compensated by Parliament.

ALTHOUGH the Jacobite rising of 1715 was quelled by the Hanoverian government of Great Britain without Glasgow being the scene of any of the more stirring incidents of the campaign, that city did not escape active participation in the events of 1745-6.

Prince Charles Edward, son of the Chevalier de St. George, who led the forlorn hope of 1715, and grandson of James II., landed at Boradale, in Lochaber, in the month of July, 1745, with the intention of making another attempt to wrest the crown of Great Britain from the House of Hanover and restore it to his own family. The Highland chieftains, discontented with the existing government, flocked to his standard, and within a few weeks he had around him a considerable force of clansmen. The prince then commenced his march southward, and having outwitted General Cope, who was sent against him, he arrived in the vicinity of Stirling about the middle of September. The Lowlands had been thrown into consternation at the news of the rising, and all the cities and towns well affected to the Government had taken immediate precautions for their defence, and for the vindication of the authority of King George II. Glasgow, among the rest, had done so, and had volunteers in readiness for active service, while scouts were sent out to watch the movements of the Highlanders and prevent the city being surprised. A pamphlet was published in Glasgow in 1752, entitled *The Wanderer: or Surprising Escape. A narrative founded on True Facts. Containing a series of remarkable events, during a late very Extraordinary Adventure;* and in this publication is recorded a somewhat amusing episode of the rebellion. It is there related (p. 35, *et seq.*) that when "The Wanderer" and his army were marching from Stirling to Edinburgh they halted at Kilsyth. The Glasgow scouts, expecting that the cupidity of the Highlanders

would induce them to pay a visit to the opulent city of St. Mungo, retired with the information to their superiors. The citizens of Glasgow, finding the rebels in a manner at their shop doors, and discouraged by being refused additional arms by the authorities in Edinburgh, called in their outposts, and held a council. The magistrates and the clergy proposed to leave the town immediately, for they knew that although they had sufficient men for the purposes of defence, they had only two thousand stand of arms, most of them out of order, for distribution among the defenders. Many of them removed their families and valuables to Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and elsewhere. The clergy had fled, and the magistrates were preparing to follow their example, when, the pamphleteer states, they were stopped by about 13,000 of the inhabitants, who demanded that the arms belonging to the city should be delivered up to them, so that they might die like men in the defence of their wives, children, and effects. The magistrates, rather inconsistently, endeavoured to dispel the fears of the citizens, and told them that Colonel Gardiner was near at hand, and could give them assistance with his dragoons in the event of an attack by the Highlanders; telling them, at the same time, that resistance would be vain until the royal troops came to help them. Whether or not the civic rulers carried out their intention of retiring, the writer does not say; but the prince having continued his march upon Edinburgh, the natural fears of an immediate sack of Glasgow were allayed for a time.

The prince, however, on the 14th September, sent a letter to the provost, magistrates, and Town Council of Glasgow, demanding from them the payment of the sum of £15,000 sterling, and the arrears of the government cess, together with their arms. The demand was made in the most peremptory manner, and the magistrates were threatened with the direst consequences in the event of refusal. Andrew Cochrane, then provost of the city, in his evidence before Parliament in 1749, stated that the payment was not made, for it was hoped that Sir John Cope, then on his way from the north, would relieve them of the difficulty. Sir John, however, was defeated at Prestonpans, and the Jacobites obtained possession of the city of Edinburgh. The prince took up his residence in Holyrood, and issued his mandates in royal style. On the 25th September he sent another letter to the magistrates of Glasgow repeating his former request, and to this he signed himself "Charles P. R." or Prince Regent, and the royal seal was affixed. John Hay, Writer to the Signet, was the messenger, and he arrived in Glasgow on the following day, accompanied by a party of horse. He was there joined by Glengyle, the chief of the MacGregors, and a great part of that clan. The Burgh Records relate that



GLASGOW FROM THE RIVER, LOOKING EAST, ABOUT 1760.

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on the 27th September, the magistrates and Town Council, with the trustees and commissioners appointed to treat with the rebels, in consequence of the protest of the inhabitants on the approach of the rebel army, met in the council-house to consider the letter brought by Hay. The magistrates, according to Provost Cochrane's account, at first pretended they had no money to give, as the corporation was so overburdened with debt that they had neither money nor credit. Ultimately, they were able to compound with Hay, on behalf of the prince, for £5,000 in money, and £500 in goods, while the denial of the possession of arms and ammunition freed them from the necessity of giving them up for use against the king. The inhabitants contributed £3,050 of the money, the rest was borrowed on the security of the city rates from the Earl of Glencairn, and the local manufacturers supplied the goods. Hay retired with his spoil on the 30th September.

The Highlanders, after their victories in Scotland, marched into England in the vain hope that the disaffected English nobles would rally round the prince; and they had proceeded on their way to London as far as Derby, when they retraced their steps, disappointed and disorganised, to Scotland. While this was going on the inhabitants of Glasgow were busily engaged in preparations for the assistance of the Government. Two battalions of 600 men each had been raised, and 1,000 firelocks, 1,000 bayonets, 1,000 cartridge boxes, eight barrels of gunpowder, ten barrels of musket-balls, and two barrels of flint, having arrived for the defence of the city, the volunteers were armed and equipped, and despatched to Edinburgh, where they were put under the command of the Earl of Home.

After the unfortunate, if not disastrous, parade in England, the prince and his army marched back to Scotland, followed closely by the Duke of Cumberland and General Wade. Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, has characterised this as one of the most surprising retreats ever performed, and, certainly, the whole circumstances tend to make it so. Having left a garrison of his English followers at Carlisle, the "Wanderer" crossed the Solway, and made his way to Dumfries, whence he proceeded to Glasgow.

The advance-guard of the Highland army arrived in Glasgow on Christmas Day, 1745, and the main body, with the prince in command, entered the city on the following day. Charles took up his residence in the house of Mr. Glassford, in Trongate—a house already historical on account of its having been built by Campbell of Shawfield, and having been the scene of the popular excesses during the Malt Tax riots. The troops paraded the principal streets of the city four several times, and at the Cross they solemnly proclaimed their leader regent of Scotland. The ceremony must have been, if solemn in purpose, at least grotesque

in appearance. The long march amid winter storms, and through rough tracts of country, had made the Highlanders weather-stained and wild-looking, for their beards were greatly overgrown and untrimmed, their skins were tanned red, and their clothing was dirty and torn. The strong Whiggism of the city was again apparent, and the inhabitants are said to have shown no sympathy with the doings of the rebels, and to have regarded their presence among them as an unavoidable evil. No one saw better than Prince Charlie the necessities of his motley followers. He accordingly ordered the magistrates to supply him with 12,000 linen shirts, 6,000 cloth coats, 6,000 pairs of shoes, 6,000 pairs of hose, 6,000 waistcoats, and 6,000 bonnets. The purchase money amounted to £3,556, 10s. 9½d. These figures would suggest the strength of the prince's army to be about 6,000 men, and notwithstanding that the numbers are placed by some writers at about 2,000 less, the probabilities point more in favour of the larger number. According to a list published by Charles himself about a month prior to his occupation of Glasgow, his regiments, with their commanders and strength, are enumerated as follows:—Lochiel, Cameron of Lochiel, 740; Appin, Stuart of Ardshiel, 360; Athol, Lord George Murray, 1,000; Clanronald, Clanronald of Clanronald, junior, 200; Keppoch, Macdonald of Keppoch, 400; Glencoe, Macdonald of Glencoe, 200; Ogilvie, Lord Ogilvie, 500; Glenbucket, Gordon of Glenbucket, 427; Perth, Duke of Perth, 750; Robertson, Robertson of Strowan, 200; Maclachlan, Maclachlan of Maclachlan, 2,620; Glencarnick, Macgregor, 300; Glengarry, Macdonald of Glengarry, junior, 300; Nairn, Lord Nairn, 200; Edinburgh, John Roy Stuart, 450; several small corps, 1,000; Lord Elcho and Lord Kilmarnock's Horse, 160; and Lord Pitsligo's Horse, 140: making a total of 9,947 men of all arms. The defections which took place would probably bring the number down to somewhere about the total for which provision was made. But in addition to this levy on the city, Provost Cochrane was called to account by the prince for the assistance Glasgow had given the Government in the matter of raising and equipping volunteers; and he was forced to pay a fine of £500 for his share in the transaction, though he bravely refused to give the names of the others who had been prominently concerned in it.

The behaviour of the rebels in Glasgow seems to have been much better than was expected. Several individual scrimmages took place between them and the citizens, but in only one case was there any serious result. A joiner had been going home from his work, with a pair of shoes, ornamented with silver buckles, on his feet. A Highlander, either through need or cupidity, ordered him to deliver them up, but as the workman was slow to obey he attempted to take them off himself. The

joiner was enraged, and from a blow with his hammer the soldier fell dead to the ground. It is said, however, that the mutual ill-feeling between the soldiers and the citizens assumed such bitterness, that on one occasion the former proposed burning and sacking the city, and they only desisted when Cameron of Lochiel threatened the withdrawal of himself and his clansmen, should the threat be carried into execution. The prince himself was rather conciliatory in his conduct. He ate twice a-day in front of his residence in Trongate, and his endeavours were greatly directed to securing the partisanship of the ladies. His dress was usually of fine silk tartan, with crimson velvet breeches, but sometimes he wore an English court coat, with the ribbon, star, and other insignia of the Order of the Garter. All his charms of person and of manner had little effect upon the people of Glasgow. His influence among the ladies of the city was of no great extent; and as for the men, Provost Cochrane relates that the only recruit he got was "ane drunken shoemaker, who must soon have fled his country for debt, if he had not for treason." The royal visit had had one effect, however, and that was that the inhabitants deemed it expedient to take a holiday, and during the whole time the prince and his army remained in Glasgow, shops were shut and manufactories were stopped. This was done through fear, not through a desire to show honour.

The magistrates were able to supply the greater part of the clothing in about a week's time, and, with his men dressed in their new outfits, Charles held a review upon the Green. John Daniels, from Lancashire, one of the prince's followers, has given this account:—"We marched out with drums beating, colours flying, bagpipes playing, and all the marks of a triumphant army, to the appointed ground, attended by multitudes of people, who had come from all parts to see us, and especially the ladies, who, though formerly much against us, were charmed by the sight of the prince into the most enthusiastic loyalty. I am somewhat at a loss to give a description of the prince as he appeared at the review. No object could be more charming, no personage more captivating, no deportment more agreeable, than his at that time was; for, being well mounted and princely attired, having all the best endowments of both body and mind, he appeared to bear a sway above any comparison with the heroes of the last age; and the majesty and grandeur he displayed were truly noble and divine." This is a loving picture by a devoted follower; but a citizen of Glasgow, whose political feelings were apparently with the Government, half a century afterwards adds a few touches which, while they darken its tone, lend increased effect:—"I managed to get so near him [the prince], as he passed homeward to his lodgings, that I could

have touched him with my hand; and the impression which he made upon my mind shall never fade as long as I live. He had a princely aspect, and its interest was much heightened by the dejection which appeared in his pale fair countenance and downcast eye. He evidently wanted confidence in his cause, and seemed to have a melancholy foreboding of that disaster which soon after ruined the hopes of his family for ever." The review took place on the Fleshers' Haugh, and the prince stood beside a thorn, afterwards known as "Prince Charlie's tree."

On the 3rd January, 1746, after a stay of ten days, the Highland army left Glasgow, and resumed its northward march. The prince, it is said, admired the beauty and regularity with which the city was built, but he bitterly remarked that nowhere had he found so few friends. The popular feeling against him had shown itself in the fact that a pistol had been fired at him, without effect, on one occasion when he was riding down the Saltmarket. As the magistrates had not forwarded him the full amount of clothing demanded, he took with him, as hostages, two of the principal merchants, Bailie George Carmichael and Archibald Coats. In order to release them, the goods were sent as quickly as possible. A printing press, types, and paper, together with three printers, were also taken; and all the arms and ammunition that could be found.

Dougal Graham, a noted Glasgow character, who was at this time one of the "merchant pedlars," and afterwards bellman of the city, and who is believed to have plied his trade among the contending forces, in a versified *History of the Rebellion,* has given a graphic account of the Pretender's stay in Glasgow. Speaking of the northward march of the Highland army, he says (*Hist. Rebel.*, Ed. 1850, p. 40):—

"When from Dumfries they came away,
Hamilton they reach'd on the next day;
Knowing no danger then before them,
They levied all things fit to store them;
As horse, of which they had great need,
Many of them being rode to dead.
Of meat and drink they spier'd no price,
But little harm did otherwise.
Save changing shoes when brogues were spent,
For victuals sure they could not want.
To Glasgow they came on the next day,
In a very poor forlorn way;
The shot was rusted in the gun,
Their swords from scabbards would not win,
Their count'nance fierce as a wild bear,
Out o'er their eyes hang down their hair;
Their very thighs red-tanned quite,
But yet as nimble as they'd been white:
Their beards were turned black and brown,
The like was ne'er seen in that town!
Some of them did bare-footed run,
Minded no mire nor stony groun';

But when shav'n, drest, and cloth'd again,
They turned to be like other men,
Eight days they did in Glasgow rest,
Until they were all clothed and drest:
And though they on the best o't fed,
The town they under tribute laid,
Ten thousand sterling made it pay,
For being of the Georgian way,
Given in goods and ready cash,
Or else to stand a plundering lash:
And 'cause they did Militia raise,
They were esteemed as mortal foes;
For being oppos'd to *Jacobites*,
They plainly call'd them *Whiggonites*.
But, for peace sake, to get them clear,
Of ev'ry thing they furnished were.
A printing-press and two workmen,
To print their journals as they ran."

Marching towards Stirling, the prince laid siege to the castle, but General Hawley advanced from the east with a relieving force, and on the 17th of January, the Government troops were defeated at Falkirk. The Glasgow regiment of volunteers was in Hawley's army, and, according to a Whig song of the period, they played a prominent part in the conflict. One of the verses of this song is as follows:—

"Our horsemen they fired and turned them back,
The rebels they fired crack for crack,
But the Glasgow militia they gave a platoon,
Which made the bold rebels come tumbling down,
With their fa la fa lara fa lay."

Dougal Graham, already mentioned, gave a plan of the battle-field, and in it the Glasgow and Paisley volunteers, or militia, are shown as occupying the left centre of Hawley's army. Cob's dragoons were placed to the left of, and some distance to the front of the main line of battle, but the charge of the Highlanders disorganised them, and they fell back in confusion upon their infantry. The prince's soldiers next came into conflict with the west-country volunteers, and they were unsparing in their attack, for, as Graham relates (*Hist. Rebel.*, p. 45):—

"On red coats they some pity had,
But 'gainst Militia were raging mad."

Having recorded the retreat of the horsemen, Graham proceeds (*Hist. Rebel.*, p. 49) to say that the Highlanders faced north,

"Where next stood to bide the brush,
The Volunteers, who zealous
Kept firing close, till near surrounded,
And by the flying horse confounded.
They suffer'd sore into this place,
No Highlander pity'd their case—
'Ye curs'd Militia,' they did swear,
'What a devil did bring you here?'"

However, after some severe fighting,

"The horsemen being all fled or slain,
The very LOYAL fled like men!"

With the battle of Culloden, fought on the 16th April, 1746, Prince Charles Stuart's hopes were rudely scattered. In Glasgow, the news of his defeat was received with great rejoicings. The Glasgow *Courant*, of 28th April, states that on the Monday previous, at ten o'clock in the morning, the music bells in the city were played, and the other bells were set a-ringing. By noon bonfires were lighted at the Cross, before the College gate, and in every street. At six in the evening, amid the ringing of bells, the magistrates, accompanied by other local notables, and by the professors of the university, went to the top of the Tolbooth stairs, fronting the Trongate, and there they drank the healths of the King, the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Duke of Cumberland, and all the other members of the royal family, and also success to the army. The town's regiment, which had so greatly distinguished itself at Falkirk, fired volleys between each toast. After this public ceremony the company retired to the Town Hall, where the same programme of toasts was again gone through, "with the addition of many other loyal healths." The houses were illuminated at night, and several of the windows were decorated with emblematical figures and devices. On one of the windows were these verses:—

"Great Cumberland! the Rebels dread thy Name:
Go, mount the chariot of Immortal Fame;
The vengeance of thy Rod, with general Joy,
Shall scourge Rebellion, and the Daring Boy;
Thy sounding arms his Gallic Patron hears,
And speeds his flight, nor overtakes his fears,
Till hard despair ring from the Tyrant's soul
The iron tears, which he cannot control.
William, a generous soul, who scorns his ease,
Tempting the winter and the faithless seas,
And pays an annual tribute with his life,
To guard poor Scotland from a Popish knife.
When we saw Tyranny and Rome
Portending blood and might to come,
Cumberland diffused a vital ray,
And gave the Dying Nation day."

The volunteers paraded the streets in companies, and around bonfires they drank all the royal healths, following each with a volley of small arms. On one occasion a firelock burst, the person holding it was injured about the hand, and a dyer was killed by a piece of the stock, which penetrated his brain.

This was the close of the rebellion, but, so far as Glasgow was concerned, many little matters had to be settled. A deputation was sent to congratulate the Duke of Cumberland on his victory

at Culloden. On the 16th July, 1746, petitions, probably for payment, which had been presented to the Town Council by the merchants who had furnished goods, on the order of the magistrates, to the rebels, were remitted for consideration to the annual committee. In the month of September following Bailie Carmichael and Archibald Coats, the hostages taken by Prince Charles, received the sum of £13, 15s. 8d. to defray their expenses while with the young Chevalier. The Town Council made application to Parliament to indemnify the city for the loss sustained by the Highlanders' visit. Provost Andrew Cochrane and Bailie George Murdoch, afterwards provost, were examined before Parliament, and from Provost Cochrane's statement of the prince's visit a great part of the preceding account is taken. These gentlemen were, on the 28th June, 1749, granted their expenses when before Parliament, amounting in all to £472, 11s. 8½d. sterling, and they were further thanked for the efforts they had made for the good of the city. In the year 1749, Parliament granted the sum of £10,000 to Glasgow, but that scarcely represented the whole loss. The fine levied on the city in September, 1745, amounted to £5,500; the value of the goods supplied during the Christmas visit was £3,556, 10s. 9½d.; William Cross, advocate, had been paid, on 7th May, 1747, £119, for going to London in relation to the indemnification; and the borrowing of money to defray all these charges had created an interest debt of £1,036, 8s. 7½d., so that, with the grants to the hostages and to Cochrane and Murdoch, there was a total loss to the municipality of £10,698, 6s. 8½d., irrespective altogether of the great loss the event must have caused to the merchants and manufacturers, and to the citizens in general. It has been calculated that, including the expense the inhabitants were at in giving the Highlanders quarters, the total loss to the city was £14,000, of which, of course, £10,000 was repaid by the Government.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

(A.D. 1746 TO A.D. 1766.)

Glasgow Citizens and their Manner of Living—Alteration of the Set of the Burgh—The First Theatre—Whitefield in Glasgow—Proposed Improvements on the Navigation of the Clyde—Population of the City—Sawmill Dispute.

THE check to business in Glasgow, caused by the rebellion of 1745, was not of long duration; and as soon as the pressure was

removed, the city merchants went forward in "the race for wealth," with as much, if not more, vigour than formerly. Now thoroughly imbued with the commercial spirit, the inhabitants of the once sleepy, almost slavish, city of St. Mungo and his ecclesiastical successors, turned their attention to whatever branch of trade or manufacture seemed open for them. Their advancement was in proportion to their enterprise, and with them the general community flourished. The city itself was extending its borders. The suburbs of Calton and Anderston were rising into importance; the Gorbals was slowly increasing in size, and among one of the distinguishing features on the south side of the river there may be mentioned a windmill, situated where the Kingston Dock is now built, and from which the land there originally derived its name of Windmill Croft. Of the manners of the people, it should be said that they were extremely frugal, and by a careful expenditure and shrewdness in business, individual wealth was becoming more general than it had ever been. Gradually, however, this wealth brought about the introduction of many luxuries and comforts hitherto ignored. The old wooden houses were disappearing, and handsome stone ones were being erected in their place. Their internal furnishings were receiving increased attention; carriages were being used by a few; greater care was taken in the style of dressing, and on all sides there was a tendency to study the elegances of life, to throw aside the asceticism of earlier times, and that in spite of the clergy, who vainly sought to combat this change of habits. These churchmen were the only persons in the community who stood still. They seemed to regard the motto of the city—"Let Glasgow Flourish by the Preaching of the Word"—in its most literal sense. No one was permitted to walk the streets on Sundays, no lamps were allowed to be lighted in the streets that evening, because no one was presumed to be out of his own house after sunset, and amusements of the most innocent kind were practically prohibited. Hitherto the people had submitted to this sacerdotal tyranny without complaint, but among the rising generation there was an increasingly strong inclination to rebel. Many years elapsed before social emancipation from ecclesiastical restraint was obtained. In this state of the community, the first Glasgow friendly society was instituted in 1746, under the name of the Bell's Wynd Society.

In the year 1747, the manufacture of copper, tin, and white iron work for export was first commenced in Glasgow. The following year, 1748, saw the introduction of the manufacture of delf-ware, the factory being at the Broomielaw.

An alteration upon the set of the burgh was made in April, 1748. The altered circumstances of the city had made portions

GLASGOW FROM THE WEST, ABOUT 1760.

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of the set of 1605 unjust in their action, and the numerous complaints had rendered some amendment necessary. Accordingly, on the 15th April, 1748, the magistrates and Town Council met, and adopted the suggestions of a committee of their own number, appointed a week previous. The complaints made were to the effect that the constitution of the Town Council had a tendency to continue the government of the city in a particular "set," or party, longer than might be for the public interest, there being sometimes a difficulty to get the more creditable burgesses to accept office. The suggestions of the committee took the form of eight regulations, of which the meaning is as follows:—1st. That the late provost and bailies, and the last elected dean of guild and deacon-convener, should continue in the ordinary council, without further election, a year after they had been in their respective offices. 2nd. That the two senior merchants, and the two senior trades councillors, if not members of the magistracy, should be disqualified annually, and should not be eligible for re-election until the lapse of three years; that a like number of the same rank should be elected to take their places. 3rd. That upon the first Friday after the election of magistrates in October, 1748, and yearly thereafter, the three sets of magistrates, who, by the original constitution of the burgh, had power to choose the councillors, were to convene and appoint thirteen merchants and twelve tradesmen, who, with the provost and three bailies, would make up the council of twenty-nine, and numerous rules are laid down for the mode of such election. 4th. That the bailie for the village of Gorbals was to be chosen from a leet of the merchant and trades ranks. 5th. That every person elected a councillor should be obliged to accept office at furthest within three months after his election, under a fine of £20 sterling, which was to go for behoof of the poor of the rank to which the defaulter himself belonged. 6th. That every person elected provost, bailie, dean of guild, deacon-convener, or treasurer, and who should decline office, be fined £40 sterling, to be applied in the same manner as the foregoing. 7th. That in case of the decease of the provost, any of the bailies, or the treasurer, while in office, the senior magistrate should call a meeting of council within forty-eight hours after such death, and intimate the vacancy, and that another meeting be held within eight days thereafter to elect an office-bearer in room of the one deceased. 8th. That the original constitution of the burgh, in so far as not amended or repealed by these regulations, still remain in force. Most of these alterations were absolutely necessary, and the only wonder is that the Town Council should have waited for pressure from the outside before making them. But a most important concession to the public was made by the Town Council in this

year. The attempts to ensure the secrecy of all that transpired within the council chamber have been related in previous chapters, and it is now necessary to state that, in 1748, the magistrates and council commenced the praiseworthy practice of laying open their accounts for the perusal of the burgesses for six weeks succeeding the annual balance.

On Wednesday, the 25th July, 1748, a fire, attended by fatal consequences, occurred in the Saltmarket. The fire broke out early in the morning in the house of a vintner named John King. King and a gentleman guest were burned to death, but "the particulars of this tragical affair, and the manner how it happened," says the *Glasgow Journal*, a newspaper of the time, "are so differently told, that we cannot venture to publish any of them for truth." An incident of this kind must have created an extraordinary sensation in the city. One hundred and fifty families were burned out, and their goods were almost totally destroyed, by a fire which took place in the Gorbals on the night of Saturday, 5th June, 1749. The fire began at the back of houses on the east side of Main Street, passed to the front buildings, communicated with the west side of the street, and spread until a great portion of Main Street and the adjoining thoroughfares was destroyed. Eight hours elapsed before the watermen, with three fire-engines, were able to extinguish the flames. The *Journal* has this remark on the event:—"There has not a fire happened within sixty years, in or about this place, attended with so much devastation." A collection was made for the relief of the sufferers, to which Lord George Sackville, colonel of the regiment of foot then in Glasgow, gave £80 sterling; the Earl of Hopeton gave £200, and the churches in Edinburgh contributed liberally.

William Colquhoun opened the first shoe shop in Glasgow, in 1749, his premises being a little to the west of the Tron Church; and in the following year, Andrew Lockhart, a pin manufacturer, opened a shop in Saltmarket for the sale of drapery goods. The first banking company belonging to Glasgow, the Ship Banking Company, was established in 1749. According to the *Newcastle Magazine* of March, 1749, a disturbance arose in Glasgow on the 6th of that month, there being a suspicion that some medical students had taken a body from one of the city graveyards, and had conveyed it to the college. The rioters demolished most of the university windows, and several people were injured, but the tumult was prevented from taking a serious aspect by the appearance of the military.

The manufacture of cambrics from French yarn was begun in 1752. In this same year, Allan Dreghorn, a timber merchant and carpenter and joiner, had a four-wheeled carriage built for himself by his own workmen, and this was the first gentleman's

private carriage seen in the city. Another step in advance was the erection of a theatre. The structure was temporary in its character, and was placed against the ruined wall of the Bishop's Palace in Castle Street. It is recorded that the first play performed in public in Glasgow since the Reformation, was in Burrell's Hall, at the Bell o' the Brae, situated near where Burrell's Lane now strikes off the High Street, in the year 1750. This seems to have been, notwithstanding clerical opposition, comparatively successful, and two years afterwards the temporary theatre was built. Several histrionic celebrities of the time—such as Digges, Love, Stampier, and Mrs. Ward—appeared in this place. The generality of the people, however, were deeply incensed at the innovation, and the military had to protect from their insults the ladies and dress parties who came from the aristocratic quarters of Trongate, Saltmarket, Princes Street, and Bridgegate to attend it.

Another bank, the Glasgow Arms Bank, was established in 1753, a fact showing as much as anything else the increased business in the city. Robert Luke, already mentioned as treasurer of the city, was about this time succeeded in his business of gold and silversmith by Bailie James Glen, who was then almost, if not the only, person in the trade in the west of Scotland. In 1754, several markets were erected in King Street. The mutton market had been built in Bell Street in 1700, and had an area of 1,612 square feet, with twelve stalls. An extension became necessary, and in 1754 a new mutton and two other markets were erected in King Street. The mutton market had an area of 6,048 square feet, with twenty-six stalls; the beef market, 7,616 square feet, and twenty-one stalls; and the fish market, 1,720 square feet, and ten stalls.

The Rev. George Whitefield, the celebrated revivalist, was a frequent visitor to Glasgow and neighbourhood at this period. In the course of his second visit to Scotland, in 1742, he had taken an active part in the extraordinary religious awakenings at Cambuslang and Kilsyth. The dislike of the Dissenters had been unreasonably excited against him, and the feeling of distrust was so greatly spread, that when he returned in 1748, the magistrates refused him the use of the High Kirkyard, his usual meeting-place, and he had to preach in a field on the Gorbals side of the river. He spent several days in Glasgow in 1753, but on this occasion he was permitted to preach in the Cathedral yard. Cleland (*Rise and Progress*, p. 130) relates that while preaching, Whitefield, casting his eyes on the theatre built beside the old castle wall, denounced it as the devil's house. The listeners, showing their faith by their works, soon had the structure levelled to the ground. This is the commonly accepted account of the incident, but Tyerman (*Life of Geo. Whitefield*, Vol. II., p. 314) quotes a

letter written by Whitefield to the proprietors of the *Newcastle Journal*, in which the statement first appeared, which gives a somewhat different complexion to the matter. The letter, dated 17th August, 1753, alleges that the Edinburgh correspondent of the *Journal* had given currency to slander and misinformation. The correspondent had stated that on the 2nd August he (Whitefield) had inflamed his audience so much against the playhouse, that they ran directly and pulled it to the ground, and that several of the rioters had since been committed to jail. He admitted that he had spoken against playhouses, but had not inflamed the mob, who did not pull the house down, and who took part in no riot. The story, he supposed, took its rise from the playhouse-keeper having taken off the roof of the house himself. The house was within the walls of the castle, and when the players were present, a canvas roof was thrown from wall to wall. As the players were gone, the keeper had taken off the roof several days before Whitefield arrived.

While referring to Whitefield, it may be well here to state that in 1757 he preached, at the request of the magistrates, on behalf of the poor of the city, the collection amounting to £58. In the month of August, 1758, he preached for the benefit of the funds of the Highland Society, the amount contributed by his audience being nearly £60. The directors of the society had placed themselves at the outlets from the churchyard, and taken up the collection, with the aid of which they were enabled to erect the Black Bull Inn buildings.

The condition of the Clyde and the necessities of the shipping caused the magistrates in 1755 to look fairly at the problem of a better utilisation of the river. Mr. Smeaton, one of the most notable engineers of the time, was asked to prepare a report upon the whole subject for their consideration. He reported, on the 13th September of that year, that the river at Pointhouse Ford was only one foot three inches deep at low water, and three feet eight inches at high water; and in order to secure a uniform depth of four and a-half feet of water in Glasgow harbour, he suggested the construction of a lock, seventy feet long and eighteen feet wide, at Marlin Ford, four miles below the city. The scheme, crude though it must now seem to be, was approved by the Town Council, and in 1759 they obtained "An Act for improving the navigation of the river Clyde to the city of Glasgow, and for building a bridge across the said river, from the said city to the village of Gorballs." For some reason, now unknown, Smeaton's suggestions were not carried into effect. The Green Market, hitherto in the Trongate, was in 1755 removed to the west side of Candleriggs. Brushes were first made in the city in this year.

In 1756 the corporation obtained an Act of Parliament "for

erecting, maintaining, and supporting a lighthouse on the island of Little Cumray, in the county of Bute, at the mouth of the river Clyde, in North Britain, and for rendering the navigation in the firth and river of Clyde more safe and commodious." Provost George Murdoch commenced the formation of serpentine walks in the Green; Virginia Street was opened up, it being so called owing to the intimate commercial relationship existing between that colony and the city; St. Andrew's Parish Church, a copy, with the exception of the spire, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, and built from the plans of Jacobus Gibb, architect, was finished; and John Blair and James Inglis opened front shops for the sale of hats, the first of the kind in Glasgow, in Saltmarket and Bridgegate respectively—all in 1756.

The population of Glasgow, including suburbs, was found, in 1757, to be 23,546, an increase of fully 5,000 within the fourteen years from 1743. Carpets were first made in the city in this year. About the year 1758 there was run between Edinburgh and Glasgow a heavy mail coach, drawn by four horses. Between eleven and twelve hours were taken on the journey, Falkirk being the usual half-way halting place. The Thistle Bank, the third Glasgow bank, was established; and the first Glassite meeting-house was opened in 1761. Patrick Ewing began the business of a woollen draper about this year, and he and Andrew Lockhart, already mentioned, are regarded as the founders of the trade in Glasgow. Jamaica, Havannah, and Queen Streets were laid out for building about the year 1763. The names of the two former may be traced to the commerce the city had with the West Indies; and Queen Street had been previously a thoroughfare under the name of the Cowlone. The census of the city was again taken in this year under the direction of the magistrates, and the population was returned at 28,300, an increase in six years of 4,754. The manufacture of leather gloves, of jewellery for export, and of kitchen grates, &c., was first begun in Glasgow in this year. In 1764, the Wynd Church was rebuilt at the expense of the community.

The magistrates of Glasgow found themselves in a curious difficulty in 1764. William Fleming and William Murdoch had, in May, 1750, obtained the permission of the magistrates and Town Council to take in a portion, fifty feet long by thirty-six feet broad, of the New Green of Glasgow, beside the Molendinar Burn, on which to erect saw-mills. The sum of £600 had been expended on the works, which were started in 1756. There was alleged to be a prejudice among certain classes against this mill, and a committee of the Town Council was appointed to inquire as to the cause of the complaints that had been made. In July, 1761, the committee reported to the Town Council that the company, represented by William Fleming, had

built a quay on the Clyde, and had taken in more ground than had been granted them; also that their dam was dangerous to children, and that the stagnation of the water was obnoxious to the inhabitants; with the culminating statement that they had been informed by persons of character and skill that the mill was not of public utility. Fleming, in the August following, gave answers to the statements in the report, and declared that the so-called quay was only a few stepping-stones, which were there greatly to his inconvenience. However, in November, the council gave Fleming warning to remove. The matter lay over, without any action on either side, until May, 1764, when the removal order seems to have been repeated. As it was not complied with, Bailie Duncan Niven, with Robert Finlay, the Master of Works, and twenty men, destroyed the mill on the 23rd June, 1764. Fleming, in 1765, raised an action of damages before the Court of Session against the corporation. The defence of the magistrates was that the mill was constructed in such a manner as to occasion overflowings of the Molendinar in winter, to the great damage of the property of neighbouring heritors; that the stagnation of water in the summer was injurious to the inhabitants; and that the dam had been heightened since the council had granted liberty for its erection. A lengthy proof for both parties followed, and many inhabitants were brought into court as witnesses. It was proved on behalf of the pursuer, Fleming, that the overflowings had taken place frequently prior to the erection of the mill, and that if any impurities existed in the burn, they were caused by tan and bark works in the vicinity of the Gallowgate. Ultimately, decree was given for the pursuer, the magistrates being ordained to pay him £610, 1s. 4d. sterling, in name of damages, with expenses. There may have been some ground for the complaints against the mill, but they would most probably have their origin in the deeply-rooted objection in the hearts of the people to "encroachments on the Green." Fleming was then in possession of part of the lands of Hamilton Hill and Youngfield, in the north-west of the city, and in commemoration of his victory he called his estate Sawmillfield, a name now borne by a street near Garscube Cross, and built on the Sawmillfield estate.

The Carron Company, in 1765, projected the formation of Duke Street, for the purpose of giving accommodation from their works at Cumbernauld to the city.

In 1766, the Town Council and Merchants and Trades Houses, resolved that the magistrates, dean of guild, and deacon-convener should wear gold chains emblematical of their respective offices. Previous to that time, in 1720, it had been appointed that the lord provost should wear a velvet court dress on public occasions.

CHAPTER XL.

(Circa 1741-75.)

"The Glasgow Journal" and its Conductors—Curiosities in the "Courant"—Dougal Graham, the Literary Bellman—The Brothers Foulis, the Elzevirs of Scotland—Glasgow Academy of Arts—Allan the Painter, and Tassie the Modeller, study in Glasgow—Two Famous University Professors—John Bell, the Asiatic Traveller.

To say that Glasgow was primarily a scholastic city prior to its taking rank as a commercial centre, is an assertion that may be fully borne out by fact. The seat of a venerable university, there were at all times within its bounds men of high scholastic attainments. In the Pre-Reformation times, such men were invariably connected with the Church; but the troubles of the Covenanting epoch rendered the Church unsuitable for study and research. Men of literary, philosophical, and scientific constitution then found a calmer and more peaceful life in the halls of the university. Such were Baillie and many others; but there are the notable exceptions of Zachary Boyd and Wodrow. With greater enlightenment, and with the rapid advance of education, eminence in any of these paths was not confined to the clerical and scholastic professions; but the laity also were enabled to take their place in the temple of Fame. This was due in no slight degree to the invention and cultivation of the art of printing, to the more general diffusion by commerce of the wealth of the country, and to the increase of that wealth by the development of trade and the origination of new industries. These remarks have been suggested, and are probably justified, by what shall follow.

The second newspaper published in Glasgow made its first appearance on the 20th of July, 1741, and bore the name of *The Glasgow Journal*. It was edited by Andrew Stalker, and printed by Robert Urie & Co., in the Gallowgate. The printers were men of some consideration in the trade, and many of their works are curious and interesting specimens of the typographical art. But returning to the *Journal*, it may be said that further than its historical position among the Glasgow newspapers, it was in no respect noteworthy for the literary talent or the journalistic enterprise of its promoters. Stalker was timid, and seemed afraid to venture upon anything like a proper account

of passing events. At the outbreak of the rebellion in 1745, this timidity gave such offence to his subscribers, that on the 14th October of that year, he issued a letter stating that he had endeavoured to supply an impartial account of facts as they happened, but, considering the situation of affairs, he found he could not with safety publish to please the generality of his readers, and he would therefore cease writing for the paper until the peace of the country was restored. In a subsequent letter, Stalker indicated that the paper was to be edited during his retirement by Urie, the printer. The *Journal* continued for fully a century later. Urie, the printer, died of a paralytic stroke in February, 1771. The most valued productions of his press are his editions of *The Spectator*, and the New Testament in Greek.

On the day upon which Stalker's letter of retiral appeared in the *Journal*, the 14th October, 1745, the first number of the second Glasgow *Courant* was issued. The imprint on this publication was:—"Printed for Matthew Simson, and sold by John Gilmour at his shop opposite to Gibson's Land, Saltmercat." This paper was conducted with considerable enterprise. Its local paragraphs and advertisements are in many respects quaint and amusing. For example, it was intimated on the 9th February, 1747, that in the previous week Mr. Graham, Younger, of Dougalston, had married Miss Campbell of Skirving, "a beautiful and virtuous young lady." On the Monday preceding the 4th May of the same year, Dr. Robert Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy and Botany in the University, had married Miss Mally Baird, who is described as "a beautiful young lady with a handsome fortune." Still plainer was the information conveyed in a paragraph on the 3rd August following, from which it appears that Mr. James Johnstone, a city merchant, had, a few days before, married Miss Peggy Newall, "a young lady of great merit, and a fortune of £4,000." James Hodge sought the aid of the *Courant* advertising columns to announce that he continued to sell burying crapes ready made, and also that "his wife's neice, who lives with him, dresses dead corpses at as cheap a rate as was formerly done by her aunt, having been educated by her, and perfected at Edinburgh, from whence she is lately arrived, and has all the newest and best fashions." A barber in the city, on the 16th of February, 1747, addressed a long letter "to the citizens of Glasgow," in the course of which he states that having found his affairs going back, and having discovered the cause to be that he was underpaid for shaving and wig-dressing, he had decided to charge one halfpenny for dressing a wig and a penny for each shave. He concluded by hoping they would consider his reasonable and modest request. Here is another tradesman's advertisement:—"William Murdoch,

GLASGOW FROM THE SOUTH WEST ABOUT 1768.

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wright in Gorbels of Glasgow, at the sign of the Drum and Little Wheel, makes Drums (conform'd to the method of Herbert Heggins, Drum Maker to his Majesty's Office of Ordinance), either big or small, course or fine, for sea or land, at very reasonable rates, and as good as any in Scotland."

Dougal Graham, from whose *History of the Rebellion of* 1745 quotations have been made in these pages, was at this time a pedlar in Glasgow. Of his birth, parentage, and early life nothing is known. During the rebellion, he seems to have plied his craft in the rear of the contending armies. On the completion of his history, the following advertisement appeared in the *Courant* of 29th September, 1746:—"That there is to be sold by James Duncan, Printer in Glasgow, in the Salt-Mercat, the second shop below Gibson's Wynd, a book entitled, A full particular, and true account of the late rebellion in the years 1745 and 1746, beginning with the Pretender's embarking for Scotland, and then an account of every battle, siege, and skirmish, that has happened in either Scotland or England: to which is added, several addresses and epistles to the pope, pagans, poets, and pretender; all in metre, price fourpence. But any booksellers or packmen may have them easier from the said James Duncan, or the author, D. Graham. The like has not been done in Scotland since the days of Sir David Lindsay." This work rapidly passed through seven editions, none of which can now be found. In the preface to the eighth edition the author says:—"I have wrote it in vulgar rhyme, being what not only pleased my own fancy, but what I have found acceptable to the most part of my countrymen, especially to those of common education like myself. If I have done well, it is what I should like, and if I have failed, it is what mankind are liable to. Therefore, let cavillers rather write a better one, than pester themselves and the public with their criticisms of my faults." Sufficient extracts have been given from the book in a previous chapter to show its nature. Graham afterwards wrote a humorous poem, of twenty-two verses, entitled *John Highlandman's Remarks on Glasgow.* Of it the following verses may be reproduced here:—

"Her nainsel into Glasgow went,
An erran there to see't;
And she ne'er pe saw a ponier town,
Was stan'ing on her feet.

"For a' the houses that be tere,
Pe theiket wi' blue stanes,
And a stane ladder to gang up,
No fa' to prack her banes.

"She'll gang upon a stany road,
A street they do him ca',

And when me seek the shapman's house,
Her name be on the wa'.

"I gang to seek a snish tamback,
And standing at the corse,
And tere I see a dead man,
Was riding on a horse.

"And O he pe a poor man,
And no hae mony claise,
Te progs be worn aff her feet,
And me see a' her taes.

. . . . . .

"But I be rin around about,
And stand about the guard,
Where I see the deil chap the hours,
Tan me grow unco fear'd.

. . . . . .

"I'll no pe stay nae langer tere,
But fast I'm rin awa,
An' see the man a thrawing rapes,
Beside the Broomielaw.

. . . . . .

"Tan she'l gaed to her quarter house,
The toor was unco pra',
For tere they had a cow's husband
Was pricket on the wa'.

. . . . . .

"Next day I'm gang upon the Kirk,
To hear a lawland preach,
And mony a ponny sang they'll sing,
Tere pooks they did him teach."

Such are the principal verses in this "poem"—those omitted are merely elaborations of what has been given. The reference to the "deil" may be explained by stating that an ingenious clockmaker in Trongate had then a figure of Satan which struck the hours of a clock placed in his shop window. Graham afterwards became a printer in Glasgow. Some time subsequent to 1770 he became city bellman, and after filling that office for several years to the delectation and benefit of the inhabitants, he died on the 20th July, 1779.

Certainly the most prominent figures in the literary circle in Glasgow at this period were Robert and Andrew Foulis, "the Elzevirs of Scotland." Their father, Robert Faulls, as he spelt his name, was a maltman in the city. Robert was born on the 20th April, 1707, and Andrew on the 23rd November, 1712. Robert was early apprenticed to a barber, and while in that position Dr. Francis Hutcheson, then Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University, took a lively interest in him, and suggested that he become a bookseller and printer. Robert thereafter attended Dr Hutcheson's classes. Andrew, who was intended for the ministry, was also at the university, and the two brothers laboured diligently at their studies. In the year 1738, they visited Oxford, afterwards spending some months on

the Continent, to which they again repaired in the following year. Through the influence of Chevalier Ramsay, a native of Ayr, but a naturalised Frenchman, whose talents had raised him into the highest favour among Continental literati, they obtained admission to the best libraries. They also studied the Greek and Roman classics, and collected copies of them, which they sold to advantage on their return to London. In 1741, Robert commenced business in Glasgow as a printer and bookseller. He had his types made by Messrs. Wilson and Bain of this city, whose manufactory was in the village of Camlachie, and whose workmanship was held in the highest esteem. George Ross, Professor of Humanity, afterwards Professor of Greek, in the University, assisted Foulis in the corrections of his press. On the 31st March, 1743, Foulis was appointed printer to the university, and as such he was accommodated with premises within the precincts of the college. It would be impossible, within such limits as are here available, to refer in detail to the remarkable list of works issued from the press of the brothers, for Andrew had joined the business, though at what date is uncertain. In the year of his appointment as university printer, Foulis published *Demetrius Phalereus de Elecutione,* believed to be the first Greek book printed in Glasgow. Their celebrated edition of Horace appeared in 1744. This was called the "immaculate edition" of the poet, and the proof-sheets were hung up in the college, a reward being offered to any one who could discover inaccuracies. The reward does not seem to have been earned by any one; but it is unfortunate that since then, at least six typographical errors have been found in the book. After having issued a number of classical reprints of minor importance, Foulis, in 1747, published quarto and octavo editions of Homer—the first being considered a marvel of typography. About this time, it is believed the first literary and philosophical society was instituted in Glasgow, and of it Robert Foulis was a member. The society met every Friday evening, at half-past five o'clock, from the first Friday of November to the second Friday of May, and it included among its membership such names as Dr. Hutcheson, Adam Smith, Dr. Reid, Dr. Black, Dr. Moor, and Professor Richardson. Papers were read by the members in the order of their seniority, on subjects connected with literature, science, and art, and of the last-mentioned branch of polite knowledge the essays of Foulis usually treated. Probably in 1749, an edition of Cicero's works, in twenty volumes, was completed. In the July of 1751, Robert Foulis went abroad. He first visited Holland, where he expected to receive the assistance of Heinsterheuse and Alberti. Afterwards he proceeded to Paris, and with letters of introduction from Professor Moor, his brother-in-law, to the Abbé Salier and

M. Capperonier, he gained admission to the Royal Library. Before returning home he had given orders for collections from the best MSS. in the Vatican and other libraries, and the editorship of them was accepted by Dr. Moor, but after the lapse of eight years the project had to be abandoned. At intervals, between 1753 and 1766, the plays of Shakespeare were separately published. In April, 1756, the brothers, for their folio edition of the *Hymns of Callimachus*, obtained the silver medal offered by the Select Society of Edinburgh for the best printed and most correct book produced within a limited time. The succeeding year, the society's medal was again awarded them for their third edition of Horace and their folio edition of Homer's Iliad. The latter work was printed at the expense of the professors of the college, and it is believed to be one of the finest classics ever produced at any press. Foulis' edition of the Odyssey obtained the medal in 1758; and the Glasgow edition of Homer's minor works was in the following year declared the best specimen produced.

After working away for several years, and upholding his credit as an accurate printer, Robert Foulis, in 1767, requested Beattie the poet, who was then Professor of Moral Philosophy in the Marischal College of Aberdeen, to obtain permission from Gray, his brother-poet, and author of "An Elegy, Written in a Churchyard," to publish an edition of his works. This edition was elegantly done, and was far better received than one by Dodsley of London, published shortly before, but much inferior in every respect. Gray was presented with a copy of the Glasgow edition of Homer, in four volumes folio, by Foulis, who had been a considerable gainer in the transaction. With the assistance of Beattie a folio edition of Milton's poems was published by subscription. In a letter to Foulis, Beattie says:—"The Milton is wonderfully fine. It is indeed the most magnificent book I have seen, and seems to be perfectly correct." This was their last great work.

The attention of Robert Foulis had early been turned to artistic matters, and for many years he cherished the project of instituting an Academy of the Fine Arts in Glasgow. Such an institution was then unknown in Scotland. He had expected to obtain royal patronage to the scheme, which was generally discountenanced, but the death of the Prince of Wales was fatal to his hopes in that direction. In 1759, he inserted in the *Scots Magazine* a "proposal for encouraging by subscription an Academy for Painting and Sculpture," in which it was stated "that such gentlemen as are willing to promote this design, shall advance certain sums annually, for any number of years they shall think proper, during which time they are to choose, among the prints, designs, paintings, models, or casts, which are

the productions of this academy, such lots as may amount to the value of the sums they have advanced." Proper teachers having been obtained with great difficulty, the academy was instituted and a number of students attended. William Cochrane was one of the early students, and he exhibited so much talent that he was sent to Rome at the expense of the academy to study from the old masters. On his return to Glasgow he gained some eminence as a portrait-painter, but he died early, and a monument to his memory has been erected in the choir of the Cathedral. Foulis, in one of his letters, thus describes the operations of his pet institution:—"We have modelling, engraving, original history-painting, and portrait-painting—all in a reputable degree of perfection. In the morning our more advanced students sketch historical subjects from Plutarch's Lives, and other ancient books. The day is employed in painting and engraving, and by the younger scholars in drawing. In the evening they draw three designs a week after a model, and other three after casts of plaster from the antique." The Duke of Hamilton threw open his picture galleries to the students, and from it copies were made of the classical masters. On Glasgow Fair Days there was usually an exhibition in the university, and the pictures were exposed gratis to the public view. The academy, notwithstanding Foulis' strenuous efforts, was a failure. The death of Andrew of apoplexy on the 18th September, 1775, assisted in the breaking up of the business. In the following year Robert went to London with the intention of selling off his pictures by auction. He was received with the utmost consideration by many noblemen and gentlemen of distinction, but the pictures had to be sold at a disadvantage. One of his friends proposed presenting him to the king, but Foulis replied:—"I will never be in the presence of any king on earth; I will soon be in the presence of the King of kings." The old man was broken down by his disappointments, and on his way homewards, while in Edinburgh, he expired on the 2nd June, 1776.

Such, in brief, is the work of the brothers Foulis. Their affairs were finally wound up in 1781, by Robert Chapman, printer, and James Duncan, bookseller, in Glasgow, and their debts amounted to between £6,000 and £7,000. Among the many works of their academy were views of Glasgow, and as several of them are reproduced in this volume some idea of their high artistic excellence may be obtained.

David Allan, a painter of considerable merit, was one of the art apprentices of the Messrs. Foulis. A native of Alloa, and born in February, 1744, he early exhibited a genius for designing, and his father, himself a shore-master, on the 25th February, 1755, apprenticed his son for seven years with the promoters of

the Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts. Here he made great progress in his studies, and in 1773, while residing in Rome, he took the prize given by the Academy of St. Luke for the best specimen of historical composition. Two years later he returned to Edinburgh, where he became master and director of the academy established by the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Improvements, for the purpose of diffusing a knowledge of the principles of the fine arts and elegance of design in the various manufactures and works which required to be figured and ornamented. His character etchings are still admired, and gained him the name of "The Scottish Hogarth." Perhaps he is best known through his illustrations to an edition of Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, published in 1788. He died in August, 1796.

The celebrated modeller, James Tassie, was also a student at the Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts. The date of his birth is unknown. As his parents occupied a humble position, he was apprenticed to a stonemason. During a visit to Glasgow, in the neighbourhood of which he was born, he saw one of the Fair-Day Exhibitions of the Messrs. Foulis' pictures, and as he had the ambition to become a painter, he removed to Glasgow soon afterwards. Working during the day at his trade, he attended the academy in the evening, and he developed high talent. While in Dublin in search of employment, he made the acquaintance of Dr. Quin, a gentleman who amused himself in his leisure hours by endeavouring to imitate precious stones in coloured paste, and take impressions from ancient gems. This art was then in its infancy. Quin gave Tassie the use of his laboratory, and by their united exertions they succeeded both in making the paste and in taking impressions of the engravings. In 1766, the young Scotchman removed to London, where, after hard work, he emerged from obscurity, his name became respected, and the first cabinets of Europe were thrown open for his use. So great was his attention to the exactness of the imitation and the accuracy of the engraving, that unscrupulous persons on the Continent sold many of his pastes for real gems. He executed a commission for the Empress of Russia, consisting of about fifteen thousand different engravings. Tassie died in 1799, his engravings numbering nearly twenty thousand.

Mention may here briefly be made of two eminent professors of the university. Dr. Robert Simson was born in Ayrshire in 1687, and entered Glasgow College to study for the Church in 1701. Having obtained a copy of Euclid, he found that his genius lay in the direction of mathematics. He devoted himself chiefly to geometry, and having gained considerable reputation as a mathematician, he spent a year or two in London, where he made many valuable acquaintances. In 1711, Simson was appointed to the chair of mathematics in his *Alma Mater;* and

during his life-long connection with it, he published several works relating to his favourite study. He was never married, but he regulated his bachelorhood with mathematical precision. In his walks he carefully counted his steps, and was at any moment able to tell how many paces he was from home. A member of a club which met in a tavern in the vicinity of the university, he would meet with his fellows every Friday and play whist, engage in animated conversation, and delight the company with Greek odes sung to modern music. On Saturday afternoons he usually dined in the village of Anderston with the members of his regular club, and there he had his own chair at the table, and even his own glass, constructed with such mathematical exactness that he knew how many degrees his little finger required to be angled in order to finish the contents. He afterwards became chairman of the good fellows of the Anderston Club, a position for which his habits of mind eminently fitted him. After a life of usefulness, he died on the 1st October, 1768, in his eighty-first year, leaving to the university his collection of mathematical books, supposed to be the most complete then in the kingdom.

William Cullen, a native of Hamilton, and son of the factor to the Duke of Hamilton, was born in 1710; and after receiving his early education at the Grammar School of his native town, he removed to Glasgow, where he was apprenticed to a member of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons. He attended the medical classes in the university, and having terminated his studies with great credit, he, in 1729, went to London, and obtained the appointment of surgeon to a merchant ship trading between the English metropolis and the West Indies. On his return he practised and studied in various parts of the country, and after taking a course at Edinburgh University, he commenced business as a surgeon in his native town in 1736. During Cullen's residence there, his skill in the treatment of the Duke of Hamilton, who was suffering from an alarming disease, brought him under the notice of the most eminent physicians of the time; and among others he made the acquaintance of Dr. William Hunter, well-remembered in Glasgow as the founder of the Hunterian Museum in the university. He settled in Glasgow about 1744, and he perceived the possibility of establishing a medical school similar to that which had been founded in Edinburgh. In conjunction with several professors of the university he delivered lectures; and ultimately, in 1751, he was admitted Professor of Medicine. During the residence of Dr. Cullen in Glasgow, he devoted a considerable portion of his time to investigating the application of chemistry to the useful arts. He endeavoured particularly to suggest various improvements in the art of bleaching, and proposed an improved

method for the manufacture or purification of common salt. His fame became so general, that he was appointed to the chair of chemistry in Edinburgh, in January, 1756. After a remarkable and brilliant career, he died in February, 1790, in the eightieth year of his age. He is regarded as one of the most highly gifted and accomplished physicians that Scotland has ever produced.

John Bell of Antermony, the descendant of an ancient Glasgow family, is deserving of notice in this place. He was born on his paternal estate in 1691, and after having received a university education, he travelled in Europe and in Asia. In the first instance he visited St. Petersburg, where he took advantage of an embassy from the Czar to Persia, accompanying it in the capacity of surgeon. For many years he journeyed in various parts of Asia, including China, and in 1722, he accompanied the army of Peter the Great into Persia. About the year 1744, he returned to Scotland, having shortly before married a Russian lady. In 1763, the Messrs. Foulis published for him a book in two quarto volumes, entitled, *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to Divers parts of Asia.* This work was written on the model of *Gulliver's Travels*, and it has been remarked that it has all the simplicity of Gulliver, with the advantage which truth always carries over fiction. On the 1st July, 1780, he died at Antermony, having reached the patriarchal age of eighty-nine years.

CHAPTER XLI.

(A. D. 1767 TO A. D. 1774.)

Construction of Forth and Clyde Canal—The First Broomielaw Bridge—Effective Measures taken for Improving the Clyde Navigation—Construction of the Monkland Canal—The Commerce and Manufactures of Glasgow—The Tobacco Trade—The First Parochial Board in the City—Glasgow in 1771.

WITH a rapidly increasing trade, and with only the primitive methods of conveying goods over land to the ports on the east coast of Scotland, the citizens of Glasgow found it necessary to adopt some steps to give increased facilities towards obtaining improved communication with the Forth. The action of Brindley and others in England a few years previous to this had discovered a means of transit by the construction of artificial

THE FOULIS ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS, 1760.

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water tracks. The first canal had been constructed in Lancashire in 1755, but this one was of small extent. In 1759, Brindley commenced the construction of the noted Bridgewater Canal from Manchester to Leigh and Worsley; and the engineering difficulties he had overcome, together with the utility of the canal, gave the new departure a ready favour with the people. Canals multiplied in all parts of England, and their necessity having become apparent in Scotland, a movement was set afoot to connect the Clyde and Forth. As early as 1755, the Forth and Clyde Canal was projected by Glasgow merchants. They proposed that it should be four feet deep and twenty-four feet wide. Mr. John Smeaton, an engineer of eminence, was entrusted with the preliminaries; but for some reason or another no further step seems to have been taken in the matter until 1767. A bill embodying the proposal for the construction of a canal of the dimensions stated, to run from Carron-shore, near Grangemouth, to the Clyde, was in that year presented to Parliament by Lord Frederick Campbell, the member for the Glasgow district of burghs. His motion for leave to bring in the bill was negatived on the motion of Mr. Thomas Dundas, afterwards Lord Dundas, who desired that a scheme more extensive in its scope, and likely to be of more utility, should be brought before the House. Subscribers to the enlarged project were found in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other parts of Scotland, and they had themselves erected into a corporation. In the following session another bill was brought in by this corporation, and received the sanction of Parliament. It was entitled:—"An Act for making and maintaining a navigable cut or canal from the frith or river of Forth, at or near the mouth of the river of Carron, in the county of Stirling, to the frith or river of Clyde, at or near a place called Dalmuir Burnfoot, in the county of Dumbarton; and also a collateral cut from the same to the city of Glasgow; and for making a navigable cut or canal of communication, from the port or harbour of Borrowstownness, to join the said canal, at or near the place where it will fall into the frith of Forth." Under this act the depth of the canal was to be eight feet, and it was to be fifty-six feet wide. The work was begun on the 10th June, 1768, by Sir Lawrence Dundas, Bart., father of Lord Dundas, having dug the first spadeful for the formation of the canal.

While the preliminary negotiations for this great work were in progress, the need for an additional bridge across the Clyde had forced itself upon the authorities; and, accordingly, on the 29th September, 1768, the foundation-stone of a bridge at the Broomielaw was laid by Provost George Murdoch, acting-provincial grand master, with due masonic pomp and ceremony. The architect was William Mylne. The bridge was composed of seven arches,

was 500 feet long, and was thirty feet broad within the parapets. This was the first Jamaica Street Bridge.

Important though these schemes were, they were eclipsed by the action taken by the magistrates and Town Council in regard to the deepening of the Clyde. Smeaton's proposals, made in 1755, had lain in abeyance, and probably no action was taken on account of their impracticability. In 1768, John Golborne, of Chester, was called upon to advise the corporation. After an inspection of the river, he submitted a report on the 30th November of that year. The gist of that document was that the Clyde was in a state of nature, and that the average depth of the river from Glasgow to Kilpatrick Sands was only two feet. His proposal was to contract the channel by means of jetties or dykes for eight miles down the river, to dredge and deepen it, and by these means there must necessarily be a greater depth of water. The famous James Watt was then resident in Glasgow, and, on the suggestion of Golborne, he was requested by the magistrates to make a survey of the river. He did so in conjunction with Dr. Wilson and Mr. James Barrie, and their report corroborated that of the English engineer, with the addition that they stated that several parts of the river from Broomielaw to Pointhouse were less than two feet deep. The estimated expense of Golborne's scheme was £8,640. In 1770, the Town Council obtained an Act of Parliament, "to explain and amend an act made in the thirty-second year of the reign of King George the Second, for improving the navigation of the river Clyde to the city of Glasgow, and for building a bridge cross the said river, from the said city to the village of Gorbells." The act proposed to be explained and amended was, of course, the one obtained in 1759, to carry Smeaton's proposals into effect. Under this new act the corporation were appointed Trustees of the Clyde Navigation, and they were granted power to levy a rate of one shilling per ton on all goods passing from Glasgow to Dumbuck. A contract was entered into with Golborne, and he proceeded with the work in accordance with the plans he had prepared.

The year 1769 saw the formation of the first Baptist congregation in Glasgow. Neil Stewart, a wright, and George Begg, a weaver, were the founders of a meeting in connection with that denomination, which convened in a house in the High Street. An Edinburgh elder came soon after this, and immersed Mary Munro, Stewart's wife, in the Clyde at the Fleshers' Haugh. Mrs. Stewart is believed to have been the first person so baptized in Glasgow.

Nothing of great importance appears to have occurred in 1770, but several of those minor events which mark the onward progress of a city took place. Mr. Anderson of Stobcross laid

out a portion of his estate for building, and called it Finnieston, after his chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Finnie. The village and district of Gorbals had increased so greatly that a disjunction of the parish was obtained from the Court of Teinds, at the instance of the bailies and feuars of the village. It became a parish independent of Govan; but the patronage was declared to remain in the possession of the University of Glasgow, who held the patronage of the original parish of Govan. The first reading room was instituted, but very few shared in its benefits. The habits of the people were still unambitiously simple, and it is related that about this year the usual dinner hour was at ten o'clock in the forenoon. The Independents commenced to hold meetings in a dwelling-house in the High Street about this time. In concluding the references to 1770, it is worthy of remark that the revenue of the river and harbour from 1752 to this year, a period of eighteen years, is stated only to have amounted to the very small sum of £147, 0s. 10d.

Among the events of 1771, was the completion of Broomielaw Bridge, over which the first carriage passed on the 2nd January, 1772. In 1771, also, the corporation obtained three Acts of Parliament. One of these was for the making of a street from Saltmarket Street to St. Andrew's Church, for enlarging and completing St. Andrew's churchyard, and "for making and building a convenient exchange, or square, in the said city." Probably this last clause referred to the erection of St. Andrew's Square. Another act was in reference to the deepening of the Clyde, and for repairing, widening, and enlarging the Old Glasgow Bridge, at the foot of the Stockwell, which had become inadequate to the exigencies of the traffic. The third was "an act for making and maintaining a navigable cut or canal, and waggon-way, from the coalleries in the parishes of Old and New Monkland, to the city of Glasgow." The first suggestion of this scheme was made in 1769, and its purpose was to afford an outlet for the lower-ward coal-fields, and at the same time to afford Glasgow a plentiful supply of coal. The construction of this canal was gone on with rapidly. It was twelve miles in length, its breadth was twenty-five feet on the surface and twenty-four feet at the bottom, its depth was from four feet six inches to five feet, and it had four locks, each seventy-one feet in length and fourteen feet wide.

Gibson (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 247-8) gives an account of goods manufactured in Glasgow in 1771, with the values of each class. His return, though not nominally official, may be regarded as practically of that nature, for he states that in his endeavour to be as accurate as possible, he had had recourse to the excise books, and when these failed he had applied to the manufacturers themselves. The account has every appearance of containing all the

important branches of manufacture, and as it is interesting in many respects, no apology is needed for its reproduction here. It is as follows:—Brown linen, 7,613 yards, £761, 6s. in value; white linen, 129,869, £12,104, 1s. 3d.; oznaburgs, 1,883, £46, 17s. 4d.; striped and checkered linens, and bengals, 432,676, £16,760, 3s. 2d.; checkered handkerchiefs, 612,410, £23,842, 15s. 7d.; diaper and damask, 956, £86; cambric, 50,401, £17,357, 16s. 9d.; lawn, 26,159, £3,378, 17s. 5d.; long lawn, 18,472, £2,462, 18s. 8d.; Scots muslin handkerchiefs, 79,630, £4,935, 18s. 4d.; Glasgows, or lawn mixed with cotton, 13,513, £1,351, 6s.; carolines, 548,061, £73,369; brushes, £600; combs, horn and ivory, £3,000; copper, tin, and white iron, £15,000; delf and stone wares, £5,000; gloves, £4,500; handkerchiefs, silk and linen, £2,000; hats, men's, £8,000; jewellery, £3,000; inkles, £15,000; iron, total, £23,000; leather, tanned, £23,000; printed linens, £30,000; ropes, £28,000; saddlery, £20,000; shoes, £32,000; stockings, thread, £24,000; thread, nuns, &c., £30,000; in all the other articles, about £30,000: a total of 1,921,643 yards of cloth goods, with a total value of £452,557, 0s. 6d. The harbour dues for this year had increased to £1,044, 10s.; but this increase is probably owing more to the power to levy higher dues than to suddenly augmented traffic.

For the year ended 1772, Gibson (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 213) gives the particulars of the imports and exports of Glasgow, Greenock, and Port-Glasgow, and he states that the share of the imports and exports belonging to Greenock and Port-Glasgow was very trifling. The imports, it appears, were from Leghorn in Italy; Cagliari in Sardinia; Alicante, Cadiz, and St. Lucar in Spain; Figueira, Lisbon, Oporto, and St. Ubes in Portugal; Bordeaux in France; Rotterdam in Holland; Bremen, Memel, and Trieste in Germany; Dantzic in Poland; Konigsberg in Prussia; St. Petersburg in Russia; Wommelsound on the Gulf of Finland; Gothenburg and Norköping in Sweden; Arrundale, Christiania, Christiansand, Drammen, Frederickstadt, and Longsund in Norway; Belfast, Carlington, Carrickfergus, Cork, Dublin, Dundalk, Dungarvan, Drogheda, Larne, Limerick, Londonderry, Newry, Strangford, Waterford, and Wexford in Ireland; Boston, Falmouth, Penobscott, Philadelphia, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina in North America; Antigua, Granada, Jamaica, Nevis, St. Kitts, St. Vincents, and Honduras in the West Indies. In that year there were imported, among many other things, 8,372 feet oak boards; 7,350 pine boards; 790 lbs. undressed flax, with 6,608 bushels of flax-seed; 6,037 cow or ox hides; 15,420 cow or ox horns; 53,764 pieces of wooden hoops; 4,928 lbs. indigo; 2,983 ells German linen; 1,100,291 yards Irish linen; 386½ tons and 82,000 feet mahogany; 2,486 quarters oatmeal; 1,824 quarters ground oats; 3,163 quarters unground oats; 17,430 gallons train

oil; 11,260 feet pine planking; 1,000 feet walnut planking; 17,000 goose-quills; 5,900 reeds; 179,544 gallons of rum; 39,922 bushels of salt; 1,792 lbs. sarsaparilla; 5,000 shingles; 217 lbs. quicksilver; 88 beaver skins; 2,011 dozens calf-skins; 12,949 deer skins in the hair; 1,441 lbs. half-dressed deer skins; 47,357 lbs. sugar; timber—267 feet ash, 831 feet beech, 3,734 feet birch, 13,120 feet elm, 21,419 feet fir, 27,539 feet oak, 9,867 feet pine, 430 feet maple, and 229 feet walnut; 46,055,139 lbs. tobacco; 31,690 gallons Portuguese wines; 5,418 gallons Spanish wines; 59,434 lbs. cotton wool; 11,919 lbs. bay yarn; and 48,131 lbs. linen yarn.

The Glasgow merchants exported to Leghorn in Italy; Malion in Minorca; Bordeaux, Cette, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, Dunkirk, Marseilles, and Morlaix in France; Amsterdam and Rotterdam in Holland; Bremen and Hamburg in Germany; Gothenburg and Norköping in Sweden; Copenhagen in Denmark; Arrundale, Bergen, Christiansand, Drontheim, and Molda in Norway; Belfast, Coleraine, Cork, Donaghadee, Drogheda, Dublin, Larne, Limerick, Londonderry, Newry, Strangford, Waterford, and Wexford in Ireland; Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia in North America; Antigua, Barbadoes, Granada, Jamaica, Tobago, St. Kitts, St. Vincents, and Musquito in the West Indies. Tobacco in some form or other was sent to all the Continental ports; to all the Irish ports, except Coleraine, Donaghadee, Drogheda, Londonderry, and Newry; to all the North American ports, with the exceptions of New York, Philadelphia, North Carolina, and Georgia; and to three West Indian ports, these being Barbadoes, Jamaica, and St. Vincents. An analysis of the returns shows that there were exported:—2,916 firkins strong ale; 83 pieces calico; 7,506 yards cambric; 91,269 lbs. tallow candles; 5,599 yards carpeting; 3,993 lbs. cheese; 1,031 chalders coals; 3,758 lbs. cordage; 12,294 lbs. cutlery; 1,214 square yards diaper and sheeting; 558,237 lbs. green and manufactured glass; 11,840 lbs. gunpowder; 593,831 lbs. haberdashery; 2,971 dozens linen handkerchiefs; 19,312 lbs. hardware; 3,933 dozens men's hats; 14,818 barrels herrings; 4,000 wood hoops; 5 horses; 2,100 lbs. household furniture; 33,484 yards lawn; 239,921 lbs. tanned leather; linens—2,175,431 yards British, 732,012 yards Irish, 362,894 yards checkered and striped, 46,385 yards Kenting, 80,280 yards printed, and 2,836 ells German; 100 pieces nankeen; 1,149 gallons linseed oil; 9,718 lbs. paint; 21 reams writing paper; 364 gross tobacco pipes; 128,887 gallons rum; 76,976 ells sailcloth; 2,205 bushels salt; 2,306 square yards Irish sheeting; 14,200 lbs. soft soap; 15,284 lbs. hard soap; 19,523 lbs. plain and rappee snuff; 25,800 lbs. stationery; 2,115 staves; 7 anchor stocks; 735 dozen thread stockings; 25,000 bricks; 40,000

slates; 5,541 oz. silk stuffs; 31,611 lbs. brown and Muscovado sugars; 2,144 lbs. refined sugar; 570 lbs. tea; 1,375 lbs. thread; tobaccoes—112 lbs. cut, 9,098 lbs. roll, and 43,881,611 lbs. unmanufactured; 6,686 lbs. twine; 1,250 lbs. cabinetware; 91,414 lbs. copper and tin ware; 64,077 pieces delf and stone ware; 49,046 pieces earthenware; 16,332 lbs. ironmongery; 9,064 lbs. upholstery; wines—2,831 gallons French, 8,812 gallons Portuguese, and 618 gallons Spanish; 1,400 lbs. cotton wool; 575,425 lbs. woollens; and 2,802 lbs. linen yarn.

In addition to the exports and imports mentioned, Gibson adds (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 235) "that several cargoes from North America and the West Indies, the property of Glasgow, are delivered in London; and that very great quantities of wheat are sent from North America to the southern parts of Europe, on account of the merchants of Glasgow; therefore the particular imports of the port of Glasgow must fall very far short of the real imports of the property of Glasgow, and that very large quantities of goods are exported annually from London, and other ports in England, for account of the people in Glasgow; consequently the particular exports of the port of Glasgow must fall very far short of the real exports made by the merchants of Glasgow." The shipping belonging to the Clyde at this time was above 60,000 tons. In the year ended 5th January, 1772, there had been imported into the Clyde, 835 tons 18 cwt. 2 qrs. 13 lbs. of bar iron, together with 896 tons of pig iron. During the same period the exports of wrought or manufactured iron amounted to 671 tons 7 cwt. 1 qr. 20 lbs., of which no less than 489 tons 4 cwt. 3 qrs. 22 lbs. went to Virginia, the great tobacco-producing colony. The exports of pig iron amounted to 10 tons. In all respects these figures, incomplete though they are, show a most extraordinary advancement in the commerce of Glasgow.

There were thirty-eight firms of Glasgow merchants engaged in the tobacco trade in 1773. The total amount of tobacco imported into the Clyde in that year was 43,970 hogsheads, of which 35,035 hogsheads were from Virginia, 7,298 hogsheads from Maryland, and 1,637 hogsheads from Carolina. The exports in the same year of hogsheads of tobacco were to—France, 21,615; Holland, 14,162; Ireland, 4,115; Dunkirk, 3,323; Bremen, 1,337; Hamburg, 1,102; Denmark and Norway, 798; America, 30; and inland trade, 1,296—giving a total of 47,778 hogsheads. At the 1st January, 1774, there were on hand 3,940 hogsheads. This was the period of Glasgow's greatness in the tobacco trade, the imports having amounted in 1771 to 49,016 hogsheads; in 1772, 44,070 hogsheads; and in 1773, as seen above, 43,970 hogsheads.

The shoe trade had by 1773 assumed considerable importance.

George M'Intosh, who had his shop in King Street, employed upwards of 300 workmen for the home and export trade; and a like number of shoemakers was engaged by the Glasgow Tanwork Company. Pagan (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 86) says, "The power-loom was introduced to Glasgow in 1773, by Mr. James Louis Robertson of Dunblane, who set up two of them in Argyle Street, which were set in motion by a large Newfoundland dog performing the part of a gin-horse." John Robertson, a Pollokshaws power-loom tenter, in several letters sent to the *Glasgow Herald* in the months of January and February, 1871, stoutly contests this statement, and, contending that Mr. Pagan must have been misinformed, he says that a man named Adam Kinloch, whom he met in 1845, and who was then eighty-five years of age, "made the first two power-looms that ever were made in the world, and drove them with the use of a crank by his own hand, in a court off the Gallowgate," in 1793. It is possible that Pagan, notwithstanding his accustomed accuracy, may have been mistaken. The magistrates and council made an addition to the Green in this year, 1773, by the purchase for £2,103 of 28 acres from Colin Rae of Little Govan, and some smaller lots of the lands of Kinclaith from other persons. This purchase is now known as the High Green. The construction of the Forth and Clyde Canal had by this year been carried from the Forth as far as Kirkintilloch, and on the 3rd September, the navigable part was filled with water. Dunlop Street, at the head of which was the mansion of Dunlop of Garnkirk, a house afterwards occupied as the Bucks Head Inn, was opened up in this year, and many of the adjoining streets were laid out. Miller Street had its name from Miller of Westerton.

In 1774, the General Session, which had hitherto taken the most onerous part of the work of caring for the poor of the city, intimated to the Town Council that their funds were inadequate for the purpose; and after due consideration the magistrates, for the first time, elected what might be called a parochial board, consisting of fifteen assessors, whom they instructed to assess the ratepayers for £1,305, 10s. 10½d., for the support of the poor. Walter Stirling, the founder of Stirling's Library, was among those so nominated. In this year, forty-six firms imported 30,212 hogsheads of tobacco from Virginia, 8,610 from Maryland, and 1,721 from Carolina—a total of 40,543 hogsheads. The amount exported was 34,146 hogsheads, leaving 6,347 hogsheads on hand at 1st January, 1775. This was the last year of Glasgow's prosperity in the tobacco trade, for the American War of Independence, which broke out in April, 1775, put an end to the trade, ruined the tobacco lords, and well-nigh brought disaster on the city.

The following description of Glasgow at this time is taken

from Spencer's *English Traveller*, published in 1771, and is remarkably complete in every respect:—"Glasgow is the most handsome city in Scotland, all the buildings being of fine free-stone. It consists of several spacious streets, which, if they were uniform, would appear extremely beautiful. Many of the houses have their gables to the street, and are built over arcades, but too narrow to be walked in with any conveniency." The author having described the principal features of the city, all of which have already been mentioned in these pages, proceeds:—"The air of this place is so clear that a mountain, called Ben Lomond, twenty-five miles distant, may be seen from the head of King Street. Every thing in the government of the city is carried on in so regular a manner, and with so much strictness, that we seldom hear of any disturbances. The inhabitants have been remarkable for their strictness in attending to the public and private worship of God; so that, in going past their doors in an evening, you may hear so many singing psalms, that strangers are apt to imagine themselves in a church. The hour of dinner here is three o'clock; but it is customary also to take what is called a meridian, or a pint of ale and a salt herring, about one. A salt herring they call a 'Glasgow Magistrate.' The students at the college, who are about 400 in number, wear scarlet gowns; and such of the nobility as have sons here, always send a tutor along with them, in order to watch over their conduct, and prevent them from being guilty of any irregularities. Many of the merchants acquire vast fortunes, and they have such an inclination to buisness, that little besides it ever engages their attention. Those that trade to Virginia are decked out in great wigs and scarlet cloaks, and strut about on the Exchange [the pavement in front of the Tontine], like so many actors on a stage. They carry on an extensive trade to Holland, by means of the Forth; and, when the new canal is cut, the advantages will be considerable. They import, upon an average, 40,000 hogsheads of tobacco annually from our American colonies; of which 20,000 are afterwards sent to France, and a great quantity to Holland. They have a great share of the herring fishery; and many of them are proprietors of plantations in America. The linen manufactures are carried on to a more extensive degree, than in any other town or city in Scotland; and almost every thing taken in hand by them prospers. They have manufactures of woollen cloth, stockings, shalloons, and cottons. Stocking breeches are very generally worn, which adds to the extent of that manufacture. Muslins are made here; but more of that trade is carried on in Paisley. Here are several large sugar-houses and distilleries; a large manufactory of nails and earthen ware; vast manufactories of shoes, boots, and saddles, and all sorts of house furniture.

FINE ART EXHIBITION IN THE COURT OF OLD COLLEGE, 1761.

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The magazine of saddles and other works connected with that business, is an amazing sight. Upon the whole, Glasgow is a flourishing city; its trade is every day increasing, and will continue to do so, unless the morals of the people shall be corrupted by luxury."

CHAPTER XLII.

(CIRCA A.D. 1760-90.)

A Group of Glasgow Scholars—Adam Smith—Thomas Reid—James Watt—John Anderson—Leechman—Joseph Black—Millar—Moor—Richardson—Foundation of Chair of Astronomy, and Erection of the Macfarlane Observatory.

PERHAPS at no period was there a more brilliant group of men connected with any seat of learning than that which shed lustre on Glasgow University in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Such names as Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, and James Watt, not to specify other men of scarcely less talent, are sufficient to add to the honour of any institution, and to the University of Glasgow they have given imperishable distinction. In the succeeding pages, as is due, brief accounts are given of the relationship of several of the more prominent of these scholars to this city and its venerable college.

Adam Smith, the author of the *Wealth of Nations*, may be regarded as the central figure of the group. He was the only child of Adam Smith, comptroller of the customs at Kirkcaldy, where he was born on the 5th June, 1723; but his father having died a few months before his birth, his early education devolved entirely upon his mother. He was educated at the Grammar School of Kirkcaldy, and he soon attracted notice by his passion for books, and his extraordinary powers of memory. Having completed his fourteenth year, in 1737, he was sent to study at the University of Glasgow. His views having been directed towards the Church of England, he afterwards went to Oxford as an exhibitioner on Snell's foundation. During the seven years he remained there, he attained great proficiency in classical learning, and he became conversant with Hume's philosophy. Seeing that the Church did not suit his tastes, he returned to Scotland, and in the three years succeeding 1748, he delivered lectures on rhetoric and belles-lettres in Edinburgh. Here his friendship with Hume commenced. In 1751, he was appointed Professor

of Logic in the University of Glasgow; and in this chair he departed widely from the plan followed by his predecessors, in that he directed the attention of his pupils to studies of a more interesting and useful nature than the logic and metaphysics of the schools. About a year later, he was elected to the chair of Moral Philosophy in the same university. His lectures were divided into four parts—first, natural theology; second, ethics, strictly so called, containing the doctrines he afterwards published in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments;* third, justice or jurisprudence; and fourth, political regulations founded upon expediency, considering the political institutions relating to commerce, finance, and to ecclesiastical and military establishments, his conclusions on which were the substance of his *Inquiry into the Nature and Sources of the Wealth of Nations.* His remarkable success as a professor raised his reputation very high, and on his account a multitude of students came to the university. His opinions were the theme of dicussions in clubs and literary societies; the branches of science which he taught became fashionable in Glasgow; and his peculiarities of pronunciation were imitated by his more enthusiastic admirers. In 1759, he published his work entitled *Theory of Moral Sentiments,* a work which has been described as "profound in thought, and as an example of the graces with which a sage imagination knows how to adorn the simple and majestic form of science." The leading doctrines of this publication have been held to be refuted, but it nevertheless was sufficient to place its author's name upon the roll of fame. When a second edition was called for, there was added to it a *Dissertation on the Origin of Languages.* From a statement which Dr. Smith drew up in 1755, it appears that from the time he obtained a professorship in the University of Glasgow, and even while lecturing in Edinburgh, he had been in the habit of teaching the same liberal policy with respect to freedom of trade which he afterwards published in his *Wealth of Nations.* To the formation of these views he was largely assisted by his observations of the commerce of Glasgow, the merchants in the city affording him considerable assistance. Many of the most eminent merchants imbibed his opinions, notwithstanding that they were in direct opposition to the principles upon which trade was then generally conducted. The Senate of Glasgow University, in 1762, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, in testimony of their respect for his universally acknowledged talents, and of the advantage resulting to the university from the ability with which he had expounded the principles of jurisprudence. In 1763, he resigned his chair, and went abroad as tutor to the young Duke of Buccleuch; and during his travels he made the acquaintance of the most eminent French scholars

of the time. After his return to Scotland, in 1766, he took up his residence with his mother at Kirkcaldy, and following ten years of intense study came the publication of his *Wealth of Nations.* This is not the place to analyse such a work; but it may be stated that its fundamental principle was the now popular "unlimited freedom of trade and commerce." Following this, Dr. Smith resided chiefly in London and Edinburgh. He was, in 1787, elected Lord Rector of the University. Of this honour, in a letter to Principal Davidson, he wrote:—"No preferment could have given me so much real satisfaction. No man can owe greater obligations to a society, than I do to the University of Glasgow. They educated me: they sent me to Oxford. Soon after my return to Scotland, they elected me one of their own members; and afterwards preferred me to another office, to which the abilities and virtues of the never to be forgotten Dr. Hutchison had given a superior degree of illustration. The period of thirteen years which I spent as a member of that society, I remember as by far the most useful, and therefore as by far the happiest and most honourable period of my life: and now, after three and twenty years' absence, to be remembered in so very agreeable a manner by my old friends and protectors, gives me a heartfelt joy, which I cannot easily express to you." His life after this was comparatively uneventful, and he died in Edinburgh, in July, 1790. A few days previous to his death, he caused the greater part of his MSS. to be destroyed, as he did not consider them worthy of publication.

Another of those Scotchmen who gave lustre to Glasgow University was Thomas Reid. He was born in Kincardineshire, in 1710, and was educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen. Developing in early life an aptitude for metaphysical studies, he attained such eminence in this direction, that in 1752, he was elected Professor of Moral Philosophy in King's College, Aberdeen. In 1763, he became Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, a position he filled with great acceptance during the eighteen years of his incumbency. Advancing age caused him to resign this office in 1781. Between 1785 and 1788, he published two sets of essays now known by the title of *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind.* On October, 1796, he died, after repeated strokes of palsy. He was buried in the Blackfriars churchyard; and his epitaph justly described him as one "who, in mental science—like the illustrious Bacon, Lord Verulam, in natural philosophy—remodelled everything; who to acuteness of talent and learning of every kind added both gravity of manner and politeness."

While Glasgow may not claim James Watt as one of its sons, yet his long residence and intimate connection with its affairs fairly entitle him to be classed among its most eminent citizens.

The son of a blockmaker and shipchandler in Greenock, he was born in that town in January, 1736. He early discovered a strong predilection for mechanical and mathematical studies, and in 1754 he went to London to learn the profession of a mathematical instrument-maker. It was his intention to settle in Glasgow, but the opposition of the trades incorporations is said to have been so great, that the university authorities had to take him into their protection, by appointing him their mathematical and philosophical instrument-maker. This was in 1757. In virtue of his office he had apartments in the university buildings. In the winter of 1763, Professor Anderson, the occupant of the chair of Natural Philosophy, desired Watt to repair a model of Newcomen's steam-engine. Having been studying for two years the properties of steam, Watt took this opportunity of testing some of his theories by means of the model, and the questions that suggested themselves to his mind were—first, how to keep the cylinder always as hot as the steam to be admitted into it; and, second, how to cool down the condensed steam and the injection water used for condensation to a temperature not exceeding 100°. He had, in this same year, married his cousin, Miss Miller, daughter of the chief magistrate of Calton; and having removed from his apartments in the college, he had opened a shop in Saltmarket, opposite St. Andrew's Square. In 1765, he solved his difficulties with regard to steam, and he constructed an improved model of the steam-engine. He surrounded the cylinder with a casing, the intervening space being filled with steam to keep the cylinder warm; and he put a cover on the top, causing the piston rod to move through a hole in it, the piston being rendered air-tight by a lubrication of wax and tallow. Watt was a partner of the delf-work at the Broomielaw, and in it his experiments were performed. He became a civil engineer, and in 1767 he surveyed the Forth and Clyde Canal for the promoters of the first unsuccessful scheme, and afterwards he surveyed and superintended the construction of the Monkland Canal. In 1768, he corroborated Golborne's scheme for deepening the Clyde. At this time his shop was in the Trongate, but closing it, he removed to a private house on the east side of King Street. He obtained, in 1769, letters patent for "Methods of lessening the consumption of steam, and consequently of fuel in the steam-engine." Four years later he surveyed the then projected Caledonian Canal. In 1774, Watt entered into a partnership with Matthew Boulton, of the Soho Foundry, near Birmingham, and there they manufactured steam-engines with great success and large profit. While on a visit to Paris in 1786, the celebrated French chemist, Berthollet, communicated to him his discovery of the bleaching properties of chlorine. Here it may be stated that Watt had, in 1775, married a second time.

His wife was a Miss M'Gregor, daughter of a gentleman who had a large bleachfield in the vicinity of Glasgow. Berthollet's discovery was revealed by Watt to his father-in-law in 1787, and bleaching by the new method was immediately commenced at Mr. M'Gregor's establishment, with the most satisfactory results. This was not the only benefit the inventor had conferred upon his friend, for he had, in 1780, given him a steam-drying apparatus, the first machine of the kind ever constructed. It would be interesting, but inexpedient here, to trace in detail Watt's many inventions and improvements. It may be sufficient to state that in 1806 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of Glasgow; and that in 1810 he constructed, for the Glasgow Water Company, a flexible water main, with ball and socket joints. On the 25th of August, 1819, James Watt, the improver of the steam-engine, a man of versatile mechanical genius, died at his residence in Staffordshire, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The memory of the founder of Anderson's College must ever be held in grateful remembrance by the people of Glasgow, for the benefits which that institution has conferred upon them are second only in extent and degree to those of the venerable university itself. John Anderson was born in the manse of Rosneath in 1726. He received his early education at Stirling, and he afterwards studied at Glasgow University. When thirty years of age he was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages by the senate of his *Alma Mater;* and in 1760 he was transferred to the more congenial chair of Natural Philosophy. While in this latter position he frequently visited the workshops of the artisans in the town, and gained a large amount of experimental knowledge; and, in return for this, he taught, twice every week during the session, a class specially suited for working men, who were allowed to attend in their working dress. In 1786, he published his *Institutes of Physics*, a work which went through five editions within ten years. He had invented a gun, the recoil of which was stopped by the condensation of common air within the carriage, but as he had failed to attract the attention of the British Government to it, he went to Paris in 1791 and presented it, with acceptance, to the French National Convention, who ordered it to be hung up in their hall, with the inscription—"The Gift of Science to Liberty." Dying in January, 1796, in the seventieth year of his age, he left the whole of his effects, of every kind, for the establishment of an educational institution in Glasgow, to be denominated Anderson's University, for the special benefit of those among whom he had done so much during his professoriate.

Among the other prominent men connected with the university at this time, and who each exercised a powerful influence

within their own spheres, there may be mentioned, briefly:—Principal Leechman, for forty years connected with the college, first as Professor of Theology, and for the last twenty-five years as Principal. He was esteemed more for his sterling goodness and high mental culture, than for actual brilliancy. Joseph Black, from 1746 to 1766, occupied the chairs of Chemistry and Medicine. His experimental researches into chemical laws have drawn the remark from Lavoisier, the eminent Frenchman, that he was "the illustrious Nestor of the chemical revolution." When John Millar, of Lanarkshire birth, was appointed Professor of Law in 1761, the study of civil law was considered of little value in Glasgow, and the students attending the class seldom numbered more than four or five. However, by a popular and incisive style of lecturing, Professor Millar created an extensive interest in the subject, which was heightened by the publication, in 1787, of his *Historical View of the English Government, from the Settlement of the Saxons in Britain to the Accession of the House of Stewart.* Mention has been made of Professor Moor in relation to the Messrs. Foulis. His father was a schoolmaster in Glasgow, and he himself was educated at the university of his native city. In 1742, he was elected librarian of the college, and four years later he became Professor of Greek. At the request of the university authorities, he superintended the publication of the Foulis edition of Homer. His principal work was a grammar of the Greek Language. He died in 1779, and his valuable library and collection of medals were purchased by the university. William Richardson, Professor of Humanity, was admired as a miscellaneous writer; his most highly appreciated work being a *Philosophical Analysis of some of Shakespeare's Remarkable Characters.*

While thus discoursing of the men who gave to the University of Glasgow much of its reputation, it may not be inappropriate to mark several signs of advancement in connection with that institution from the time when it was last mentioned in these pages (*Vide* p. 297). In 1720, there were twelve professors connected with the college; and in the interval between that year and 1790, there had been added the chair of Practical Astronomy. The professorship was founded by George II., in 1760, the first incumbent being Dr. Alexander Wilson, who, besides his astronomical fame, was eminent as a type-founder. Alexander Macfarlane, a Jamaica merchant, and graduate of the University of Glasgow, left in 1757 a number of astronomical instruments to his *Alma Mater*, and it was these that James Watt was first requested to put in repair. Professor Wilson was succeeded in 1784 by his son, Dr. Patrick Wilson, who left a donation for making additions to Macfarlane's collection, the principal condition being that an observatory be erected in connection with the

university. An observatory was accordingly built near the east end of the college garden, and it was furnished with the most approved astronomical apparatus; and adjoining it was a house for the accommodation of the professor.

The only other matter that may be here noted in relation to university affairs was that, in 1772, a lightning rod had been placed on the college steeple, under the auspices of the celebrated Franklin.

CHAPTER XLIII.

(A.D. 1775 TO A.D. 1782.)

Effects of American War upon Glasgow Tobacco Trade—The West Indian Trade—Improvements on the Clyde—Gibson's History of Glasgow—Expense of Education and Living in 1777—Ruin of the Bishop's Castle—The First Police Force—Religious and Trade Riots—Pavements and Lamps first on the Streets—The Tontine—Great Flood and Famine.

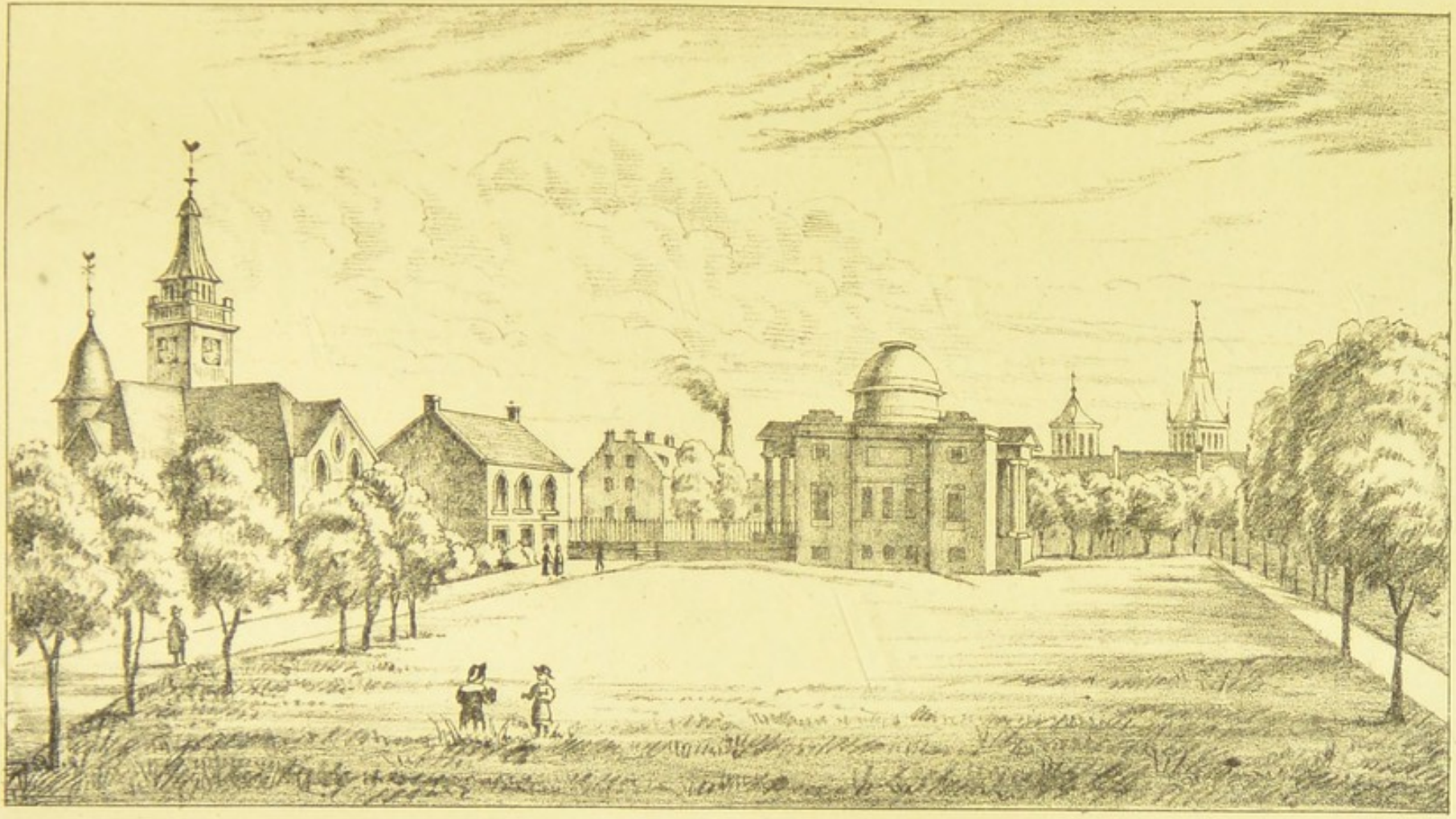
THE year 1775 was most eventful in its effects upon the trade of Glasgow. By the outbreak of the American War of Independence, the tobacco trade of the city was ruined, and the merchants were forced to seek other channels in which to direct their commercial energy. The war caused the greatest consternation in the city, and the price of tobacco rose from threepence to sixpence per lb. So great was the interest the city merchants had in the suppression of the rebellion, that many of them acted as recruiting sergeants, and ultimately raised and equipped a regiment of 1000 men, at an expense of £10,000, for the service of the king. This regiment was afterwards known as the 83rd Foot. Many of the Glasgow ships were used for the transport of troops by the Government. The merchants fitted out fourteen privateers, mounting from twelve to twenty-two guns, and carrying altogether about a thousand men. An interesting incident of this time is recorded by "Senex." That writer states (*Glas., Past and Pres.*, Vol. II., p. 4) that William Cunningham of Lainshaw was then a junior partner of a great house of Virginian merchants, and that when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, all the other members of the firm proposed selling their stock at sixpence the lb. Cunningham shrewdly bought it all, and as the price of tobacco soon afterwards rose to three and sixpence per lb., he made an enormous

profit. He afterwards built, in 1779, the most splendid mansion house then in the city, in the Cowlone or Queen Street, at the expense of £10,000, and it is this building, reconstructed and greatly improved, that is now used as the Glasgow Royal Exchange.

It was fortunate for the stability of Glasgow as a commercial centre that its merchants had not entirely placed their capital in the now ruined tobacco trade. The West Indian trade has already been mentioned, and to it the city traders, in their disabled state, turned their attention, adding, also, that general commerce which has done so much for the prosperity of Glasgow. In 1775, the imports from the West Indies into the Clyde were:—4,621 hhds. and 691 tierces of sugar; 1,154 puncheons and 193 hhds. of rum; and 563 bags of cotton.

In the course of this year, 1775, the city showed signs of progressive vitality. The ground on the north of the Trongate, known as the Ramshorn Crofts, and then used for gardens, was feued for building upon a plan prepared by the magistrates. Golborne, in pursuance of his scheme, had erected 117 jetties on the Clyde, and for the first time vessels drawing fully six feet of water came up to the Broomielaw at high tide. To mark their appreciation of this great engineering feat, the Town Council presented Mr. Golborne with £1,500 and a silver cup, he having deepened the river ten inches more than he was bound to do by his contract, while his son had £100 gifted to him. The Forth and Clyde Canal was opened from Kirkintilloch to Stockingfield on 10th November, 1775. The rising state of the suburb of Barrowfield, and the increasing requirements of the traffic between Glasgow and Rutherglen about this period, rendered it necessary that there should be some more convenient mode of communication than the ford which had been made use of from time immemorial. Accordingly, Rutherglen Bridge was built in 1776, at an expense of £1,800, of which the burgesses of Rutherglen contributed about £1,000. The township of Barrowfield thereafter received the name of Bridgeton.

One of the most important events in Glasgow, in 1777, was the publication of Gibson's history of the city. Gibson was a merchant, and as such was specially competent to write concerning the commercial progress of the community. His work has always held a high place among the records of Glasgow. The imprint on the title page states that the book was "printed by Rob. Chapman and Alex. Duncan for the author, and sold by him at his lodgings in Gallowgate, and by the booksellers in London, Edinburgh, &c., 1777." It was dedicated to Lord Frederick Campbell, M.P. for the district. The author states in his preface that he had made choice of returns for the manufactures of the year 1771, in order that the reader might have it in his



THE OLD COLLEGE GARDENS ABOUT THE END OF LAST CENTURY.

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power to see at one view both the commerce and the manufactures of Glasgow; but if he had taken the returns for 1776, they might have shown greater value than in 1771. As an instance, the value of printed linens made in the latter year was £30,000, while in 1776 it was upwards of £100,000 sterling. Gibson then makes the following interesting statement:—"Perhaps no circumstance could have occurred more fortunate for the manufactures of Glasgow, than the stop which has for some time been put to the commerce with America. Prior to this event the chief aim of the manufacturers was to procure a sale of their commodities to this market; and, as the returns for these were not made in less than eighteen months, the capital necessary to carry on any manufacturing branch of business, even to a tolerable extent, was considerable; by the shutting of the American market, necessity has led them to make trial of others, and they now find that markets for their manufactures can be procured which will make them returns in six months, so that three times the quantity of business may be done on the same capital as formerly." The work itself contains a well-balanced account of many of the most important events in the history of Glasgow; and the appendix, containing charters and other documents illustrative of that history, is particularly valuable and useful.

Chapter XI. of Gibson's history gives a very fair and concise idea of the expense of education and of living in Glasgow at the period of its publication. In regard to education he states that the fee per quarter in the English and Grammar Schools was 4s. The teachers were paid by the magistrates; while at Candlemas each of their scholars was expected to give them what was known as a Candlemas offering, the amount of which depended upon the ability and inclination of the parents. While boys were attending the Grammar School they had writing one hour per day, the expense of which was 3s. 6d. per quarter; if two hours per day, 7s. 6d. per quarter. After finishing their grammar it was usual that they attend four hours each day during the summer months to learn arithmetic and bookkeeping, the fee in this case being 10s. per quarter. Dancing was taught at the Grammar School, one hour a day, for 8s. 6d. per month. At five or six years of age children were commonly sent to the English School; at seven or eight they were sent to learn Latin; and by eleven or twelve they were enrolled at the college.

The account given by Gibson of the expense of living in Glasgow is particularly interesting. House rents were from £1, 10s. to £60 per annum; lodgings, 1s. to 10s. per week; board and lodging, £10, 10s. to £52 per annum. Men servants were paid from £4 to £12; and maid-servants from £2 to £5 per annum. Beef was sold at from 4d. to 7d. per lb.

of 22½ ounces; veal, 4d. to 7d.; mutton, 3d. to 7d.; lamb, 2½d. to 7d.; goat, 2d. to 4d.; and pork, 3d. to 6d. No venison, hares, or rabbits were then to be found in the city markets. Geese brought 4s. to 6s. per pair; ducks, 2s. to 3s.; hens, 1s. 8d. to 4s.; chickens, 8d. to 1s. 8d.; and eggs, 3d. to 7d. per dozen. There were neither turkeys, wild-fowl, nor pigeons. The price of fish was:—Salmon, 3d. to 1s. per English lb.; herrings, 2s. to 8s. 4d. per 100; cods, 2d. per lb.; whitings and haddocks, 6d. to 1s. per doz; mackerel, 1s. 6d. per dozen; turbot, 1s. per lb.; trouts were rare and brought 3d. to 4s. per doz.; oysters, very small, 8d. to 1s. 8d. per 120; and lobsters, 6d. to 2s. 6d. each. Butter was retailed at from 6d. to 9d. per lb. of 22½ ounces; the same weight of cheese brought from 2d. to 6d.; and milk was from 1d. to 1½d. per English quart. Much of the cheese consumed was from England, and great quantities of butter from Ireland. Garden stuffs were plentiful and cheap; but fruits, with the exception of gooseberries and currants, were scarce. Apples were sold at from 1d. to 3d. per English lb.; strawberries at 1s. the Scotch pint; but the purchaser seldom met with cherries and plums of good kinds. Table-beer ranged from 10d. to 1s. 4d. per Scotch gallon, equal to four English gallons; strong beer was from 3s. to 4s. for the same quantity. Coals were 2s. 8d. per cart of 9 cwt. By the magistrates' assize of bread the peck loaf was to weigh 17 lbs. 6 oz. avoir., and be sold—wheaten, for 2s. 3½d., and household, for 1s. 8d.; the three quarter peck loaf, 13 lbs., for 1s. 8¾d. and 1s. 3d., the half-peck loaf, 8 lbs. 11 oz., for 1s. 1¾d. and 10d. respectively. There were besides, sixpenny, threepenny, twopenny, penny, and half-penny loaves. The assize was so set that the bakers must give fourteen penny loaves for 1s., and seven for 6d.; with the half-penny loaves in the same allowance and proportion. Wheaten bread was to be marked with W, and household with H, together with the name of the baker, while an omission in this respect brought the offender under a penalty of 5s. Those who charged more than allowed by the magistrates were to be fined 20s.; and light weight incurred a fine of 5s. for every ounce deficient. Oatmeal was, on the average, sold at 11d. per peck of 8 lbs. Dutch. The ordinary breakfast of a mechanic was porridge with milk or small beer; his dinner, barley broth; and Gibson estimates that each of them should, on the average, gain 7s. per week off his wages. Two articles of food much used by the poor people were potatoes and salted herrings. Potatoes were about 7d. per peck of 48 English lbs.; and salted herrings were 4s. 2d. per 100. Three lbs. of potatoes, he calculates, with a couple of herrings, would not exceed the value of 1½d., and made "a sufficient dinner for any labouring man whatever." Gibson then says the healthiness of this food could not possibly

be called in question, for there was no set of people in the world more healthy than the mechanics of Glasgow. Potatoes and herrings were made use of daily for a considerable portion of the year, and as a consequence apoplexy was scarcely known in the city. With a strong faith in the value of the "Glasgow magistrate" as an article of diet, the writer proceeds :—"Seldom does a year pass in England without complaints being made of the high price of provisions; could an English mechanic condescend to eat herrings, here is a cheap, healthy, and tasteful food; eating of butcher meat daily, in whatever manner you may dress it, must certainly pall the appetite; by sometimes making use of these herrings, it would at least be a change of food, and would make them return to the roasted beef with double keenness; it would prove the means of increasing the number of our brave seamen, the supporters of our greatness as a nation, and it would be attended with this happy effect, that it would introduce wealth into the most northern part of this island, whose hardy inhabitants are ready, upon every occasion, to turn out in the defence of the country; besides it would be an effectual method to reduce the price of butcher meat." Perhaps the "roast beef of Old England" was never shown to such disadvantage as it is here; while oatmeal porridge, generally believed to be the cause of Scotch strength and clear-headedness, must bow before the superior salted herring.

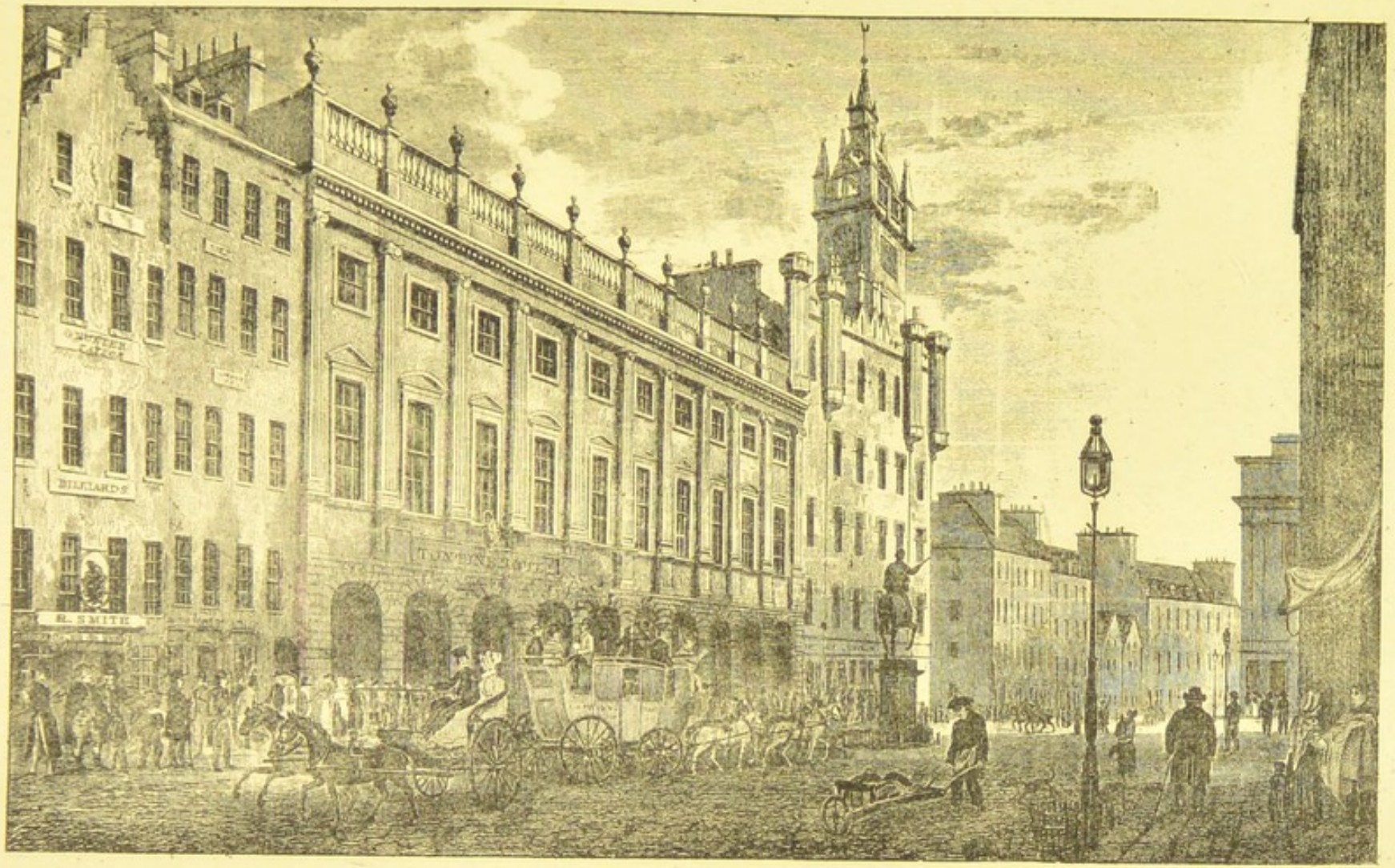
Among the other events of 1777 was the widening of the Old Glasgow Bridge at the foot of Stockwell. The breadth was increased by ten feet on the eastern side; and for the purpose of confining the river within proper limits and obviate the danger of flooding, two of the arches on the north side were built up. Arn's Well, "which," as the genial Hugh Macdonald says, "is famed for the quality of its water, and received its name from a group of alder (*Scottice* 'arn') trees, which formerly graced the spot," was opened to the public in this year, 1777, and it supplied refreshment to visitors to the Green for fully half a century. Messrs. Cookson and Co., of Newcastle, then commenced the manufacture of flint-glass or crystal in Glasgow; and the manufacture of the important dyeing factor, known as cudbear, was begun by Messrs. George Macintosh and Co., whose works were in Ark Lane, off Duke Street.

The ancient castle of the bishops of Glasgow has been mentioned as having fallen into a ruinous condition. The spirit of the times did not favour the preservation of such a venerable relic, for it brought to the Presbyterian mind memories of Papal supremacy. This spirit of irreverence for the antique in such a connection is fully exemplified by the fact that the Saracen's Head Inn, erected in the Gallowgate in 1755, was built from stones taken from the ruins. In 1778, again, utilitarianism

came to the front, and a portion of the ruins was removed to admit of Castle Street being widened.

Prior to 1778 it became apparent to the Town Council that the rapid growth of the city required that there should be in it some organised system of police, instead of the old and somewhat primitive method of the town's-officers and the well-disposed citizens looking to the preservation of peace. On the March of this year an inspector—who had a number of men under him—was appointed at a salary of £100; but the fact that no assessment could be laid upon the inhabitants for the upkeep of the new force acted against its efficiency. The new officer had to resign three years later, the office was afterwards abolished, and a return was made to use and wont. The average annual consumpt of coal in Glasgow in 1778, was only 181,800 carts, and this small quantity included what was exported from the Broomielaw and sold at Port-Glasgow and Greenock. There were then only ten collieries in the vicinity of the city. Coals were at that time 3s. a cart.

Comparative peace had reigned in Glasgow for many years, but in the year 1779 there were two distinct riots. Curiously enough, the immediately exciting causes of them both were Acts of Parliament. The introduction into Parliament of the bill for the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics created the greatest *furore* in the city. No fewer than eighty-five societies, representative of fully 12,000 persons, had petitioned against the bill; and the lower orders regarded the proposal for the relief of their Catholic fellow-citizens as a covert attack upon their liberties as Protestants. There were thus in the city all the elements of a disturbance. Bishops Kay and Geddes had occasionally celebrated the mass in a clandestine manner in a dwelling-house in Saltmarket; and there was a goodly number of Roman Catholics within the city. The public feeling rose to such a pitch that one Sunday forenoon in January, 1779, a large mob proceeded to a Catholic meeting-house in High Street, dismissed the congregation with a shower of stones, and destroyed several altar-pieces. By the arrival of the magistrates the rioters were dispersed, and further damage was prevented. This was not, however, the only outbreak. The *Scots Magazine* relates that on the evening of Tuesday the 7th February, which was being held as a fast-day by Royal proclamation, a mob assembled in the east end of the Gallowgate, at the house of one Robert Bagnal, where it was believed those of the hated denomination sometimes met for worship. The house was set fire to, and it and several adjoining buildings were consumed. Afterwards they went to Bagnal's warehouse in King Street, and destroyed its contents. The magistrates, with the aid of the Western Fencibles, endeavoured to quell the



THE OLD TOWN HALL & OLD EXCHANGE AT THE CROSS.

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disturbance without bloodshed; and afterwards a proclamation was made, setting forth that the offending bill had been dropped, and offering a reward of a hundred guineas for the discovery of those who had been the ringleaders. Several persons were apprehended, but, to prevent worse consequences, they were released. On the following day the rioters intended to resume their labours; but the magistrates had convened the deacons of the trades, and each deacon, with twenty of his tradesmen, patrolled the streets, aiding the military in preserving order. This extra force remained on duty for several nights, but there was no renewal of the disturbance. Bagnal, it may be added, was a potter to trade, and his house was in Tureen Street, off the Gallowgate. He raised an action against the city, and received compensation for the loss he had sustained.

In the course of the same year, 1779, another *emeute* occurred in the city, but no damage to property was committed. A bill had been introduced into Parliament to remit the duties imposed upon French cambrics. The manufactures of Glasgow were not at this time in the most flourishing condition, and the tradesmen in the city thought that free trade to the French would still more seriously cripple the native industry. Accordingly, when it was known that such a measure had been brought before the legislature, a mob of weavers belonging to Glasgow and villages in the neighbourhood, marched through the principal streets, with an effigy of the minister who had introduced the bill. This effigy, which had in one hand a piece of French cambric, and in the other a copy of the bill, was afterwards hung and blown to pieces with some explosive. Having satisfied themselves, the weavers peaceably dispersed. This bill, also, was abandoned. As showing the unfortunate condition in which the knights of the loom must have been in at this time, it should be stated that oatmeal had risen to 3s. 6d. per peck, and many of the poorer inhabitants relieved themselves forcibly at the meal market, which then stood at the foot of Montrose Street. The immediate cause of this distress had been the failure of the harvest, and subscriptions had to be raised for the relief of the poverty-stricken.

The population of Glasgow and suburbs had, in 1780, increased to 42,832, as against 28,300 in 1763; while the revenue from the river and harbour amounted to £1,515, 8s. 4d., against £1,044, 10s. nine years previous. There was a great frost in the city in the January of this year. The condition of the streets was beginning to receive attention. John Brown had, about 1777, been appointed Master of Works, and in the year mentioned he superintended the laying of the first pavement in Glasgow, laid on the east side of the Candleriggs, between Trongate and Bell Street. John Wilson, an ironmonger, whose shop was opposite Hutcheson's Hospital, in the Trongate, set his fellow-citizens an

example by putting pavement in front of his premises, and in the three succeeding years many other shopkeepers did the same. This evidence of public spirit on the part of the community was fittingly responded to by the magistrates and council, who, on the 16th August, 1780, instructed the Master of Works to erect nine lamps on the south side of the Trongate, from the Laigh Kirk Steeple to Stockwell Street, in consideration that the proprietors there had laid a foot-pavement. They also expressed their willingness to extend the line of lamps west of Stockwell Street if the proprietors there did in the matter of pavement as their neighbours had done. Increased church accommodation being necessary, the Town Council had resolved to build a new west end church. What is now known as St. Enoch's Square had been newly laid out, and in the centre of it they erected St. Enoch's Church. Provost William French laid the foundation stone in 1780. The architect was J. Jaffray; the clock was made by John Hamilton, of Glasgow, and the church gave accommodation for 822 hearers. Two years later it was finished and opened.

In 1781, the Tontine Scheme was inaugurated. The best people in Glasgow took shares in the new concern, and negotiations were entered into for the erection of suitable buildings in the vicinity of the Cross. The site selected was next the Town-house, and the Tontine was finished by November, 1782. Mr. Smart took a lease of the building, which he occupied as a hotel, and he instituted a "daily ordinary." The opening of the coffee-house took place in May, 1784, when the Lords of Justiciary were in the city; and on the 13th of that month the finest assembly ever witnessed, until then, in Glasgow, was held within its walls. Within this room the merchants of Glasgow met for many years after to talk over business matters and scraps of city gossip, and it was long remembered by venerable citizens as the "Old Exchange."

Ingram Street was opened up for feuing in 1781. On the 7th September of that year, Mr. Golborne made an estimate for further deepening the Clyde, so that vessels with a draught of seven feet might come to the Broomielaw. The postal revenue for the city amounted to £4,341.

The year 1782 was a most unfortunate one for Glasgow. For some days previous to Thursday, the 11th of March, there had been an almost uninterrupted fall of rain and snow in the upper reaches of the Clyde; and on the afternoon of the day mentioned, the river began to swell suddenly. Before midnight the Green was flooded from the overflow of the Clyde, and the Bridgegate was several feet under water. Saltmarket, Stockwell Street, Jamaica Street, and Gorbals were also submerged. The inhabitants of Saltmarket were taken unawares, and were unable to

reach a place of safety, so that they passed a most eventful night. About daybreak on the following morning, however, the flood began to subside, and the inhabitants of the higher portions of the city went in boats, loaded with provisions, to the relief of the sufferers; and in cases where the houses indicated inability to stand through, the people were taken away. The flood had fallen by Wednesday morning, and the river was confined to its ordinary channel. Only one life was lost on this occasion, a young woman in Gorbals having been drowned; but an immense amount of damage was caused through the destruction of the contents of warehouses, and the drowning of horses and cattle. Within a few days after the disaster, upwards of £500 were subscribed to make up, in some degree, the loss that had been sustained. This was long remembered as the most remarkable inundation the Clyde had ever made upon the lower part of the city—frequent as these inundations then were—and the scene, with the river twenty feet above the ordinary tide level, must have been exciting in the extreme. But in addition to this, the condition of the poorer people was greatly aggravated by a famine, to cope with which the magistrates had to offer farmers a bonus of 6d. per boll to induce them to bring all the meal they could into the Glasgow market.

Three miscellaneous items relating to 1782 may here be mentioned. George Square was laid out for building in this year. The second Glasgow theatre had been built in 1762 by a number of Glasgow gentlemen, in a part of the suburb then known as Grahamstown. This theatre, which stood on a portion of the site now occupied by the Central Railway Station, was opened in the spring of 1764, by Mrs. Bellamy and other eminent performers. After a varying career of eighteen years it was, on the 16th April, 1782, burned to the ground, and wardrobe and properties, to the value of £1,000, were also destroyed. In this year there were 557 persons on the funds of the town's hospital, and the assessment levied amounted to £1,057.

CHAPTER XLIV.

(A. D. 1783 TO A. D. 1792.)

Chamber of Commerce—First Glasgow Directory—Edmund Burke's Appearance as Lord Rector of the University—The Buchanites—Weavers' Riots in Calton—Royal Infirmary Instituted.

THE American War of Independence had another good effect upon the city of Glasgow, besides causing the merchants to seek out new and more lucrative markets for their goods. This was in the establishment of a Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures for the protection of the interests of Glasgow traders. Patrick Colquhoun, a prominent merchant, and a man of great energy and enlightenment, had taken the lead in the movement which brought about the establishment of this most important and useful institution in 1783. Mr. Colquhoun was the first president. The improving condition of Glasgow commerce is shown by the facts, that in this year the Royal Bank of Scotland established a branch of their business in the city; and that it also saw the publication of the first Glasgow Directory.

In reference to this directory, an excellent article appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* in 1842, which Mr. Pagan has thrown into the appendix of his *History of Glasgow*. The writer of that article says (Pagan's *Hist. Glas.*, p. 190):—"The Directory of 1783 appears to have been the first ever published in Glasgow, and it is dedicated with the greatest submission to the magistrates and town council. The publisher does not give his guarantee that it is absolutely perfect; and he accounts for any imperfections in the following quaint paragraph in his preface:—'As the difficulty of a private person knowing every one and his connections, without the assistance of the people themselves, must be apparent to every one, it cannot but be expected but that some errors and omissions will appear, which he hopes the indulgent public will excuse: notwithstanding, the publisher did make an actual survey of a great number of houses, shops, warehouses, &c., in Glasgow, with a view to be as exact as possible, but many had scruples of giving information, as they imagined it was for another purpose he was taking up their names.' The book begins by enumerating the public bodies, or important professional characters in the city:—First, the magistrates and council; second, the 'reverend ministers of

the gospel,' of whom there appear to be only eighteen, both established and dissenting, in the whole city; third, the professors in the university; fourth, the faculty of procurators; fifth, the officers of excise; sixth, the physicians, of whom there are sixteen; seventh, the midwives, of whom there are ten; and, lastly, the messengers-at-arms, of whom there are eleven. Having made these honoured distinctions, the compiler then sets out by giving merchants, manufacturers, grocers, vintners, lint-hecklers, 'hocksters,' &c., *in cumulo*, but at the same time in something like alphabetical order. At this time the great bulk of the business community seems to have been gathered in High Street, Saltmarket, Trongate, Gallowgate, Candleriggs, Bridgegate, and the Wynds. Queen Street, which must have been in course of formation, is occasionally mentioned, but it was then much better known by its older name of the 'Cow-loan.' For instance, we find 'John Marshall, sheriff-substitute,' residing in the Saltmarket; 'John Wilson, one of the city clerks,' resides in Gallowgate; there are no fewer than four members of the legal profession to be found in the Laigh Kirk Close; others are located in the New Wynd, Moodie's Wynd, &c., and one of them 'hangs out' at the Saracen's Head Inn—then, we believe, the principal hostelrie in the city. We find that the Town's Hospital and Infirmary are placed in Clyde Street. . . . Compared, however, with the splendid temple which benevolence has reared adjoining the Cathedral, for the cure and alleviation of disease, we cannot well divine what must have been the Infirmary of 1783, in Clyde Street."

A remarkable incident in the career of a remarkable man occurred in Glasgow, in the year 1784. The great Edmund Burke, who had been unsuccessful in his candidature for the chair of Logic on its vacancy, in 1752, through the translation of Adam Smith to the professorship of Moral Philosophy, was elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, in 1783. On the 10th of April, 1784, his installation took place in the Common Hall of the College, before a large and distinguished audience. Having taken the oath of fidelity, Burke rose and expressed his thanks for the honour done him; his regard for the learning and talent assembled before him; and his esteem for the national character, by which he had been favourably impressed. After speaking for about five minutes the novelty of his situation overcame him, he became suddenly confused, and he concluded abruptly, but courteously, by stating that he was unable to proceed, as he had never before addressed so learned an audience. On the Sabbath following, Burke, accompanied by the Earls of Lauderdale and Glasgow, attended public worship in the college chapel; and before leaving Glasgow he dined with the Principal and Professors of the University.

"Senex," whose instructive gossip on old Glasgow affairs has been highly appreciated, states (*Glas. Past and Pres.*, Vol. II., p. 25) that at this period a new religious sect arose in this part of the country, called Buchanites. The founder of the sect was Elspeth Simpson, daughter of a Banffshire innkeeper, and born about the year 1738. In 1760, she married Robert Buchan, a delf-worker in Glasgow. At that time she was an Episcopalian, but she afterwards changed her views, and became the author of many new and extraordinary doctrines. Her creed was that the last day was at hand, and that no one of all her believers would die, but would hear the voice of the last trumpet, when all the wicked would be struck dead, and so remain for a thousand years. At the same moment her followers were to be caught up in the air to meet the Lord, and they were to return to the earth in company with Christ Jesus, with whom, as their king, they would possess the earth for a thousand years, Satan being bound in the meantime. Mrs. Buchan further declared that she was greater than the Blessed Virgin, who was Christ's mother, for she herself was Christ's daughter after the spirit. This strange woman made many converts, among them being Rev. Hugh Whyte, Relief minister at Irvine, and Mr. Hunter, writer and fiscal in that place. The Buchanites had one common purse, and otherwise lived together as communists; but after their opinions had lost their novelty, the sect became extinct for want of accessions.

At the direction of the magistrates, a census of the population of the city was taken in 1785, when it was found to amount to 45,889, an increase of 3,057 within the five years from 1780. The winter of 1784-5 was most remarkable for its severity, and for the four months prior to the 14th March, 1785, the Clyde had been frozen over. This event seems to have been made quite of a saturnalian character by the citizens; for, during the continuance of the frost, booths and dram-shops, with fires, were erected on the ice, and gaiety prevailed. Another novelty, towards the close of the same year, was the balloon ascents made from St. Andrew's Square by Vincent Lunardi. He made two ascents, landing after the first at Hawick; and after the second, at Campsie.

About the year 1785, the magistrates and a few public-spirited individuals, desiring to bring water into the city, employed Mr. James Gordon to make a survey of the lands of Whitehill, and other places, to see what could be done in that direction. Difficulties, however, arose, and the scheme was abandoned. In this year, improvements were made in the weaving and spinning trades by the introduction of more efficient machinery; and muslins were begun to be made. The well-known Glasgow citizen, David Dale, began to build the New Lanark mills in 1785,

for the manufacture of cotton stuffs; and in conjunction with George Macintosh, of Dunchattan, the introducer of cudbear into Glasgow, he commenced turkey-red dyeing, in works erected at Dalmarnock, near Rutherglen Bridge. As this was the first work of the kind in Britain, the promoters had to bring M. Papillon, who had been a turkey-red dyer at Rouen, to Glasgow, as their manager.

Among what may be termed the minor events of 1786, were —A fire in Gorbals, when nine families were burnt out; a slight shock of earthquake on the 11th August; and severe frost on the 21st December. The first Glasgow distillery in this year commenced business, in Kirk Street, Calton. The promoter was William Menzies, one of the city magistrates, and he was the fourth who held a licence in Scotland for the manufacture of malt spirits, the duty on which, it may be stated, was then a fraction more than one penny per gallon, while its market price was three shillings per gallon. The building of what was called the "New Town" was begun in 1786. George Square had been laid out in 1782, and till 1786 there was only one house, giving accommodation for two families, in its vicinity; but afterwards the feus were quickly taken up. Coals had previously been sold by the measure, but now the magistrates ordered that this article be sold by weight. Buchanan Street was at this period being built up. Andrew Buchanan, head of the firm of Buchanan, Hastie & Co., was a celebrated Virginian merchant and "tobacco lord," and had his residence in a house at the corner of what is now known as Buchanan Street and Argyle Street. This firm became bankrupt upon the outbreak of the American War, and as the estates of the partners were put into the market, the affair caused a great sensation in the city. The lands of Mr. Buchanan were feued for gentlemen's private houses; and as the locality was then in the outskirts of the city, its amenity as a fashionable suburb was secured by clauses in the title-deeds. A considerable time, however, elapsed before it was anything like fully taken up, even to the limited extent admissible under the original feu charters.

The "new town" was still further extended in 1787, by the formation of Frederick, Hanover, and Cochran Streets; while the old town was improved by the opening up of St. Andrew's Square. In this year, also, according to Cleland, Sunday-schools took their origin in Glasgow, a few months after the commencement of the London institution.

In the summer of 1787, the journeymen weavers in the Calton commenced an agitation for an increase of wages; and as they had been unable to obtain all the concessions they desired from their employers, their feelings overcame their judgment.

Threatening letters were sent to those who opposed them; and towards the end of August acts of violence were committed—the rioters cutting the webs from the looms of those of their fellows who were working at the old rate, and the contents of warehouses were thrown into the streets as fuel for bonfires. The authorities of Glasgow at last found it necessary to take strict measures for the preservation of the peace; and on the 3rd September, the city magistrates, with a force of officers, proceeded to the Calton. The mob attacked them with a variety of missiles, and drove them citywards. A detachment of the 39th Regiment, then quartered in Glasgow, marched, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kellet, to the assistance of the civil power. At Parkhouse, in Duke Street, near the place where Tennant's Brewery is now, the rioters and the authorities came into collision, and a pitched battle ensued. The riot act had to be read; and a volley from the muskets of the military killed three of the weavers, and wounded several others. The crowd quickly dispersed. In the afternoon there were symptoms of further disturbances, but any outbreak was quelled by the immediate appearance of the soldiers. On the following day, however, more wrecking of looms took place in Calton; but the presence of the military brought the community into a more orderly condition, and prevented a prolongation of the riots.

The Grammar School buildings in Greyfriars Wynd had for some time been found to be totally inadequate for the necessities of the city; and in 1782, the magistrates and council, as patrons, agreed that, as the school-house had neither free air nor good light, and had no place connected with it for the innocent diversions of the boys, a new school-house be erected in a more convenient situation. Plans were prepared by James Craig, architect, and a site was chosen on the north side of George Street. The foundation of the new building was laid on the 16th July, 1787, and in the following year it was finished at a cost of £1,950.

In the year 1790, the gigantic work of constructing the Forth and Clyde Canal was completed. On the 29th July, communication between the Forth and Clyde was formally opened by Archibald Spiers of Elderslie, the chairman of the committee of management, with the assistance of the chief engineer, launching a hogshead of the water of the river Forth into the Clyde at Bowling Bay, in the presence of the magistrates of Glasgow and a distinguished company. The collateral cut between Glasgow and Stockingfield had been finished in 1777; but in 1790 the basin at Hamiltonhill had been found inconvenient, and eight acres of land were purchased nearer the city for the construction of a new port. This was opened in November of that year, and the village which clustered round it was called Port-

ARGYLE STREET IN 1794, MILLER STREET TO QUEEN STREET, NORTH SIDE.

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Dundas, in honour of the governor of the company, Lord Dundas. It may be well here to state that the canal is 35 miles long, and that in the early years of its usefulness it was greatly used for passenger traffic. The other events of 1790 were:—Common sewers were then first formed in the city; the first London mail coach, travelling by way of Carlisle, began to run; and a number of streets between Trongate and Ingram Street—the Back Cow Lone—were opened up.

The second Glasgow Directory was issued in 1790. It was called *Jones' Directory*, and was published by Joseph Galbraith. The appendix of Pagan's *History of Glasgow* (p. 191) contains this description of it:—"It is a crown 12mo, and consists of eighty-two pages. To give some notion of the extent of the business population in these times, we may mention that under the letter B there are only 170 names. Here some of the designations are exceedingly quaint; and the vast number of 'change-keepers' scattered over every portion of the town, tells us that teetotalism was unknown in these old times. We give a few of the designations by way of example:—There is 'Corbett, Watson & Co., wine merchants for Scotland to His Royal Highness the Prince of Great Britain and Wales; at the same place may be had foreign rum, brandy, &c., at their cellar, Princes Street.' Then there is 'Bazil and Archd. Ronalds, glovers and britches makers for Scotland to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, at their shop, No. 53 Trongate.' There is the 'Glasgow Tanwork Company, first and oldest in Scotland for tanning benleather.' The fashionable dancers of the day are 'Mr. and Mrs. Bonette, teachers of dancing, lodgings, Hutcheson Street.' John Campbell, junr., Esq., the Lord Provost of the city, has his 'lodgings' in Jamaica Street; the well-known and highly-respected Kirkman Finlay is found at 'James Finlay's, Bell's Wynd.' David Dale, merchant, has 'lodgings' in Charlotte Street, and David Dale, junr., manufacturer, has 'lodgings' at the head of the Green. . . . There are also designations here which now-a-days look very queer in a directory—such as, 'Miss Dunlop keeps a mangle, Copland's Close, High Street,' and 'Miss Aird, dealer in dead crapes.' The coaching advertisements are not the least curious things in the little book. It appears that two or three of the principal inns despatched coaches to Edinburgh daily; but we select the announcement from the Black Bull, which says, 'A coach to Edinburgh, at 10 o'clock, to the White Hart Inn, Grassmarket, for 8s. per seat. A neat diligence, containing three passengers, to Mr. Cameron's hotel, 2, Princes Street, at 12 noon; if taken in whole, at any hour the company pleases, 10s. 6d. per seat.' Here is another—'The Glasgow and Edinburgh Mercury "setts" out from A. M'Gregor's, Candleriggs, at 11 o'clock every day. If taken by any party in

whole, will "sett" out two hours sooner or later.' Here we have some Greenock 'Flys,' the fare of which is 5s. 6d. per seat, which 'sett' out on stated days, but, like the others, will move at any hour the company thinks fit, if taken in full."

On the 18th May, 1792, the foundation-stone of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary was laid with full masonic honours. In the *History of the Royal Infirmary*, by Dr. Moses Steven Buchanan, it is stated that Mr. Jardine, Professor of Logic in the University, set himself to the work to institute an infirmary in the city in 1787. In the June of that year, a meeting of the friends of the proposed institution was held, when Lord Provost John Riddell presided, and a committee, with Professor Davidson as convener, was appointed to collect subscriptions and to search for a proper situation for the intended hospital. In February, 1788, the site of the archbishop's castle was agreed upon; but as that ancient, but now dilapidated, structure was held in lease from the Crown by the Earl of Dundonald until 1793, application was made to the Treasury and the Court of Exchequer for a grant of the grounds. While the negotiations were in progress, a mortification for £300 was granted by James Coulter, and the subscriptions were otherwise largely augmented. Lord Provost M'Dowall presented a petition on behalf of the promoters to King George III., praying for royal sanction and incorporation; and on the 21st December, 1791, his majesty issued a charter, which gave the required recognition to the movement, and fixed that the infirmary be governed by twenty-five managers and directors, to be composed, among others, of representatives from the Town Council and the university. Robert and James Adam were appointed architects, and Messrs. Morrison and Burns contractors; and, as the Exchequer and the Court of Chancery had made a grant of the ground, the work of clearing away the ruins of the old castle, and laying the foundations of the new building, was begun with great vigour in 1792. As already stated, the foundation-stone was laid on the 18th May of that year, in presence of a large concourse of people. Previous to the ceremony, the following bodies had assembled in various parts of the city, and then marched in procession to St. Andrew's Church:—The Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Council, preceded by the town's officers; the principal and professors of the university in their gowns, and with the mace carried before them; the faculty of physicians and surgeons; the dean of guild and councillors of the Merchants' House; the deacon-convener and members of the Trades' House; and the masonic lodges of the city according to their seniority. These assembled at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and at noon they occupied the galleries of St. Andrew's Church. The Rev. Wm. Taylor, of St. Enoch's, preached from the words, "I was sick, and ye visited me;" and at the close of

the service a hymn, composed for the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Headrick, was sung. The concluding verse of this hymn may be given:—

"Then let us join with heart and hand,
To raise this glory of our land,
Which shall to latest times declare,
To ease the wretched was our care."

The procession re-formed, and passed up to the castle yard, preceded by the band of the 37th Regiment, and the foundation stone was laid in the usual manner. In the evening, Kemble, the manager of the Dunlop Street Theatre—opened first in January, 1785—gave the proceeds of the play to the benefit of the Infirmary; and this, together with the collection at St. Andrew's Church, in the forenoon, amounted to the sum of £105, 16s. 11½d. The work of construction was successfully completed; and the institution was opened for the reception of patients by December, 1794.

In 1792, also, the Town Council purchased the lands of Provost's Haugh for £4,000, and added them to the public Green. Steam-power was first applied in Glasgow to the purposes of cotton-spinning in this year, by Mr. Todd, in the Springfield Cotton Works, where the engine then introduced wrought for many years.

CHAPTER XLV.

(A. D. 1793 to A. D. 1800.)

The Reform Movement—Destruction of the Tron Church by Fire—Feuing of Hutchesontown and Tradeston, and Erection of Bridge—Military Riot—Infantry Barracks Erected—Trades Hall—Clyde Affairs—Foundation of Anderson's University—Barony Church Erected—Institution of a Regular Police Force—Famine and Distress.

FOR some time previous to the date with which this chapter opens, the question of Parliamentary reform had been agitating the country. The people were suffering under great burdens, and they had no political redress. Great Britain was governed by an oligarchy who, to use the language of Lord-Justice-Clerk Braxfield, thought "the constitution was matchless, and could not be improved on the face of time." The people thought otherwise,

and sought Parliamentary representation. Perhaps the most prominent leader in this movement was Thomas Muir, advocate, a native of Glasgow, born about the year 1764, in a tenement of houses in the High Street, opposite the old college. He was believed to be one of the most promising barristers before the Court of Session; and with his eloquence he pleaded the cause of reform, and he founded a reform association in Glasgow. The Government of the day became alarmed, and issued a warrant for his apprehension on a charge of sedition. He was cited to appear before the High Court of Justiciary on 2nd January, 1793. Being in Paris when the first Revolution broke out, he was unable to get to this country in time for his trial, and sentence of outlawry was pronounced against him. Anxious to appear before his judges, notwithstanding that sentence, he returned to Scotland as quickly as he could, and, of course, was apprehended. He was brought before the High Court on the 30th August following, and, being found guilty of sedition, was sentenced to fourteen years transportation. The news of this result caused great consternation in Glasgow and throughout all Scotland. Several others were tried on the same charge, that of sedition, which in those days was held to cover even the slightest agitation for Parliamentary reform, and were similarly punished. The movement was for a time arrested, but it broke out with renewed vigour some years later, and after a long probation its advocates successfully accomplished their purpose—the representation of the people in the people's house.

The venerable Tron Church was destroyed by fire on the 15th February, 1793, and the presbytery records, which had only a year before been rendered tolerably complete, were greatly injured. Then, as now, the Tron Session-House was the meeting place of the Presbytery of Glasgow; but it was also used for a very different purpose—that of being guard-house of the city night-guard, a body composed of the burgesses, who took duty by rotation. When the watch left the session-house at three o'clock on the morning of the 15th February all was safe; but by seven o'clock the session-house and the church had been totally destroyed. Dr. Mathie Hamilton states (*Glas. Past and Pres.*, Vol. I., p. 208) that "the guard being out going their rounds, had left a fire as usual in the session-house, without any one to take care of the premises, when some members of a society, who were the disciples of Thomas Paine, and who designated themselves the 'Hell-fire Club,' being on their way home from the club, and excited with liquor, entered the session-house in a frolic. While warming themselves at the fire, and indulging in jokes against one another as to their individual capacity to resist heat, with reference to an anticipated residence in the headquarters of the club, they placed what inflammable materials were at hand on

ARGYLE STREET IN 1794, UNION STREET TO QUEEN STREET, NORTH SIDE.

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the fire to increase it; and ultimately having, in bravado, wrenched off and placed some of the timbers of the session-house on the ignited mass, they could no longer endure the heat, and fled in dismay from the house, which contained much dry wood, as it was seated like a church. It was soon a mass of fire, and the flames caught the church, which was totally destroyed in a terrific conflagration, so that on the north side of the Trongate, between it and Bell Street, where Antigua Place in Nelson Street now is, a quantity of hay in stack was with difficulty saved from the embers, which were wafted through the air from the blazing church." The steeple, built in 1637, was not, however, destroyed. In the following year, the present church was erected, James Adam, one of the architects of the Infirmary, being entrusted with the plans. The remains of the records of the Presbytery and General Session were afterwards carefully collated; and a fairly accurate transcription was made of them.

The Shawfield mansion-house, after an eventful history of eighty-one years, was removed in 1793. Campbell, the original proprietor, had sold it, two years after it was wrecked by the "Shawfield mob," to M'Dowall of Castle-Semple, who, in 1760, re-sold it for 1,700 guineas to John Glassford of Dougalston. Glassford was then one of the most extensive shipowners in Scotland; and he had married no fewer than three times—on the second occasion, a daughter of Sir John Nisbet of Dean, Bart.; and on the third, Lady Margaret Mackenzie, daughter of George, last Earl of Cromarty. On his death, his son, Henry Glassford, in 1792, sold the house to a builder for £9,850, and it was then removed to permit the opening up of a street, to be called Glassford Street.

It has been mentioned that the Barony of Gorbals had been purchased by the Town Council, the Trades' House, and Hutchesons' Hospital. In the month of June, 1790, the Trades' House had resolved to feu portions of their lands at the upset feu-duty of £10 per Scotch acre. A plan, showing streets and building steadings, was carried into effect in the following year, and the ground was feued at the rate of 1s. 6d. the square yard. Eglinton and Bridge Streets, marking the boundary between the lands belonging to Hutchesons' Hospital and the Trades' House, were laid out at a joint expense; and the new suburb of Glasgow, to the west of these thoroughfares, was afterwards known as Tradeston. In 1792, the patrons of the hospital resolved to lay out for building their portion of the lands of Gorbals, and the new town they proposed to call Hutchesontown, in honour of the founders of the hospital. The same year they agreed to subscribe £2,000 towards the expense of erecting a bridge over the Clyde to connect Glasgow with its new suburb,

the feus in which were sold at from 4s. to 8s. per yard, convertible into a feu-duty at five per cent. The erection of this bridge—which was to be 406 feet long, twenty-six feet wide within the parapets, and to be carried over on five arches—was rapidly proceeded with; and on the 18th June, 1794, Lord Provost Gilbert Hamilton laid the foundation-stone.

Mention has been made of the Trades Hospital, or Almshouse in the vicinity of the Cathedral; and it now falls to be related that, in 1791, the Trades House resolved to build a hall in Glassford Street, then in course of formation. Ground was purchased for £952, 15s. 6d., being at the rate of £1 the square yard. The foundation-stone of the new building was laid on the 9th September, 1791, and it was completed in 1794, at a total cost, including site, of nearly £8,000. A bell was placed in the dome, in 1796, made by Mears of London.

In the month of December, 1794, another riot took place in Glasgow, but this time the military as well as the people were the offenders. A deserter had escaped from the guard-house; and, being recaptured, a court-martial ordered him to be punished for this additional offence. Several of his comrades determined to hinder the execution of the sentence, and after they had delayed it for some days the military authorities called in other troops into the city to overawe the mutineers, whose ringleaders had by this time surrendered themselves. The Earl of Breadalbane, the colonel of the regiment, sent them for trial to Edinburgh under a strong guard; and his lordship and Major Leslie accompanied the party a short way on the march. When they returned to town, a mob, whose sympathies were with the mutineers, assaulted the two officers with stones and other missiles. Leslie was injured, and they had both to take refuge in a house. The lord provost and magistrates, with a force of officers, prevented further disturbance. After trial at Edinburgh, four of the mutineers were sentenced to be shot, but only one of them suffered the extreme penalty of the law. The Royal Glasgow Volunteers, consisting of five companies, was raised in this year, under an Act of Parliament passed in view of the revolutionary movement on the Continent, and which seemed likely to spread to this country.

Hitherto troops stationed in Glasgow had been billeted on the inhabitants; but the infantry barracks, built in 1795, on the old "Butts" or Wappenschaw ground, in the Gallowgate, rendered unnecessary that mode of quartering the soldiers. The buildings, which gave accommodation for about 1,000 men, cost £15,000.

Another of those overflowings of the Clyde which had in the past done so much damage in the low-lying parts of Glasgow, occurred in the November of 1795. For two days prior to Wednesday, the 18th November, there had been a severe

storm of wind, rain, and snow; and about mid-day on the 18th, the current on the river was so strong that it carried away two of the arches of the new Hutchesontown Bridge. Several hours later the rest of the structure was in ruins. The water had covered the Bridgegate, part of Saltmarket, Stockwell Street, Jamaica Street, and the village of Gorbals; and all traffic had to be carried on by means of boats for nearly two days. It was expected on Friday, when the water subsided, that all further danger and inconvenience was over, but a renewal of the storm on Saturday quickly had the localities mentioned again inundated. By Monday afternoon matters had returned to their usual condition. Only one life, that of a little boy, was lost on this occasion. Several years elapsed before bridge accommodation was re-established between Hutchesontown and the city.

Brown's *History of Glasgow*, the first volume of which was published in 1795, marks another important incident in the historical literature of the city. The first volume deals with the purely ecclesiastical history of the city; while the second volume, published in 1797, relates to civil affairs, giving, besides, short sketches of Greenock and Port-Glasgow. They contain much interesting matter, and detail with remarkable completeness the events of note which had then transpired in the city, of which they were then the latest record.

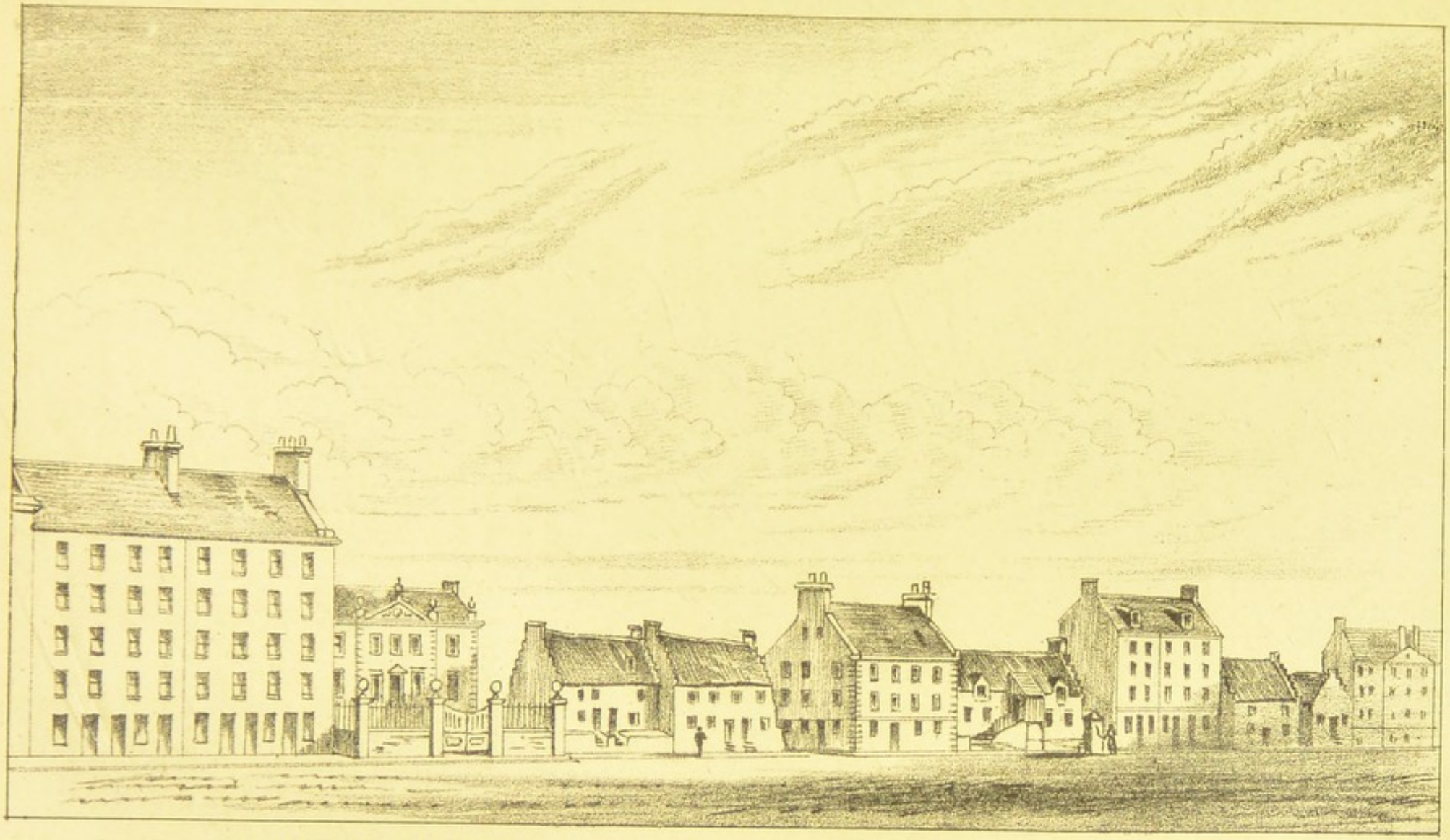
Golborne's scheme for the deepening of the harbour of Glasgow and the river Clyde had succeeded in its object beyond all expectation; and as a consequence the shipping business of the city had rapidly increased. The figures undernoted form a marked contrast to those previously given in this work in reference to the same subject. In the year ended 8th July, 1796, the total number of vessels which had arrived in the harbour was 1,326, with an aggregate of 55,930 tons. This gave an average of 42 tons to each vessel; but of the total number, 117 vessels were between 60 and 80 tons register, though none were higher.

On the death of Professor John Anderson—of whom an account is given in a previous chapter—in 1796, it was found that in his will, dated 7th May, 1795, he directed that the whole of his effects, of whatever kind, should be devoted to the establishment of an educational institution in Glasgow, for the use of the unacademical class of the community, to be denominated Anderson's University. The magistrates granted a charter of incorporation to the new establishment, and in the June following the benefactor's death, his will was as far as possible carried into effect. According to the design of the founder there were to be four colleges—for arts, medicine, law, and theology—together with an initiatory school; but as the funds were inadequate to carry out this plan, the trustees had to commence

with a course of lectures on natural philosophy and chemistry, by Dr. Thomas Garnett, the author of a number of scientific and medical works. So successful was this course, that it was attended by nearly a thousand persons of both sexes. Two years later, a professor of mathematics and geography was appointed. Dr. Garnett became, in 1799, a professor in the Royal Institution at London, and he was followed in Glasgow by Dr. Birbeck, who introduced a system into the new university which gave philosophical and mechanical information to a class of five hundred operatives and mechanics, free of all expense. Gradually the institution extended its operations, and with the splendid apparatus, museum, and library of its founder, it soon became one of the most popular and useful educational agencies in Glasgow. In this year, 1796, the procurators of Glasgow were erected into a faculty under royal charter.

The foundation-stone of the new Assembly Rooms, now known as the Athenæum, in Ingram Street, was laid on the 11th of March, 1796, by Gilbert Hamilton, ex-lord provost, in the presence of the magistrates and the subscribers to the institution. It was erected by subscription of £20 shares, on the principle of a Tontine, for the purpose of assembly and concert rooms, and its cost was £4,800.

The Riding School, or Royal Circus, in Jamaica Street, was erected in 1797; and it was frequently used as a drill hall by the Glasgow volunteers. An addition of 360 feet was, in the same year, made to the quay at the Broomielaw. Great Britain was then at war with France, rebellion was threatening in Ireland, and the citizens of Glasgow, with their accustomed loyalty, raised three additional regiments of volunteers. The second regiment of Royal Glasgow Volunteers consisted of ten companies; the Royal Glasgow Volunteer Light Horse, of one troop of sixty rank and file; and the Armed Association, of two companies. Besides this, £13,938, 14s. 6d. were remitted to the Government to assist in carrying on the war. The city was visited at this time by the French, though in a more friendly way than may have been anticipated at the outbreak of the war. A number of French soldiers captured in Ireland passed through Glasgow on their way to the prisoners' depot at Edinburgh. They were escorted by regular troops, and by the Glasgow volunteers. While in Glasgow, the officers found quarters in the Tontine, and the rank and file were placed in the Old Correction House, in the vicinity of Nicholas Street, off the High Street. The citizens were greatly jubilant over the event; but they were shocked at the enormous appetites of the prisoners, who could eat a pound—then twenty-two and a half ounces—of beef, and not feel satisfied.



ARGYLE STREET IN 1794, TURNER'S COURT TO ST ENOCH SQUARE, SOUTH SIDE.

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The Barony Parish Church, the congregation of which had met almost since the time of the Reformation in the crypt underneath the Cathedral choir, was built, as it now exists in the Infirmary Square, in the year 1798, from designs by Mr. Robertson, a nephew of the architect of the Infirmary. Of this structure nothing further need be said than that, while it ecclesiastically is second only to the High Church, architecturally it is one of the most ungainly churches in the city. There was another important building erected in the same locality in this year—for in May, 1798, the Bridewell in Duke Street, then consisting only of what is now denominated the Old Prison, was taken possession of by the authorities. The earliest Glasgow Bridewell was in the Drygate, but it became so straitened, that in 1789, a temporary Correction House had to be fitted up in College Street, near the junction with Shuttle Street, and it was in this place that the French prisoners were confined. This gave way to the more extensive premises in Duke Street.

In 1800, Messrs. Tennent, Knox & Co. erected chemical works at St. Rollox, for the manufacture of sulphuric acid, chloride of lime, soda, &c.

The growing state of the community of Glasgow, and that increased lawlessness which is consequent upon an augmented population, made the magistrates and council take seriously into their consideration what was to be done for the better government of the city. A bill, providing for the extension of the royalty, and the imposition of an assessment for the support of a police establishment, was promoted before Parliament, in 1789; but it was opposed so strongly by the citizens, who resented any additional tax, that it was thrown out. By 1800, however, it was found by all parties that more efficient police protection was absolutely required. Another bill was then promoted, and, meeting the unanimous approval of the corporate bodies in the city, it was passed into law. This act extended the burgh boundaries, and vested the management of the police in the lord provost, bailies, dean of guild, deacon-convener, and twenty-four ward commissioners. For the first year, occupiers were assessed at the rate of 4d. per pound on rents between £4 and £6; 6d. on rents between £6 and £10; 9d. on rents between £10 and £15; and 1s. on rents of £15 and upwards; and these assessments, together with other sources, such as fines, the sale of street manure, &c., produced a revenue of £5,000. A chief of police, John Stenhouse, was appointed at a salary of £200 per annum; a clerk at £85; a treasurer at £80; three sergeants at £40 each; nine officers at £30 each; and sixty-eight watchmen at 10s. a week each. New lamps were erected, sentry-boxes for the watchmen were placed throughout the city, the cleansing department was put in working order, and a great many other

improvements were effected. Notwithstanding, the commissioners of police were able to keep their expenditure for the first year within fully £400 of their revenue.

Owing to the failure of two years' crops, and the continuance of European war, the eighteenth century closed in very darkly for the people of Glasgow. The poorer people were in great straits, even for the necessaries of life. In 1799 and 1800, the magistrates of the city had to raise a subscription for purchasing grain to be sold to the citizens under market price; and it required a supply of the value of £117,000 sterling to save the people. Surely the lookout for the new century could not have been very bright to the industrious inhabitants of the city of St. Mungo.

CHAPTER XLVI.

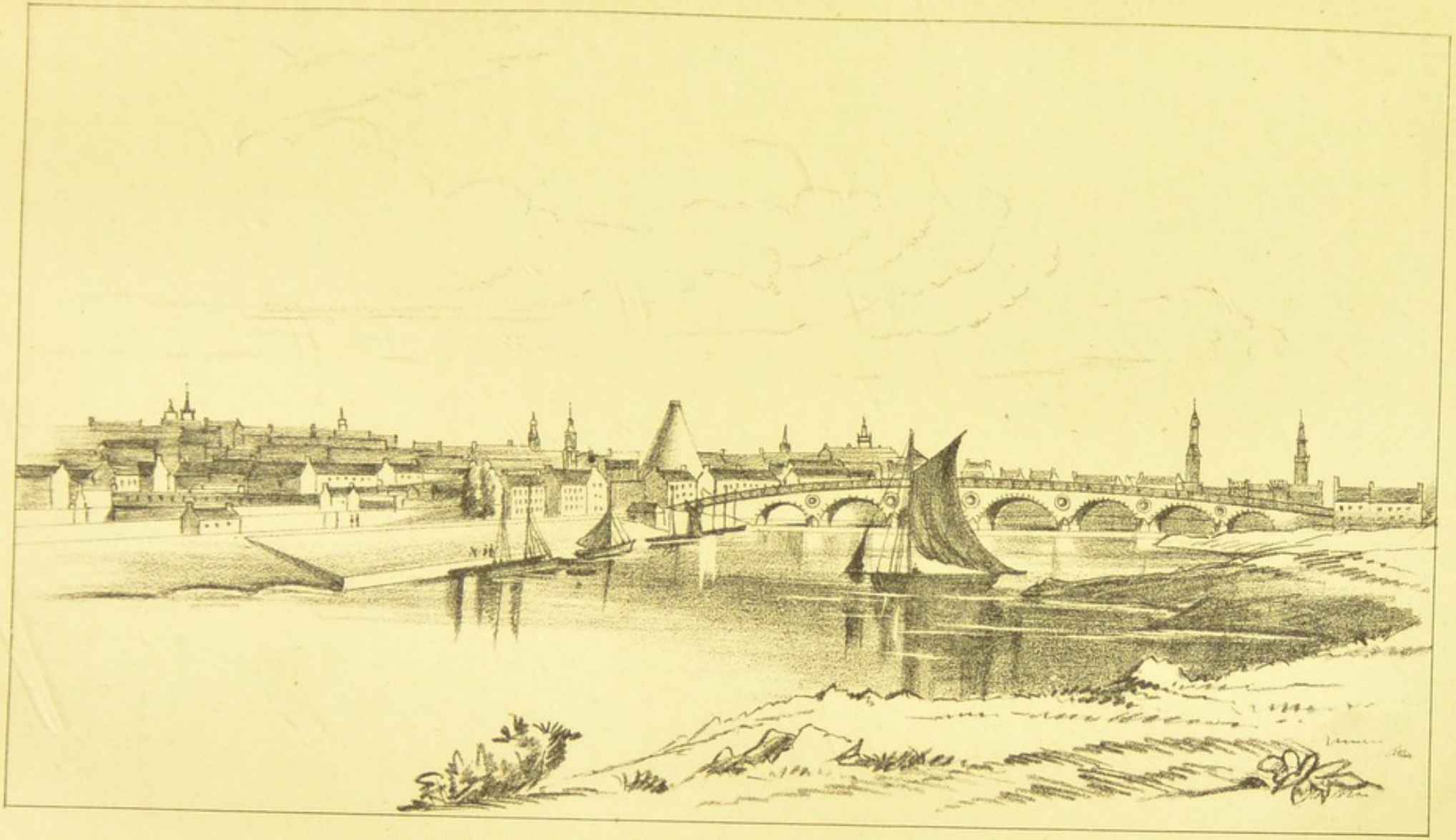
(A. D. 1801 TO A. D. 1806.)

Glasgow at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century—Clyde Shipping—The Water Supply—Hunterian Museum Founded —Early Glasgow Volunteers—Review on the Green by Earl Moira—Re-Erection of Hutcheson's Hospital.

PERHAPS no more appropriate way of beginning the record of the nineteenth century could be found than by giving a description of Glasgow as it existed eighty-one years ago. Many who only a few years since moved actively about the city, could charge their memories with recollections of it in the opening years of the century; but these are now removed, and there still lives among the younger generation the oft-told tales of their fathers and grandfathers. Denholm in his *History of Glasgow* describes, with considerable detail, the condition of Glasgow as it appeared at the close of last and the commencement of this century, and it will be interesting to summarise his remarks. The first edition of this work was written and published in 1797; a year or two later a second edition was issued; and in 1804 a third edition appeared. This writer (*Hist. Glas.*, 3rd Ed., p. 120) begins his journey through the city at the old Gallowgate toll-bar, near Tureen Street, so named because of the potteries for the making of tureens in its vicinity. The Gallowgate, he says, extended from this point as far as the Cross, "though not west in a rectilinear direction." On the way westwards there were Sydney Street, connecting the Gallowgate with a large area

intended to be built upon; Barrack Street, which extended to the "termination of Duke Street;" Claythorn Street, and Gibson Street. There were also the main entry to the Calton, a village then connected by houses with the city; Campbell Street, "containing some good houses;" Kent Street, lately opened, with houses in it which "yield to none in the city for grandeur;" Suffolk Street, and Charlotte Street, "containing many handsome and elegant houses." Charlotte Street was built upon lands known as Merk-Daily Lands, on account of the annual rent of them fifty years prior to this time being 365 merks. Passing on, the Molendinar, here called the Gallowgate Burn, was crossed by a one-arch bridge. Having arrived at this point Denholm remarks:—"From this station strangers cannot fail to be struck with the grandeur of the view towards the west, caused by the appearance of the elegant spire, towering to a great height, and terminating in an Imperial Crown; while, immediately adjoining appears the east side of the lofty prison, flanked with square turrets and pyramidal roofs." On reaching the Cross he again stops to admire:—"From this point, indeed, the prospect is an object of great magnificence. To the west, far as the eye can reach, appear the broad and elegant streets of the Trongate and Argyle Street, adorned throughout with handsome houses, and for a certain length on both sides supported by pillars, of the Doric order, covering piazzas for the shelter of the inhabitants who have occasion to be on the streets during rain." He then makes passing reference to the Tolbooth, the Town-House and Exchange—or Tontine—the statue of King William, the Tron Church, all of which filled up a view "scarcely to be paralleled by any street scene in Britain." The High Street, for some distance up, had houses built upon arcades; and from it branched Bell Street, Buns or Greyfriars Wynd, Havannah Street, and George Street. Here, Denholm says, "the street becomes very steep and difficult of access," and the houses are antique and ruinous. He refers historically and briefly to the Drygate, Limmerfield Lane, and Rottenrow, from which last-named thoroughfare Taylor and Weaver Streets, in the course of construction, branched off. At the head of the High Street was the Alms' House, or Old Trades Hall, the bell of which tolled whenever a funeral procession passed to the churchyard, and the mourners, if they felt so inclined, could put their donation to the poor through a slit made beneath one of the windows. There were, besides, the Infirmary and St. Nicholas Hospital. Denholm then makes a rapid return to the Cross, and, proceeding down the Saltmarket, he states that the arcades underneath the houses there were being utilised for shops. St. Andrew's Street lead off to St. Andrew's Church, and in the square were situated "modern buildings scarcely to be equalled

anywhere in the city." Between the Saltmarket and the Clyde, at the place where the Molendinar poured its pellucid stream into the river, were the shambles of the city. The streets connected with the Trongate were Candleriggs, Nelson Street, Wilson Street, Brunswick Street, North and South Albion Streets, King Street, Hutcheson Street, Stockwell, Ingram Street, and Great Glassford Street. In the last-named stood the new Trades Hall. There were Argyle, Virginia, Miller, and Dunlop Streets,—in the latter was the old theatre; Queen Street, in which was the new theatre, "the largest, except the London theatres, in Britain." In Ingram Street were the Assembly Rooms and Hutcheson's new Hospital, then being built. George Square contained "some very elegant buildings, of beautiful design and tasteful execution, not to be surpassed in Scotland." There were Hanover and Frederick Streets, with George Street, on the north side of which was the Grammar School. Cochran Street contained some fine houses; and in John Street there was the hall of Anderson's Institution. Duke Street is merely mentioned. Returning to the junction of Queen and Argyle Streets, there was Maxwell Street; and, farther west, St. Enoch's Square, composed of very fine self-contained houses, and having in it St. Enoch's Church and the Surgeons' Hall. Buchanan Street extended from Argyle Street "to the road leading from George's Square to Port-Dundas." The houses in it were "built in so elegant a manner, as could not fail to arrest the attention of every person of taste." Opposite the house of Mr. Gordon, on the east side of this thoroughfare, Gordon Street was being opened up. Jamaica Street was the road leading to the new bridge, the Broomielaw, Paisley, Greenock, &c., and on the right side of it was what had formerly been used as a circus or riding-school, but then as a "Tabernacle." At the Broomielaw, in a line with Clyde Street, were a few houses, which "from their situation on the quay of a navigable river, where a great number of vessels are daily loading and unloading, are very pleasantly and healthfully situated." On the north side of Argyle Street, and in a line with Jamaica Street, was Union Place, then only partially built, but which was intended to meet Gordon Street. Passing mention is made of Alston, Madeira, and York Streets. Denholm is next enthusiastic over the beauties of the Green, on which the inhabitants of the city fed their cattle, paying the corporation 40s. for the five months' grazing of each cow. There was on it a washing-house; and the small fees paid for the use of it by the people yielded an annual revenue of between £300 and £400 sterling. The eastern suburbs were—Calton, a burgh of barony, with a prison and a baron-bailie; Bridgeton, and Camlachie: the southern—Gorbals, Laurieston, and Tradeston:



GLASGOW FROM THE SOUTH WEST ABOUT 1800.

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the western—Anderston, in which was a flesh-market and shambles; Finnieston, with its crystal manufactory; and, near the city, Grahamston and Brownfield: the northern—Cowcaddens, an insignificant place; and Port-Dundas, a thriving village, where the houses were mostly of three or four storeys high, and as they stood on an elevated situation, there might be enjoyed from them a most delightful prospect of the surrounding country. Denholm states that there were the following banking corporations, with either head or branch offices, in the city:—The Old Ship Bank, the Thistle Bank, the Royal Bank, the Bank of Scotland, the British Linen Company, the Paisley Bank, the Paisley Union Bank, the Leith Bank, the Stirling Merchant Bank, the Greenock Bank, the Falkirk Bank, the Perth Bank, the Renfrewshire Bank, and the Ayr Bank. There were, also, several insurance offices.

But to begin the narrative of events. It has been seen that the eighteenth century closed very darkly in Glasgow—closed with distress and famine. The sum of £117,000 had been expended by a local committee in supplying grain for the relief of the people of the city; but in 1801, from a fall in the prices, and by the loss of several cargoes of corn, the value of which could not be recovered from the underwriters, the committee lost £15,000, a sum exceeding by £4,000 the amount of the subscriptions. For the purpose of making this up a proposal was made for the corporation to apply to Parliament for power to levy an assessment upon the city rental, but the opposition was so determined that the bill, which had been prepared, had to be abandoned. While upon the subject of food it may be said that on the 29th January, 1801, the magistrates and council resolved to discontinue, for a time, the practice of fixing a bread assize with the city, and it was to be left to the bakers themselves to furnish bread at such prices as they could afford. The council, however, fixed the weights of each size of loaf, but the weight of fancy bread, including halfpenny rolls, was to be left to the discretion of the bakers.

In this year, 1801, the population of Glasgow was 83,769, an increase of 17,191 over the census of 1791. The total number on the funds of the Town's Hospital was 1,310, and for their support an assessment at the rate of 4s. 3d. per £100 of valuation was imposed, producing £7,180. The length of the quays at the Broomielaw was then 382 yards, and the water area of the harbour was four acres; while the revenue of the Clyde Trust was £3,400, 10s. 9d., and that of the customs at Glasgow, £427, 17s. 7¾d.

The year 1802 saw the birth of the Glasgow Philosophical Society, which was composed of gentlemen engaged in, or having tastes for, scientific and philosophical pursuits. The city was

considerably extended in the same period—a number of new streets being opened up, and the district of Laurieston, on the south side of the river, commenced to be built upon by a builder named Laurie.

As the century advanced, the shipping of the Clyde largely increased, and the figures now to be quoted show a marked contrast to those which have been given from time to time regarding the same matter. In the year 1803-4, the number of vessels entered and sailed from Clyde ports amounted to 3,095, with an aggregate of 238,790 tons measurement, and employing 17,077 men. Of course, in these returns the same vessels would be included several times over; but, nevertheless, a large traffic is revealed. Glasgow would have the greatest amount of capital invested in this trade, though the town of Greenock would also have a share. In this same year, it may be mentioned, the rental of the city was £81,484. Replacing the Hutchesontown bridge, swept away by the flood of 1795, the patrons of the Hospital erected, in the year 1803, a timber bridge for foot passengers, which, according to Cleland (*Rise and Progress*, p. 115), was "justly admired for the simplicity of its construction and light appearance. . . . The outline is one grand sweep of 340 feet, the breadth within the parapets 7 feet 4 inches."

About this time the water supply of the city had been causing great attention, and the authorities and private speculators were looking about them to see what could be done to meet the wants of the community. Hitherto, the citizens had been supplied at public and private wells, and while that primitive system worked successfully in the early days of the existence of Glasgow, it was becoming apparent that it could not long be expected to suffice for all purposes. About twenty years previous, a scheme was set afoot to bring water from Whitehill, or some other place, but it had to be abandoned without anything being effected. So insufficient was the supply from the thirty public and the numerous private wells at this time, that an enterprising citizen, of the name of William Harley, sent water through the streets of the city in cisterns placed on four-wheeled carriages; and by retailing it at a halfpenny the "stoup," he is related to have made a profit of £4,000 per annum. This merchant's reservoir was in what is now known as West Nile Street, and he led the water into it by pipes from springs on his lands of Willowbank. Among the other events of this year was the opening of the first Queen Street Theatre. The theatre in Dunlop Street was believed to be too small, and a subscription having been raised, a new one was erected in Queen Street, at a total cost of fully £18,500. St. Vincent and Richmond Streets were laid out in 1804. The *Advertiser* newspaper, which was first published in 1783 by John Mennons, and which, in 1801, had its name changed

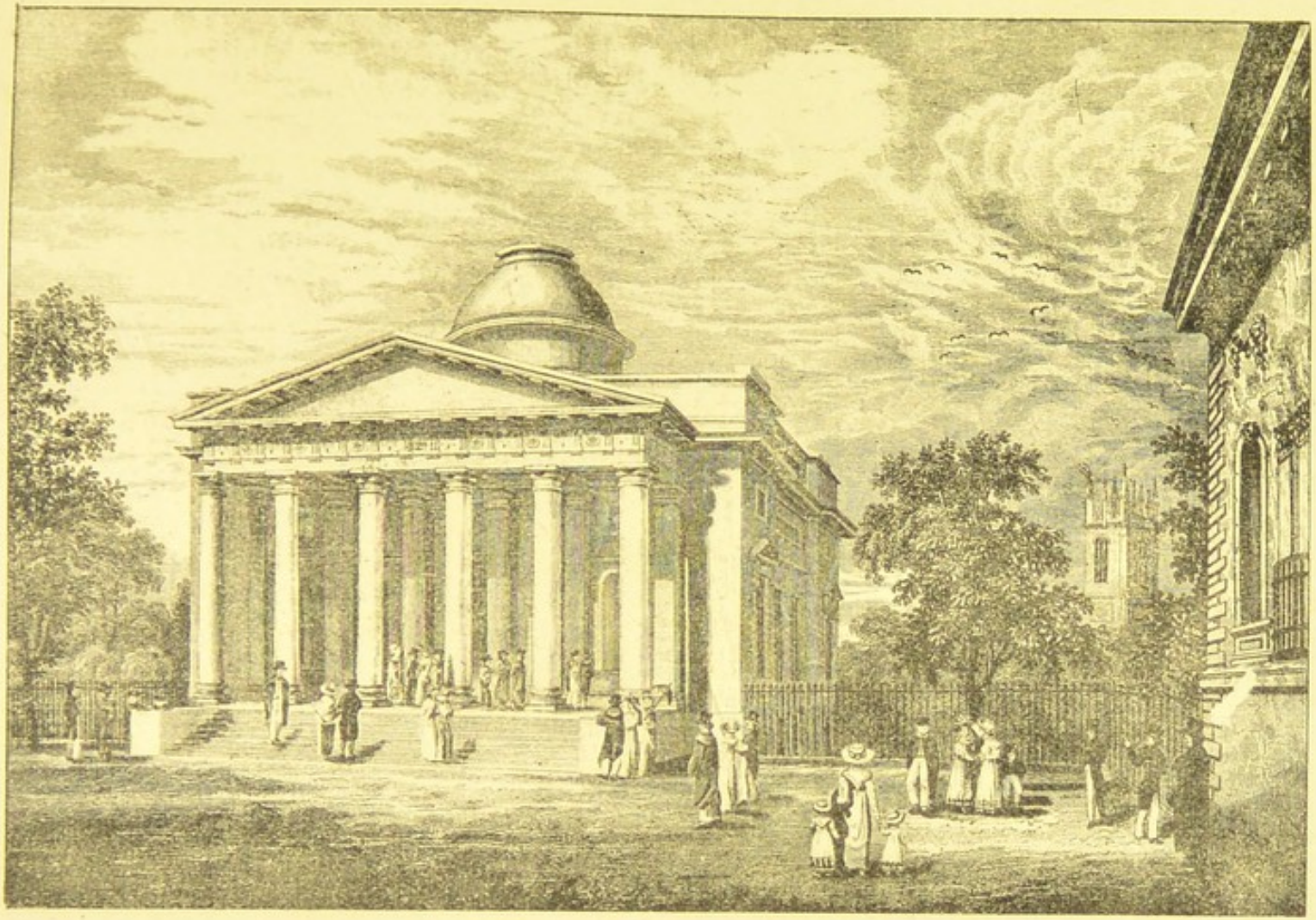
to *The Herald and Advertiser,* was in this year renamed *The Herald.* In the following year the proprietors of *The Herald*—Messrs. Samuel Hunter & Co.—commenced the *Clyde Commercial Advertiser,* a publication which had an existence of fully five years' duration.

It was the year 1804 that saw the foundation of the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, and it will be proper at this stage to give a brief account of its founder. William Hunter was born at East Kilbride in 1718. He was educated at Glasgow University, and, developing a taste for the medical profession, he studied afterwards with great success in Edinburgh and London. In the English metropolis, his thorough knowledge of anatomy and midwifery gained him an extensive practice, and his lectures before several of the medical societies were highly appreciated. Among the many posts to which he attained were physician-in-ordinary to the Queen, and president of the Royal College of Physicians. At the expense of £7,000 he erected an anatomical museum in London, and its contents—to which large additions had been made—were conveyed, in terms of his will, to the University of Glasgow. He died in March, 1783, and was buried in St. James's Church, Westminster. Dr. Hunter's will was dated 31st July, 1781, and by it he bequeathed his museum to the principal and professors of the college, with £8,000 for its support and further augmentation. The collection was estimated to value £130,000, and was the accumulation of a lifetime; while the library, containing about 12,000 volumes and a number of MSS., was composed of valuable literary curiosities. In addition, there was a collection of medals scarcely to be equalled, and a number of pictures by such eminent masters as Murillo, Guido, Rembrandt, Reubens, Corregio, Salvator, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and others of little less note. The foundation-stone of the building for the preservation of this valuable gift to the University of Glasgow was laid on the 1st August, 1804, on the college grounds, the erection being completed at the expense of about £1,200. It was at the time deemed the best imitation of classic architecture then in Great Britain. It was opened to the public on the 26th August, 1808.

Reference has several times been made to the volunteers of Glasgow, and to the gallant service they performed for their country when occasion required them to take the open field. In most of the cases hitherto, the men had been supported at the expense of the city, which, in terms of its charter of royalty, was bound in "servitiis burgi usitatis et consuetis"—"service of burgh used and wont." These days of war and rumours of war on the Continent had brought about a change in this respect, and during the war of 1793, there were in Glasgow two battalions of infantry volunteers, a squadron of light cavalry, and a body

of riflemen, who went by the name of the Armed Association. The first battalion was 500 strong, and the men gave their services without pay, and clothed themselves, but they had their arms from the Government. The second battalion was 800 strong, and occupied a position similar to the militia of the present day, the Government paying them and supplying their clothing. The cavalry found themselves in everything. All these regiments, however, were disbanded on the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, in 1802; and it is noteworthy that the funds of the first battalion were so prosperous, that £1,000 were at that time gifted from them to the Royal Infirmary. When the French war was renewed in 1803, the Glasgow citizens flew to arms, and drilled themselves in season and out of season, annoying their lie-a-bed neighbours at midnight with the sounds of their drums and trumpets. There was then formed a squadron of light cavalry, and eight battalions of infantry. Of the latter there were—the 1st Regiment of Glasgow Volunteers, 900 strong; the 2nd, or Trades', Battalion, 600 men; 3rd, or Highland, Battalion, 700 men, clothed in Highland garb; the 4th, or Sharpshooters, Battalion, 700 men; 5th, or Grocers, Battalion, 600 men; 6th, or Anderston, Battalion, 900 strong; the Armed Association, or Ancients, 300 men; and the Canal Volunteers, 300 men. The last-named had two field pieces, and might be looked upon as artillery. These figures show a total of 5,000 men of infantry volunteers; while it is probable that the cavalry did not exceed 100 in number. The proportion was very large to the population, being at the rate of one volunteer to every sixteen or seventeen inhabitants.

The Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, was then commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, and in the autumn of 1804, he reviewed the volunteers and regular troops in the vicinity of Glasgow on the Green. A force of about seven thousand men was brought together, and they had eight guns. The corps were:—regiment of dragoons from Hamilton; regiment of infantry of the line, with two guns; regiment of regular militia; Glasgow Volunteer Light Cavalry; Glasgow Volunteer Sharpshooters; five regiments of Glasgow Volunteers; Canal Volunteers, with two guns; two battalions of Paisley Volunteers; Greenock and Port-Glasgow Volunteers, with two guns; Volunteer Companies from Dumbarton, Kilsyth, Cumbernauld, Airdrie, and Hamilton. Such an exhibition of military strength brought together an immense concourse of people in Glasgow, and the review on the Green was regarded as one of the most remarkable events of the kind that had ever taken place in Scotland. After the customary review movements, the troops fired off the ten rounds of ammunition that had been served out to them, and as the order was for individual



THE OLD HUNTERIAN MUSEUM, ERECTED 1804.

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firing, the effect to the spectators appeared the same as that of a battlefield. Dr. Mathie Hamilton, who was present on the occasion, thus describes the scene:—"The signal to begin was a volley from the artillery, which was continued from the eight guns, and the whole army, until the ammunition of the soldiers was exhausted. The result of such a mode of firing, in imitation of an army defending a position, was exceedingly impressive; for during the cannonade, which lasted till each man had discharged his musket ten times, a column of smoke and fire in front of the whole line obscured the troops, only transient glimpses of them being seen through the obscurity. Mr. Burke, in his *Essay on the Sublime*, defined it as a combination of the great and terrible; and, if so, the scene above noted was sublime." (*Glas. Past and Pres.*, Vol. I., p. 236). Dr. Hamilton further states that this manner of discharging fire-arms was novel to the most of the vast assemblage, the custom, apparently, being for the volunteers to fire by companies.

As showing the progress being made by the city, it may be stated that the burgh rental had increased, in the year 1804-5, to £152,738, or nearly double what it had been two years previously.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the patrons of Hutcheson's Hospital had been actively engaged in feuing their property, which was beginning to show an increased value; and among their other acts was the feuing of the ground on which their hospital stood, and the opening up of a street, since known as Hutcheson Street. This necessitated the erection of a new hospital, and, accordingly, in 1802, plans were approved, and contracts entered into for that purpose. The buildings in Ingram Street, at the head of Hutcheson Street, were finished in 1805, at a total cost of about £5,260. The new hospital was architecturally much finer than the one it superseded. A public work of some importance was inaugurated by an Act of Parliament having been obtained in this year for the construction of the Glasgow, Paisley, Johnstone, and Ardrossan Canal. On the 1st of August, the anniversary of the battle of Aboukir, Sir John Stuart of Allanbank, Provincial Grand Master Mason of the Lower Ward of Lanarkshire, laid the foundation-stone of Nelson's monument on Glasgow Green. The cost of this memorial, defrayed by public subscription, was upwards of £2,000. It is built of Possil freestone, and is 142 feet high.

CHAPTER XLVII.

(A. D. 1806 TO A. D. 1815.)

Formation of Water Companies—St. Andrew's Church Organ Dispute—The Glasgow Observatory—Sir John Moore—Improvements on the Clyde—Henry Bell and Steam Navigation—Resurrectionists in Glasgow—Erection of Justiciary Court House and Jail—City Statistics.

WITH the lapse of a few years the necessity for some more permanent and extensive system of water supply for Glasgow became more apparent, and the public spirit of the citizens was not slow to take advantage of this, another opportunity of benefiting the community, possibly without loss to themselves. In 1806, several gentlemen applied to Parliament for powers to carry out a scheme to supply the city with filtered water from the Clyde. The required act was passed, and the promoters of the company were incorporated under the style and title of the Glasgow Water Works Company. Their engineer was Thomas Telford, C.E., and his plans were for the construction of filtering works at Dalmarnock; with two steam engines, one of thirty-six horse power. They had also a large basin in Sydney Street, off the Gallowgate, and an extensive reservoir in Rottenrow. The company met with a large measure of success. The authorised capital, under the original act, was £100,000 raised by £50 shares, of which the magistrates and council, as individuals, held a large number. The mode of supply was, that the company, of course, laid the mains, while the expense of constructing pipes from these to the houses was paid for by the person requesting such accommodation. Among the committee of management were such familiar names as Kirkman Finlay, afterwards lord provost of the city, and member of Parliament for the Glasgow district of burghs, and James Cleland, the author of the *Annals of Glasgow*. While on this subject of water-supply, a slight anticipation may be allowable, in order to speak of another company formed in 1808 for the same purpose. This was the Cranstonhill Water Works Company, which obtained parliamentary sanction in May of that year. Their authorised capital was £30,000 in £50 shares, and they possessed borrowing powers to the extent of £10,000. The *modus operandi* of this company was similar to that of the other, with the only difference that their reservoirs were situated at Cranstonhill. Both derived

their supplies from the Clyde, which was then in a comparatively pellucid state, though the mills beginning to be erected on its banks had commenced the work of pollution. The capital of both companies was subsequently increased, and their works were largely extended. The Glasgow company found it necessary, in 1809, to apply to James Watt, then in the decline of his days, and retired from business, to assist them in discovering a method of leading water across the Clyde from a well on the south side of the river, which afforded a natural filter. From a consideration of the structure of the lobster's tail, Watt obtained the idea of a flexible main, with ball and socket joints, to be laid across the bed of the river. This plan was carried into effect in the following summer, and was so successful in its operation that a similar main was added a short time afterwards. By the year 1816, when Cleland published his *Annals*, the Glasgow company possessed 30,763 lineal yards, or fully 17 miles of water mains in the city; and the Cranstonhill company, 16,808 lineal yards, equal to about nine and a half miles. The annual charge to each householder for supply was from 4s. to 42s., while public works had special rates, and were charged in accordance with the amount of water used.

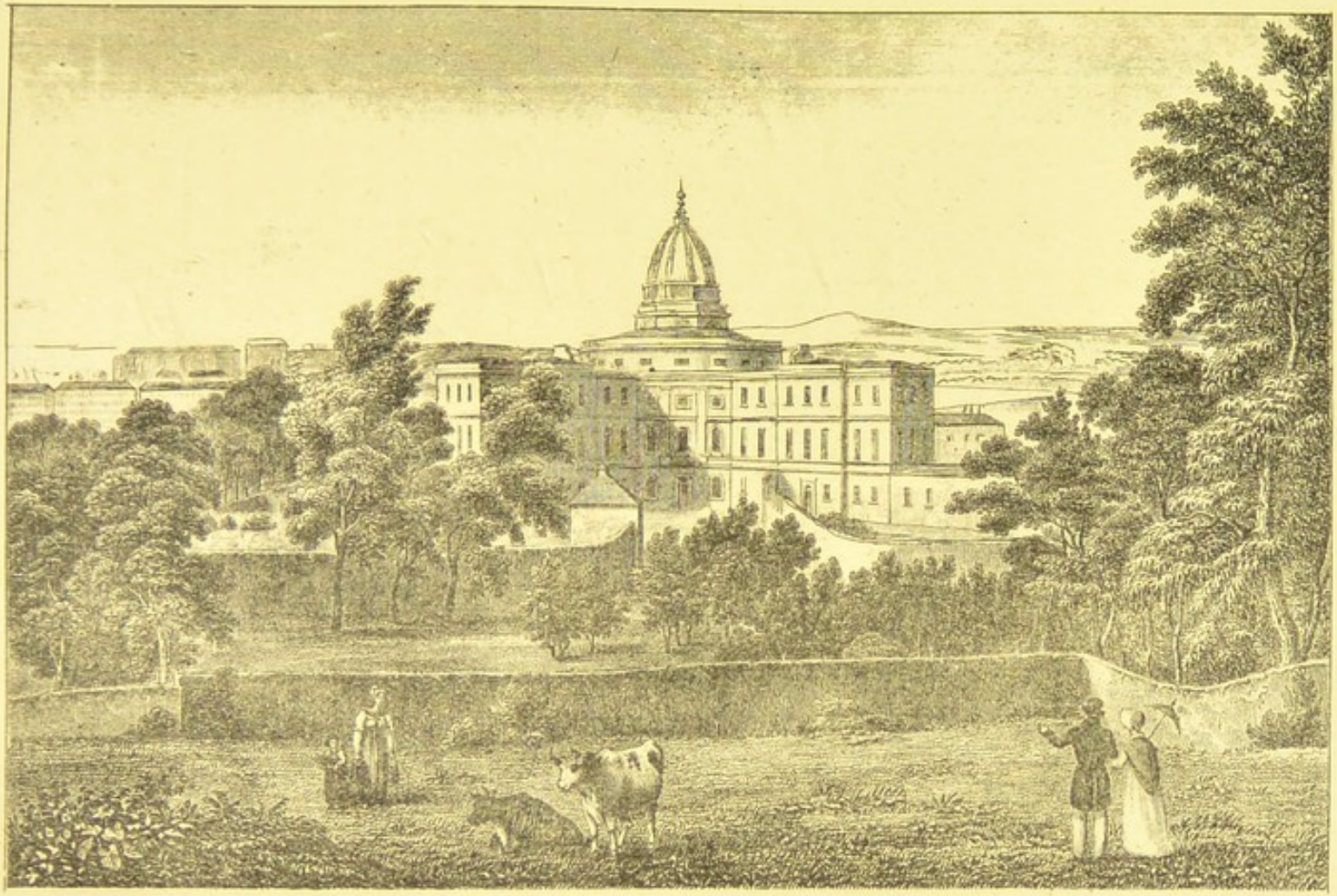
The union of the Scotch and English Episcopalians was celebrated in Glasgow by the confirmation of the English Episcopalians of Glasgow in May, 1806; and in this same connection, Glasgow was united into a diocese with Edinburgh and Fife. The bishop was the Right Rev. William Abernethy Drummond, M.D.

St. George's Church—the seventh distinct building for public worship in Glasgow for the Establishment—was erected in 1807. The Wynd Church had been opened in 1687, and it was occupied for fully a century. The extension of the city westwards rendered necessary the construction of a church more suitable for the people, and on the 3rd June, 1807, the foundation-stone of St. George's Church was laid by Bailie James Cleland, then convener of the committee of Town Council to whose care the erection of the building was entrusted. The height of the steeple is 162 feet, and the church is in the Roman style of architecture. When completed, the congregation of the Wynd Church, afterwards pulled down, was transferred to the new edifice. The steeple bell is nine feet in circumference, and bears this inscription:—"I to the church the people call, and to the grave I summon all. 1808." While this was going on, the whole city was greatly agitated over the St. Andrew's Church organ. The Rev. Dr. William Ritchie, incumbent of St. Andrew's parish, was exceedingly fond of instrumental music, and he was successful in carrying his congregation—or, at least, the greater part of it—with him in a proposal for the

introduction of an organ into the church. An organ, built by James Watt, was at this time for sale, and Dr. Ritchie purchased it. A request was made to the Town Council, as patrons, for permission to place the instrument in the church, but the council recommended application to the presbytery. Before the presbytery had time to consider the matter, the organ was introduced, and was in use for one Sunday. In October, 1807, the presbytery came to a deliverance forbidding the use of the organ; but among the dissentients from this finding were, Principal Taylor of the University, Dr. Alexander Ranken, minister of the Ramshorn, and Dr. Stevenson M'Gill, then of the Tron, and afterwards Professor of Divinity in the University.

In civil matters Glasgow was still on the way of progression. In April, 1807, a weekly newspaper, called *The Caledonia*, was published, and towards the end of the year it became a bi-weekly publication, with the title of *The Western Star*. The burgh rental had increased in 1806-7 to £165,418. There was also published in this year "*The Glasgow Directory*, containing a list of the merchants, manufacturers, traders, &c., &c., &c., in the city and suburbs." This work was more after the style of modern directories than any of its predecessors. It would contain about 4,000 names, alphabetically arranged, but with no features calling for special notice. The imprint bears that it was printed by Thomas Duncan, 159 Saltmarket, for W. M'Feat & Co., stationers, Trongate. In 1808, North and South Albion Streets were opened.

A number of influential local gentlemen having, in 1808, formed themselves into a society for the promotion of astronomical research, they were granted a seal of cause by the Town Council, incorporating them under the name of "The Glasgow Society for Promoting Astronomical Science." An observatory was built on Garnethill, then far removed from the bustle of the city, in the Egyptian style of architecture, from plans prepared by Webster, of London. Dr. Ure, Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Andersonian University, was the first observer and superintendent. The institution is now extinct, and Cleland's description of its furnishings is, therefore, all the more interesting. Cleland (*Rise and Progress*, p. 187) states that the building was divided into three compartments. The centre compartment, constituting the Scientific Observatory, was crowned with a revolving cupola, and contained three massive pedestals, to one of which a sidereal clock was attached; on the second was placed an azimuth and altitude instrument; and on the third a large mural circle, prepared by Troughton. The eastern division of the building was the Popular Observatory, and contained astronomical treatises and instruments for the use of subscribers. The third compartment



THE TOWN'S HOSPITAL & ITS SURROUNDINGS AS THEY APPEARED ABOUT 1828. PAGE 393.

was fitted up for the accommodation of the observer. On the terrace in front was an Herschelian telescope, ten feet long, and a fourteen-feet instrument of the same construction was placed on the roof. "This valuable institution," says Cleland, "which is exceeded only by the Greenwich Observatory, has been honoured by the approbation of the most eminent astronomers in the country. Dr. Herschel, who has repeatedly visited the observatory, has been liberal in his approbation."

The year 1809 was fruitful of many events of minor importance in connection with the progress of Glasgow. The Glasgow Banking Company was formed in the month of May, under the management of James Dennistoun of Golfhill, with seventeen partners, who were mostly merchants of high standing, but who included among their number Lord Kinnaird. Their office was at the corner of Ingram and Montrose Streets, where the Sanitary Office is now situated. The Lock Hospital was also instituted in this year, and West St. Vincent Street was opened up.

When the news arrived of the death of Sir John Moore at Corunna on the 15th January, 1809, the whole nation was deeply afflicted, and no portion of it more than Glasgow, who could claim the gallant general as one of its sons. Moore was the son of Dr. John Moore, a Glasgow medical practitioner, famous as a novelist in his day, and of a daughter of Professor John Simson, of the university. He was born on the 13th November, 1761, in Donald's Land, north side of the Trongate, a little to the east of the Candleriggs. It is unnecessary to sketch his military career, and in respect of it all that need be said is that throughout the whole course of it, eventful as it was, he upheld the dignity of the British flag, the credit of his native city, and his personal honour. On his death, a subscription, amounting to upwards of £4,000, was raised in Glasgow for the erection of a suitable memorial. Flaxman was instructed to prepare a pedestrian statue of Moore, and on the 16th August, 1819, it was erected in George Square, bearing a suitable inscription. The statue is of bronze, chiefly obtained from brass cannon, stands seven feet above the pedestal, which itself is ten feet high, and is about three tons in weight. By order of Parliament another monument was erected to Moore's memory in St. Paul's Cathedral; while Marshal Soult raised another over his grave in the citadel of Corunna. Among other matters incidental to this year, 1809, it may be stated that the magistrates granted 946 spirit licences within the royalty, being in the proportion of one licensed house to every 106 of the population.

Great activity continued to be shown in all the concerns of life by the citizens of Glasgow in 1810. The then postmaster, Dugald Bannatyne, built premises in South Albion Street, a

portion of which was let to Government for the transaction of the postal business of the city. Dr. Cleland (*Annals*, Vol. I., p. 99) gives this description of the new premises:—"The Post Office, situated on the east side of South Albion Street, has an ashlar front, relieved in the centre, and terminating in a pediment. At one end of the building there is a covered way, and at the other a spacious lobby for the accommodation of the public. A range of windows is so placed in the lobby that persons having boxes in the office can see if they have letters before the delivery commences." Previous to being located here, the Post Office had been in several parts of the city. In a previous chapter it was mentioned as being in Princes Street. Afterwards it was removed to St. Andrew's Street, and having been three years there, it was, in 1803, transferred to the back land of a court at 114 Trongate. Beside the new postal establishment were the Lyceum Rooms, the principal place for holding public meetings in the city, and used as a property exchange. The Lunatic Asylum was also built in this year; new slaughter-houses were erected at the river-side, near the mouth of the Molendinar; St. George's Place was opened up; and the guard-house was removed from Trongate to the foot of Montrose Street. During a thunderstorm, which occurred on the 5th August, the upper part of Nelson's Monument was completely shattered, but some years later the damage was repaired by the citizens. In this year, also, a proposal was made for the formation of a railway between Glasgow and Berwick. Telford, the celebrated engineer, surveyed the ground, and estimated the cost of construction at £2,926 per mile, but the work was never commenced.

But these events, important enough in their own way, were overshadowed by what was being done in the way of the improvement of the navigation of the Clyde, and the first development of the propulsion of ships by steam. The condition of the Clyde had been engaging attention for many years, and many schemes were suggested for a proper utilisation of the advantage which it was seen the city might derive from its situation upon a water highway to the ocean. Telford, the engineer, made a report bearing upon this question, in May, 1806. The ideas before him were—the possibility of a greater flow of the tide at Glasgow; the advantages of a towing path on a part of the river; and the formation of a harbour at the Broomielaw. For the accomplishment of the first object, he proposed that by parallel dykes the river be brought to a uniform width; he suggested, for the second object, the construction of a towing path between Glasgow and Renfrew; and, in the third instance, he disapproved of the extension of quays along the river banks, recommending as a more advantageous method, the conversion of a portion of the bed of the river into a wet dock, and the

formation of a new channel to the southward. Rennie, also an engineer, gave another report on the same questions in 1807; and his proposal was that the navigable channel of the Clyde should be made 135 ft. 6 in. wide at the Broomielaw; 180 ft. wide below the Kelvin; 230 ft. at Renfrew Ferry; 440 ft. at the confluence with the Forth and Clyde Canal; and 696 ft. at Dumbarton Castle. The next movement was the promotion of a bill, which obtained parliamentary sanction in 1809, for power to deepen the river until it was "at least nine feet deep at neap-tides in every part thereof between the Bridge of Glasgow and the Castle of Dumbarton." The Town Council and their successors were constituted trustees under this act. The deepening operations were, however, carried out. Telford's suggestion of a wet dock was not carried into effect; but, in direct opposition to his opinion, the quay at the Broomielaw was further extended, and the trustees were granted power to borrow £30,000 on the credit of the trust. In 1811, the total quayage was 697 yards, and the water area of the harbour amounted to seven acres. The revenue of the Clyde Trust in that year was £4,755, 3s. 8d.; and the Customs Revenue collected at Glasgow amounted to £3,124, 2s. 4¼d. In these days salmon fishing was carried on extensively in the harbour. The number of vessels owned in Glasgow in this year, 1811, was thirty-five, with an aggregate tonnage of 2,620 tons. The total number of entries of arrivals and departures showed 2,604 vessels, with a total measurement of 95,625 tons. Of these vessels, 1,315 were 40 tons and upwards; 628, between 40 and 60 tons; 540, between 60 and 80 tons; 110, between 80 and 100 tons; and eleven, upwards of 100 tons. The census of 1811 showed the population of the city to be 100,749, placing it, in that respect, in the front rank of Scottish burghs.

What follows as to the introduction of steam navigation on the Clyde, dealing to a large extent with the life-work of the introducer, renders an account of Henry Bell necessary. He was a native of Torphichen, in Linlithgowshire, being born on the 7th April, 1767. After spending three years of his youth as an apprentice mason, he turned his attention to the trade of a millwright, and he was afterwards in the employment, in London, of Mr. Rennie, the engineer, to whom reference has been made in connection with the schemes for the improvement of the Clyde. In 1790, Bell settled in Glasgow, where he wrought as a house-carpenter, and in 1797, he became a member of the incorporation of wrights. He removed to Helensburgh in 1808, and became a builder, while his wife kept an inn and public baths. At this time, the question of the application of steam to navigation was occupying the minds of mechanics in this country and in America, and various experiments, for the most part unsuccessful in their results, had been made. It is

unnecessary in this place to trace these experiments; but one of them must be mentioned. Symington was, in 1801, employed by Lord Dundas to construct a steamboat, and this vessel, when completed, was called the "Charlotte Dundas." It was tried on the Forth and Clyde Canal, and attained a speed of six miles an hour. "The use of this vessel," says Dr. Macquorn Rankine, "was abandoned, not from any fault in her construction or working, but because the directors of the Forth and Clyde Canal feared that she would damage its banks." Bell had applied his mechanical genius to solving this problem of steam navigation, and in 1811 he placed an order for the construction of a boat in the hands of Messrs. John Wood and Co., carpenters, Port-Glasgow. The length of keel of this vessel was 40 feet, its breadth of beam was 12 feet; and it drew 4 feet of water. The "Comet," so-called, it is recorded, from the circumstance of a brilliant comet having appeared towards the end of 1811, was engined from designs by Bell himself. The engine, made by John Robertson of Glasgow, and the boiler by David Napier, was of 4-horse power. The vessel had a tonnage of 28 tons, it was capable of carrying forty passengers, and its total cost was £192. On the 12th January, 1812, it commenced to ply between Glasgow, Greenock, and Helensburgh, and attracted great attention; but it could not, of course, be looked upon as a perfect steamboat, and it underwent many improvements at the hands of its inventor. Within the next few years, the construction of steamers on the Clyde rapidly increased. The "Elizabeth," 40 ft. keel and 12 ft. beam, of 30 tons, and having an engine of 10-horse power, was launched in November, 1812, by Wood of Port-Glasgow, and engined by John Thomson of Tradeston; the "Clyde," 68 ft. keel and 14 ft. beam, of 65 tons, and with an engine of 14-horse power, was launched in February, 1813, by Wood, and engined by John Robertson of Glasgow; and the "Glasgow," 60 ft. keel and 15 ft. beam, of 64 tons, and with an engine of 14-horse power, was launched in September, 1813, by Wood, and engined by Bell. These were the pioneers of steam navigation on the Clyde and in Europe. Bell, it may be here stated, died at Helensburgh in 1830, and for several years he had been in receipt of an annuity from the Clyde Trust.

Anatomical, as well as engineering science, had been endeavouring to free itself from the trammels of ignorance, but it took less laudable means to attain its object. Resurrectionists were plying a busy trade by robbing graves of their contents for the use of anatomy classes. Popular feeling became so excited at such horrible robberies, and the crimes of Burke and Hare, that scanty treatment was awarded those caught in the act. The greatest consternation was caused in Glasgow about this time by the

GLASGOW FROM THE FLESHERS HAUGH, ABOUT 1820.

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discovery that a sloop lying in the harbour was laden with corpses from Ireland for the use of the professors and students of the university; and as there was, besides, a certainty that graves in the Ramshorn and Cathedral burying-grounds had been violated, a raid was made on the students' quarters in the college. Here a number of bodies, partially dissected, was found concealed in a mash-tub, and several students were apprehended. The city was in an uproar when the trial of the young men took place before the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh, on the 6th June, 1814; but owing to a technical flaw in the evidence for the prosecution, the prisoners were acquitted. This event brought matters to a climax, and the students, having become frightened at the turn affairs were taking, gave up their shocking pilfering.

Several new streets were opened up, and the Green was improved, in 1813. In the following year the office of Master of Works in the Town Council, which previously had been held by a councillor, was made purely honorary, and the actual work was placed under the charge of a professional man. An Act of Parliament was passed in this year for the "regulation of chimnies, steam-engines, and other works within the city and suburbs of Glasgow," the necessity for which is in itself an evidence of the rapidly developing manufactures of the city.

As Glasgow and the surrounding country increased in population and resources, it was found that the prison accommodation in the city was quite inadequate to meet what was required of it. Within the city there were held, twice a year, circuit courts for the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, and Dumbarton. There were, therefore, extensive premises required to meet the necessities of a large circuit. In addition, the prison was in an insanitary condition. Accordingly, in February, 1807, the magistrates and council resolved upon the erection of a new jail. A site on a portion of the Green was selected, William Stark of Edinburgh prepared the plans, and the present Justiciary Court buildings, in what is now known as Jail Square, were erected at the expense of the city, the Government having declined to pay any part of the cost. Dr. Cleland (*Rise and Progress*, p. 75) states that "the new jail, exclusive of spacious public offices, court-houses, &c., contains one hundred and twenty-two apartments for prisoners, sixteen large galleries for air and exercise, and two paved courtyards, each sixty-nine by forty-six feet. . . . The Justiciary Court-hall is so spacious as to contain upwards of 500 persons. The prisoners for trial in this hall, collected from the three counties, are conducted from a particular cell through a subterraneous passage to the bar, where they ascend in front of the bench, without coming in contact with the spectators." The building is in the Grecian style of architecture,

and is 215 feet 6 inches long (north and south), by 114 feet broad (east and west). The portico is 58 feet long, and 15 feet from the plane of the wall. These are the main features of the new jail, which cost the city £34,800. It will be interesting to note that in 1814, the year of the opening of the new court-house, twenty-one persons were tried at the circuit court, two of them being executed for robbery, three transported, and sixteen banished.

A slight disposition to turbulence was shown by the lower class of the citizens of Glasgow, in 1815, on the passing of a bill for the regulation of the corn market, but nothing serious resulted. On the 30th December, the Clyde rose about seventeen feet above the usual level of high tide, and a portion of the city was under water for a short time. The postal revenue in the city for this year was £34,784, 6s. 0½d.; while the property tax levied within the royalty amounted to £82,000. From the 16th January, until the 9th October, the price of the quartern wheaten loaf was 11d.; from the 9th October until the 11th December it was 10d.; and on the 11th December it was still further reduced to 9d., a satisfactory result consequent upon the passing of the bill against which the citizens had protested. The rental of the city was then £240,000; there were over a thousand shops in it, of which the rents ran from £20 to £150, the average being £40. The revenue of the corporation for the year ended 31st December, 1815, amounted to £16,135, 19s. 1½d.; while the expenditure for the same period was £16,075, 7s. 8d. Cleland calculates the total amount collected in public and private charity to be £104,360, 3s. 10¾d., the amount absolutely known to have been received in aid of public charities being £32,942, 11s. 10¾d. The revenue of the police establishment was £10,400; and the expenditure, £9,521. There was then church accommodation for 54,255 persons. In conclusion, there had been 100,000 cattle and swine slaughtered in the public shambles during the year, the total value of which would be £270,000. All these statistics prove the prosperity of Glasgow, and point to a remarkably rapid increase of the city and its resources.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

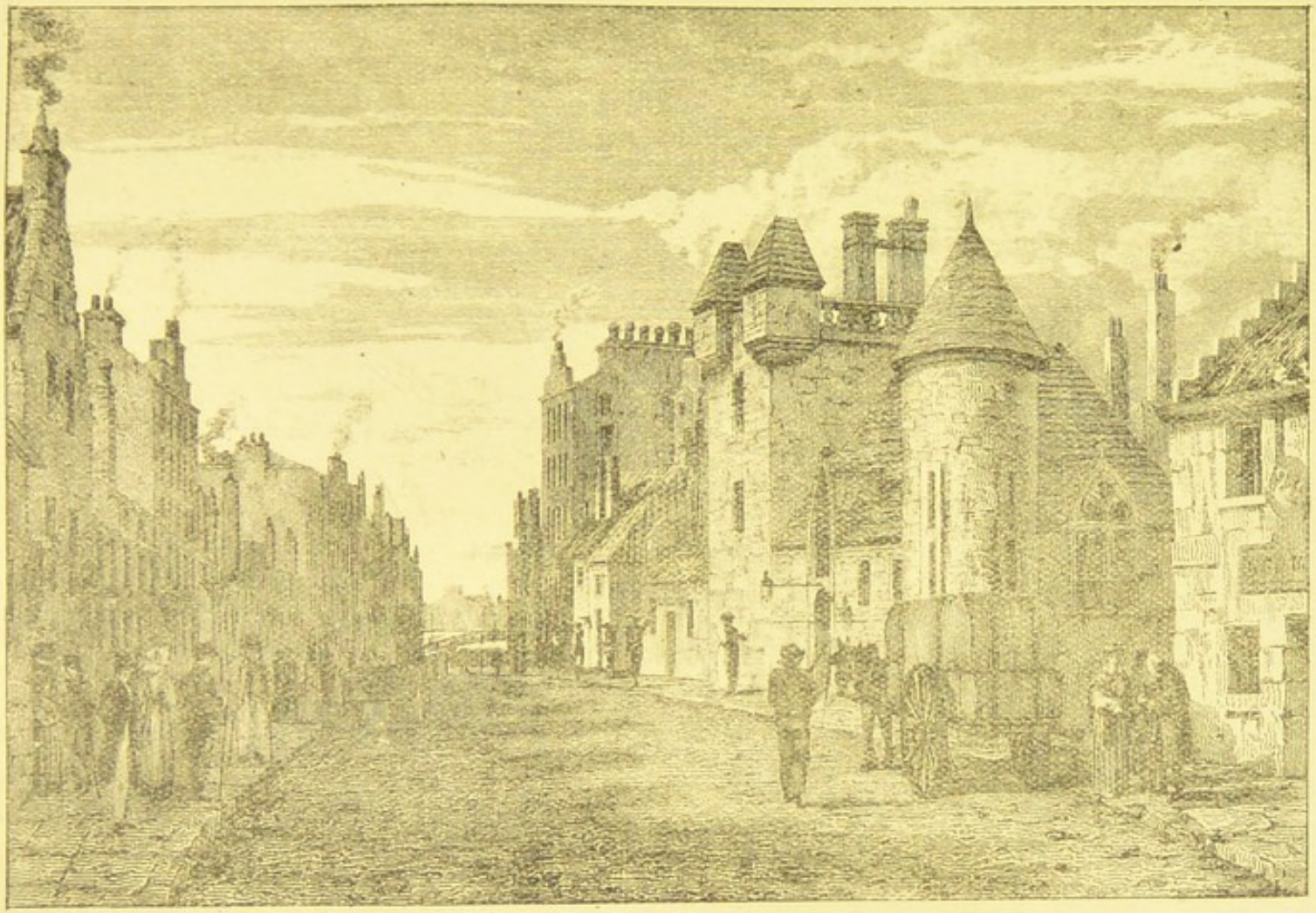
(A.D. 1816 TO A.D. 1819.)

The First Ship from Glasgow to India—The Radical Agitation, and Trial of Andrew M'Kinlay—Typhus Epidemic in the City—Strange Resurrectionist Experiment in the College—Sundry Statistics—Glasgow First Lighted with Gas—Stage Coaches.

AMONG the signs of progression in Glasgow in the year 1816, perhaps the most prominent was the despatch of the first vessel from its port to India—indeed, this vessel was the pioneer of the trade between Scotland and the possessions of the East India Company. An Act of Parliament had been passed opening up the trade of India to certain ports of the empire, and immediately Messrs. Finlay & Co., a prominent Glasgow house, fitted out a ship of 600 tons, named "The Earl of Buckingham," and sent her to the east with a valuable cargo of Glasgow manufactures. The head of this enterprising house was Kirkman Finlay, the ex-lord provost of the city, then M.P. for the Glasgow district of burghs, and it was through his influence, to a large extent, that this important concession was gained by the Government from the East India Company. "The Earl of Buckingham" returned to Liverpool from Bombay in April, 1817, with a rich loading of Indian produce. Another sign of development was the formation of a society in this year, 1816, for the establishment of a Botanic Garden in the neighbourhood of the city. When the scheme was first mooted, it was approved by many of the leading citizens, and in a short time nearly £6,000, in ten-guinea shares, were subscribed. The university authorities gave it their approbation, by contributing £2,000, on the condition that the Regius Professor of Botany should have the use of the lecture-room in the garden, and access to the plants contained in it, for the illustration of his lectures and the instruction of his students. Previous to this time there had been a small botanic garden adjoining the college, but it had been spoiled by the erection of a number of manufactories in its vicinity. The new society was erected into a corporation by the Prince Regent—afterwards George IV.—and they purchased about six acres of ground out the Sauchiehall Road, now Sauchiehall Street, and on this ground they erected greenhouses, &c.

These were signs of health in the community, but the country,

generally, was in that unsettled condition which always precedes great political changes. The ordinary people were suffering much from natural and political causes. The trade of the nation was in a bad state, the crops for some years had been failures, and the people were aspiring to greater freedom. Each of these causes acted upon the other, resulting in a most powerful agitation. A conflict ensued between the governing classes and the people, for the former looked upon the demands of the latter as revolutionary and subversive of good government. As seems almost an inevitable consequence of such movements, great injustice was frequently perpetrated through unreasonable alarm for the safety of the State. While the cry throughout the whole country was for reform, the citizens of Glasgow were active participators in the doings of what have been called the "Radical Times." In the month of October, 1816, about 40,000 persons assembled in a field at Thrushgrove, near Glasgow, and passed resolutions for presentation to the Prince Regent, seeking redress of the grievances the country was suffering under, especially in relation to the corn laws. The magistrates of the city were alarmed at the meeting, which they thought preliminary to active rebellion, and they had the 42nd Highlanders in the Barrack Square in the Gallowgate, and the Dragoons at Port-Eglinton, in arms, ready for action should they be required. The Government, also, was in a state of perturbation at what they deemed the treasonable attitude of the people, and they adopted rigorous methods for nipping the incipient rebellion. To make matters worse, in the end of 1816 and beginning of 1817, the working classes of Glasgow were in great distress from want of employment, and during that winter the sum of £9,653 of money, collected from private subscriptions, were distributed among 23,130 persons. But, as already stated, the Government was alarmed, and Mackenzie (*Reminiscences of Glasgow*, Vol. I., p. 113) says that Lord Sidmouth, Secretary of State, requested Mr. Finlay, the M.P. for Glasgow, to use means to obtain information for the Government of the conspiracies which seemed to be hatching in the city. A Pollokshaws weaver, named Alexander Richmond, was sent for by Finlay, and entrusted with the work of detection. Richmond seems to have been a man of little principle, and he soon placed in his employer's hands a document which he declared was being sworn to by the weavers of the city and suburbs. This was the "treasonable oath," and it bore that certain members of the community had bound themselves, under the sacred name of God, to persevere in their endeavours to obtain for all the people of Great Britain and Ireland, not disqualified by crime or insanity, the electoral franchise at the age of twenty-one, with free and equal representation, and annual Parliaments, either by moral or



MAIN STREET GORBALS, ABOUT 1828.

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physical strength, as the case might require. To this oath Richmond had prevailed upon several simple weavers to sign their names, telling them that it was merely a declaration in favour of reform. Information of what appeared to be a determined plot was immediately forwarded to the Home Secretary, and when the document was read in both Houses of Parliament, it was declared sufficient to justify the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Lord-Advocate Maconochie was sent to Scotland to institute criminal proceedings against the suspected traitors; and on the 28th February, 1817, Andrew M'Kinlay, a Calton weaver, and one of Richmond's unsuspecting signatories of the treasonable oath, was apprehended on a charge of high treason. He and several others were lodged, pending their trial, in Edinburgh Castle.

But the weavers were not the only persons in the community who were suspected of, or addicted to, treasonable practices. The Rev. Neil Douglas, a dissenting minister in Glasgow, and then seventy years of age, hated the King, the Prince Regent, and the existing House of Commons with a most inveterate hatred, and he inveighed against them from his pulpit in the most furious manner. King George was likened to Nebuchadnezzar, the Prince Regent was the prodigal son, and the House of Commons was "a den of the most infernal corruption." All his sermons and lectures were full of such-like language, and every time he appeared in public immense crowds went to hear him, attracted by his remarkable power of invective. The magistrates became alarmed, and they sent three of the town's officers to take notes of some of Douglas' lectures. The preacher was aware of their presence, but he continued in his old strain, and told his hearers that the officers were sent by Beelzebub from the council chambers to entrap him. When the Lord-Advocate received the reports of the men through the magistrates, the order was given for the apprehension of Douglas for sedition. He was, on the 26th May, 1817, brought before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh; but he was acquitted, as the three town's officers, not being competent reporters, and having quarrelled among themselves, could not agree as to the language used by Douglas in his tirades. He was quiet on his return to Glasgow.

In the meantime, M'Kinlay had been kept a prisoner in Edinburgh, and at last was brought before the High Court on the 23rd June, 1817. The Crown lawyers had, however, been endeavouring to tamper with a weaver named Campbell, who was also a prisoner. They had denied M'Kinlay's counsel admission to him, and they had promised him a good Government situation abroad if he would swear directly to the oath against M'Kinlay. At the trial Campbell stated this, and the

Crown lawyers retired from the court in confusion. M'Kinlay was liberated, and returned to Glasgow; and, owing to the failure of this case, the ministry could find no justification for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Mackenzie (*Reminiscences*, Vol. I., p. 123) says the case was trumped up by Richmond; and on the 16th June, 1817, Earl Grey stated in the House of Lords that "Glasgow was one of the places where treasonable practices were said, in the report of the secret committee of both houses, to prevail to the greatest degree, but there could no longer be any doubt that the alleged treasonable oaths were administered by hired spies and informers." The Lord-Advocate did not seek to institute further criminal proceedings against the reformers.

For a time there was comparative quietness in Glasgow, and in the interval of two years between the events just described, and similar ones to follow, much practical work was done in the city. The bazaar buildings in Candleriggs were erected in 1817, on the ground occupied by the old Glasgow Bowling Green, from designs prepared by James Cleland, the city Master of Works, who laid the foundation-stone. Its extent was 2,377 square yards. The villages of old and new Calton, which were outwith the royalty, were erected into a burgh of barony by Crown charter, of date 30th August, 1817. The burgh council, elected by the burgesses, consisted of a provost, three bailies, a treasurer, and eleven ordinary councillors. This year is also notable on account of the last execution in Glasgow for forgery having taken place in it. Two Irishmen were convicted before the Spring Circuit Court of having endeavoured to pass forged guinea-notes of the Greenock Bank, and one of them was executed on the 28th May. On the 13th February, 1817, the new silver coinage of sixpences, shillings, and half-crowns, was first issued in the city; and in the November following, David Napier, the engineer, made such alterations on a little steamer "Marion" as enabled him to take it up the Clyde, above the bridges, against a strong current. Hitherto, the navigation of the river above the bridges had been considered impracticable.

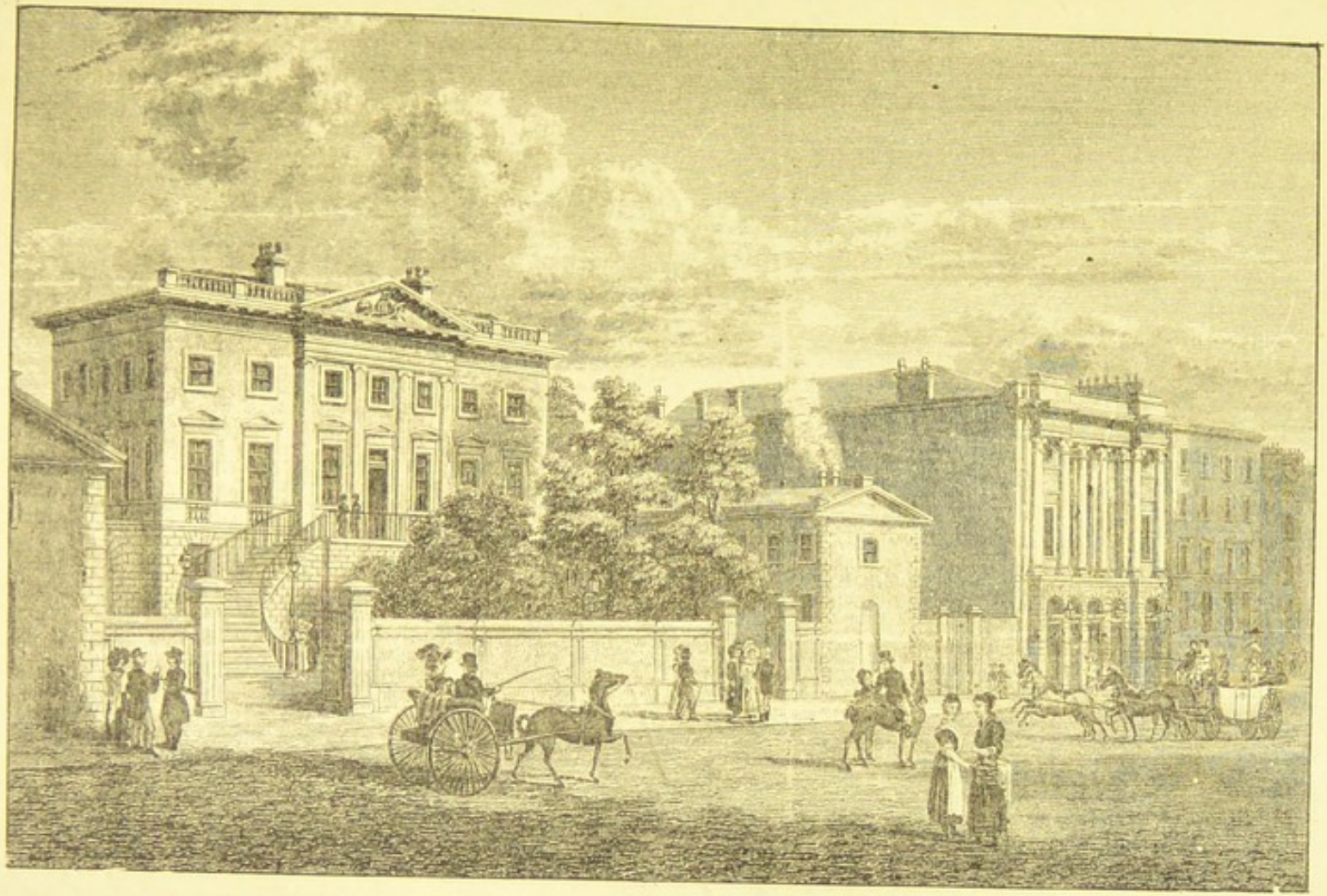
Another affliction, in the guise of an epidemic of typhus fever, bore heavily on the working population of Glasgow, in the year 1818. The distress was so general, that a committee of citizens had to be appointed to raise money by private subscription to relieve the necessities of the poor people. As the fever wards of the Infirmary were filled, the committee built a temporary fever hospital in its vicinity, with accommodation for 200 patients. This hospital was opened on the 30th March, 1818, and from that time until it was closed, on the 12th July, 1819, 1,929 persons were admitted for treatment. The deaths in the hospital numbered 171. Besides this, the committee took

measures for disinfecting many parts of the town. In this same year a most extraordinary occurrence took place in the anatomical theatre of the college. A collier, named Matthew Clydesdale, had been sentenced to death for murder, at the Glasgow Circuit of the 3rd October. The judges on the bench were Lord Gillies and Succoth, and Gillies, as the senior, passed doom on the prisoner, fixing the execution for the 4th November; and, further, he "decerned and adjudged that he shall be fed on bread and water only, till the day of execution, and that his body, after being so executed, shall be delivered up by the magistrates, or their officers, to Dr. James Jeffrey, Professor of Anatomy in the University of Glasgow, there to be publicly dissected and anatomised." The sentence caused the greatest excitement in the community, and the authorities feared an attempt would be made by Clydesdale's friends to release him from prison. However, he was kept in safe custody, was duly executed, and, in accordance with the sentence, his body was taken to the college. It had been decided to make experiments upon the body with a newly invented galvanic battery; and, accordingly, the body was placed in a sitting posture in an easy chair in front of the audience, which consisted of the medical students and many of the more prominent citizens. Professor Jeffrey and his colleagues applied their instrument to the murderer, and to the horror of most of the onlookers, the eyes of the dead man opened, his tongue lolled between his lips, his breast heaved, and, ultimately, he rose to his feet. Some of the students fainted; others applauded what they deemed a triumph of science. Professor Jeffrey thought it his duty, under the circumstances, to put his lancet into the jugular vein of the unfortunate man, who then fell to the floor undoubtedly dead. Speculation was rife on the question whether or not Clydesdale had been properly executed; but the event caused such a *furore* that this was the last occasion on which the body of an executed criminal was ordered by the Lords of Justiciary to be handed over for dissection.

Considerable improvements had, by this time, been effected on the police establishment of Glasgow. The police expenditure for the year ended 1817-18, amounted to £11,617, 8s.; and the rates levied varied from 4d. to 1s. per £, according to the rental. There were then twenty officers, eighty watchmen, twenty patrole, and sixteen scavengers in the employment of the department; and 1,472 street lamps were lighted. Previous to April, 1817, the dust had been laid in the streets in summer weather by men with watering cans, but in that month a watering-cart, to be drawn by one horse, and capable of containing 180 gallons, was purchased by the Police Board. The fire brigade then consisted of forty-eight men, with six fire-

engines. For the year ending 1817, the amount of road money collected was £2,511, 2s. There were then 712 public-houses. The amount collected for parochial purposes in 1818 was £11,864, 16s. 6d. For the year 1817-18, the income of the Town Council amounted to £15,111, 18s. 5d., while their expenditure was £14,818, 16s. For 1818, the postal revenue amounted to £34,038; and the house duty, window tax, and duties on servants, &c., in the same year, yielded £29,384, 19s. The rental for the financial year of 1818-19, was £270,646, on a valuation of £6,779,900. While in the statistical vein, it may be stated that in 1819, there were between five and six miles of sewers within the city. There were then 1,064 shops in the following seven streets—High Street, Bell Street, Gallowgate, Saltmarket, Trongate and Argyle Street, Bridgegate, and Stockwell Street; while the annual rents at which these shops were let varied from £150 to £20, the average being between £35 to £40. During 1818, 1,443 persons were committed to Bridewell; and of these twenty-nine were tried before the circuit court, four being executed—one for murder and three for robbery. The total head of cattle slaughtered in the city during the year ended 1st June, 1818, was 109,803, their estimated value being £400,000. In 1818, there were fifty-two cotton mills in Glasgow, containing 511,200 spindles, and employing an estimated capital of £1,000,000. The amount of cotton cloth produced yearly in the city, was computed to be upwards of 100,000,000 yards, of a total value of fully £5,000,000. During this period there were 64,803 packages of cotton wool imported into the city, and these packages were estimated to have contained 18,198,500 lbs.; while there were exported 46,565 packages, leaving 18,238 on hand at the close of the year. Within the city there were eighteen steam-weaving factories, containing 2,800 looms, and producing 8,400 pieces of cloth weekly. Including the outlying districts of Partick, Pollokshaws, Rutherglen, Cambuslang, &c., there were 18,537 looms; and including in a grand sweep those looms in neighbouring towns which were usually kept employed by Glasgow merchants, the total mounts up to 32,000 steam and hand looms. There were eighteen calico-printing works; seventeen calendering houses; nine iron works; and several engine works. In the previous year, 1817, forty-five steam-engines had been made in the city and suburbs; and in 1818, seventy-three were employed in the various factories and workshops of Glasgow and its vicinity. There were, also, several distilleries.

Leaving statistics for a time, a few remarks are necessary upon some of the events of 1818. In that year, the ground intended for the formation of Graham's Square, off the Gallowgate, was converted into a market for the sale of live cattle. For this purpose 9,281 square yards were inclosed within a stone



OLD THEATRE ROYAL & OLD ROYAL BANK IN QUEEN STREET.

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wall; 150 pens were made for sheep and lambs; sheds were erected for cattle; together with an inn and stabling for the accommodation of those who frequented the market. Glasgow in this year suffered severely from a violent tempest, several houses being blown down, and great damage to property caused throughout the city.

Certainly the event of 1818 which created the greatest sensation in Glasgow, was the formation of the Glasgow Gas Light Company, and the first exhibition of gas-lighting in the city. On the 13th January, the subscribed capital of the company amounted to £30,000, an Act of Parliament having been duly obtained in June, 1817, to enable the company to carry out their prospectus. The authorised capital was £40,000. Henry Monteith of Carstairs, lord provost of the city, was chairman of the directors; and the directorate was composed of the leading gentlemen in the community. The company had their operations so far advanced, that by the month of September following they were able to show the citizens the result of their labours. Peter Mackenzie, writing in 1866, thus describes the condition of the city at night prior to this time:—"'Tis dark as pitch! 'Tis dark as pitch! was the password, the exclamation, and the reply often and again, thousands on thousands of times over in this city, some fifty years ago, ere the gas lights came to be introduced into it. Here and there, on the lone streets, there might be observed the feeble twinkling of a few *oil lamps*, on their elevated wooden pedestals, but nothing else in that shape could be discerned, unless the moon and the bright stars of heaven broke through the darkness, and dispelled the gloom" (Mackenzie's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 141). The first to make the experiment of using the gas was James Hamilton, a member of the Police Board, who had a grocery store at 128 Trongate, half way between Hutcheson Street and Candleriggs. He had six "jettees" fitted up in his establishment, and they were lighted for the first time on the 5th September, 1818. The old ladies of the city denounced him, as they declared the smell of the gas would contaminate his goods; but all the young people enjoyed the scene, and ultimately prevailed with their elders. Gradually the new light was introduced into shops and houses, and the gas began to lose its novelty. Before leaving this subject, it will be appropriate to reproduce what Mackenzie—the cheeriest of old Glasgow writers—says about the illumination of the old theatre in Queen Street:—"But first let us here take a vivid peep at the old magnificent Theatre Royal in Queen Street (afterwards burned to the ground), as we remember it, on the first grand and important occasion when it was to be lighted up with gas to the view of the excited citizens. Mr. John Corri, as he was called, had just arrived from London, with his signors

and signoras, and had advertised in the newspapers the performance of Mozart's grand operas of "Giovanni" and "Figaro" for Friday, the 18th September, 1818, on which occasion the grand crystal lustre from the roof of the theatre, the largest at that time in Scotland, would, in place of the wicks, and the candles, and the oil lamps, be '*illuminated with sparkling gas.*' Every seat in the boxes, up to the double and triple tiers, had been anxiously pre-engaged; the spacious pit was crammed almost to suffocation; and the first, second, and third galleries, for there were also *three* of them, had not an inch of standing room to spare, so great was the crowd, and the eager desire to gain admission, not so much for the *music*, delightful though it was, as to behold for the first time the wonderful evolutions of the *gas*, never till then seen or heard of in any theatre in this kingdom. Nearly all the rank, wealth, and beauty of the city appeared in full dress, and were seated there. . . . Thus assembled in that theatre—the signal being given, and the green curtain of the stage drawn up to display the magnificent drop-scene of the Clyde from Bowling to Dumbarton Castle, painted on canvas by Sir Henry Raeburn, which those who saw it, and the still few alive who may remember it, can or could only do so with a glow of admiration; but it unfortunately perished in the flames, never to be replaced by the same artist-hand again—the enrapt audience joining in the chorus to the King's Anthem, and smiling in each other's faces, from the lustre of those lights, broke out again and again into a rapture of applause; whilst the gas, as if by *magic*, made its original evolutions to their perfect astonishment, leaving some of them to fancy that they had been ushered into a new world—a perfect Elysium on earth" (*Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 152).

St. John's Parish Church, erected by the Town Council, and the foundation-stone laid by Henry Monteith of Carstairs, on the 21st of April, 1817, was opened for public worship on the 26th September, 1819. It cost upwards of £9,000. The celebrated Dr. Thomas Chalmers, who had been minister of the Tron Kirk from July, 1815, was, on the 3rd June, 1819, appointed by the magistrates the first incumbent of St. John's parish. In this year Glasgow was made an assay town—the marks fixed for silver plate stamped in the city being a lion rampant, the arms of the city, the maker's initials, the date letter, and the sovereign's head. Monteith Row was laid out, it being called so by the magistrates and council in consideration of the eminent services rendered to the community by Monteith of Carstairs. There were then ten cabs in Glasgow, with eight public coaches, drawn by four horses, and seven drawn by two horses, leaving and returning to the city daily. One coach with four horses, and one with three, left and returned to the city three times in the

week. These include the mail coaches, there being daily one for London, five for Edinburgh, one for Perth, one for Ayr, three for Paisley, two for Greenock, and one each for Hamilton and Kilmarnock. A coach for Carlisle, and another for Lanark, left and returned three times in the week.

CHAPTER XLIX.

(A. D. 1819 TO A. D. 1830.)

The Reform Agitation in Glasgow—Severities by the Authorities—Execution of Wilson, Baird, and Hardie—Glasgow and Queen Caroline—Local Statistics—Coal under Glasgow Green—City and Suburban Police Forces—The Royal Exchange—Early Local Railways.

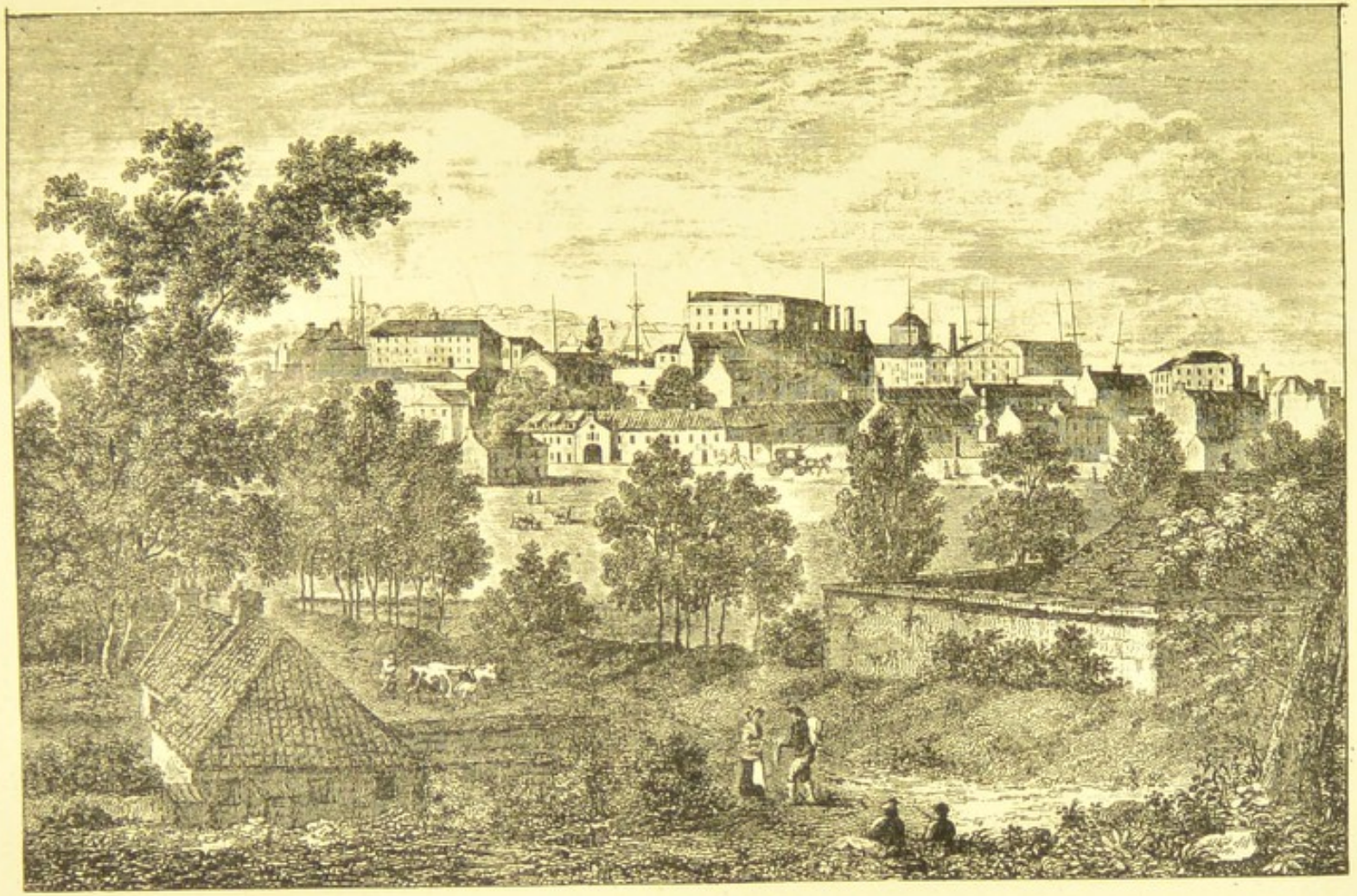
AGAIN destitution visited Glasgow, and again the cry for reform arose. Towards the end of the year 1819, the working classes of the city were in great distress through want of employment, and the state of matters was attributed to political causes. It was usual to see thousands of workmen parading the streets in military order demanding employment or bread. The magistrates projected public works for the benefit of many of them; and great improvements were effected on the aspect of the Green by the labours of the unfortunate men. The people continued to demand a greater liberty, and a deeper interest in State affairs; but the Government of the time was determined to suppress what they considered rebellion against all constituted authority, and against the very foundations of the truest political economy. Spies were engaged and paid by the Government to ferret out all the ramifications of the suspected conspiracy; and these men, faithful only in their unscrupulousness, reported that deeply laid schemes were afoot for the overthrow of king and constitution. What the people wanted was simply that they should be permitted to exercise the franchise; but the governing classes were unwilling to grant this, and political persecution continued for many years, and did not cease until the people had their demands conceded to them by the Reform Bill of 1832.

Glasgow was believed by those in authority to be the Scottish centre of the revolutionary movement. It was certainly the headquarters of the reformers, whose principles could hardly be said, advanced as they were, to border upon revolution; but

the unfortunate matter was that it was also the centre of the spy system. Richmond, the Government spy mentioned in last chapter, resided in the city, and he is credited, with every appearance of justice, as the fabricator of many treasonable documents, to which, under false representation, he obtained the adhesion of a number of reformers, whose simplicity enabled him to betray them.

The first sign of what appeared to be a powerful organisation against the Government was the posting of a bill on the streets of Glasgow early on the morning of Sunday, 1st April, 1820. This document called upon the people to assert their rights at the hazard of their lives; and it was signed "By order of the Committee of Organisation for forming a Provisional Government." The people read it on their way to church, and were amazed and horror-struck; the magistrates were alarmed, and called upon the aid of the military. The Rifle Brigade, the 80th and 83rd Regiments of Foot, the 7th and 10th Hussars, several Regiments of Yeomanry, and the Glasgow Sharpshooters—a Regiment of Volunteers under the command of Samuel Hunter, editor of the *Herald*—were all ordered for duty in Glasgow and its neighbourhood. It has been seen that the magistrates were alarmed at the appearance of the proclamation of the so-called provisional committee, and they issued early on the Monday morning, 2nd April, a proclamation ordering "all shops to be shut this and every following night, until tranquillity is restored, at the hour of six; and they hereby enjoin all the inhabitants of the city to retire to their houses as soon as possible thereafter, and not later than seven o'clock. All strangers are hereby enjoined to withdraw from the city before seven o'clock at night. Parties or groups of people standing together, or walking on the streets after the hour of seven, will be deemed disturbers of the peace, and will be dealt with accordingly." Next day the municipal authorities informed the public that the whole military force of the district would be employed in the most decisive manner against those who assisted in the rebellious movement; and on the 8th of April, a royal proclamation was read at the Cross, offering £500 reward for the detection of the authors and printers of the treasonable document of 1st April.

Meantime, the Government spies were preparing their victims; and were endeavouring to rouse the lower orders to a rebellious state, by telling them, at meetings called for the purpose, that England was in arms for the cause of reform, and that troops were coming from France to assist them in their movement for liberty. A large body of the French was to camp on Cathkin Braes, and the city and its treasures were to be seized in name of the Provisional Government; the English had advanced upon



PORT DUNDAS ABOUT 1820

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Falkirk, and were to take possession of Carron Iron Works, then famous for the manufacture of cannon; and the London mail was to be stopped before it entered Glasgow. Such were the fables told to, and believed by, the poor starving workmen of Glasgow. The first arrest made was that of James Wilson, a Strathaven weaver of sixty years of age, who, on the Monday following the posting of the treasonable proclamation, had been told by one of the Glasgow spies of the glorious news. Some twenty of the village reformers then met in Wilson's house, and, after being harangued by the man from Glasgow, they started on a march to the city. Having gone a short distance they thought better of it, and returned home; but Wilson was no sooner in his house than he was seized by the police and taken, first to Hamilton barracks, and afterwards to Glasgow, on a charge of high treason. This was on Monday, 2nd April. Late on the night of the following day, Tuesday, 3rd April, about seventy men met on the Fir Park, now the Necropolis, and having been furnished with pikes, swords, muskets, and ammunition by the spies, they were directed to march to Falkirk, where they would meet their English friends. March they did. A halt was made in the village of Condorret, and a weaver named John Baird, with several others, was persuaded to join the expedition. Next day they neared Falkirk, but no English were to be seen. Disheartened, many of them left the company, and the thirty who remained were resting at Bonnymuir, in the vicinity of Castlecary, when a troop of the 7th Hussars came upon them. The misguided men refused to surrender, hastily formed a solid square, and attempted to withstand the overwhelming charge of the cavalry. They were overcome, nearly every one of them was wounded, and they were all made prisoners. Carts were procured for the conveyance of the injured, and all were taken to Stirling Castle, where they were placed in the military prison.

The news of all these doings created a great sensation throughout the country; and the king appointed a Special Commission for the trial of the rebels. A special court of Oyer and Terminer met at Stirling on the 23rd June, and eighteen of the prisoners captured at Bonnymuir were brought up on a charge of high treason. Among them were John Baird, the Condorret weaver, and Andrew Hardie, a weaver from Glasgow. With the exception of Baird and three others, all the accused belonged to Glasgow. The trial was conducted in the English fashion, and the case was first of all put before a grand jury, who, after two days' hearing, found true bills against all the prisoners for high treason; and the Lord President fixed the trial for 6th July. On that day, the trial commenced amid the greatest excitement, and resulted in the conviction of the whole eighteen unfortunates. The celebrated Francis Jeffrey was retained for their defence,

but his eloquence was unavailing. Sentence of death was pronounced on Hardie and Baird as ringleaders, and the day of doom was appointed for Friday, 8th September. On the 20th of July, the Lords Commissioners met in Glasgow, and James Wilson, of Strathaven, was also convicted of high treason, his execution being fixed for the 30th August. The fate of these unfortunate men excited the utmost commiseration, and influential petitions in their favour were forwarded to Government, but without success. Wilson was hanged and beheaded in front of the jail, at the Green, in presence of some 20,000 spectators. The scene was terrible; its results were unfavourable to the Government. Even more affecting was the execution of Hardie and Baird at Stirling, on the 8th September. They died declaring that they had come to the scaffold in the cause of truth and justice; and they and old James Wilson were regarded as martyrs to that cause. The other prisoners were transported. It is perhaps an allowable anticipation to say that several years after this, Peter Mackenzie, "the old loyal reformer," and "the old faithful author," as he delighted to call himself, was the means of revealing to the public that these unfortunate sufferers were the dupes of Richmond and his fellow-spies in Glasgow, who sought to gain the blood-money paid by an overbearing Government.

During the progress of these events, Glasgow was in a highly excited state, and it was considered necessary for some time to keep a strong military force in the city.

Another matter which caused public commotion in Glasgow, in 1820, was the introduction, at the instance of George IV., into the House of Lords, of the bill of pains and penalties against Queen Caroline. Every city in the kingdom sent the queen addresses of sympathy, but Glasgow, under the influence of the trials for treason, held back for a time. Ultimately, Peter Mackenzie, then a young man, with a number of his companions, prepared an address, which they had printed and published, and to which they obtained the signatures of fully 35,000 of the citizens. The promoters of this movement laboured under the greatest difficulties, for they had to contend with the determined opposition of the magistrates. However, the address was signed and forwarded to the queen, who returned a graceful letter of thanks. The third division on the bill was taken in the House of Lords on the 10th November, 1820; but the majority for it was so small that the Premier, the Earl of Liverpool, intimated that he did not intend proceeding with it further, and moved that it be read that day six months. The bill was accordingly withdrawn. When the news reached Glasgow the people were overjoyed, and they lighted bonfires and illuminated their windows. The magistrates ordered out the dragoons and

artillery, and the Riot Act was read, but no serious disturbance took place. When the soldiers were attempting to disperse a crowd which had congregated at the foot of the Saltmarket, great numbers rushed upon the Hutchesontown Bridge, which was of wood. The structure broke down, and many were thrown into the water. The tide was out, and as the river was of no great depth, all safely reached land.

Such were the terrible events in Glasgow in the year 1820; but happily the record for that year is not altogether black. St. James's parish was constituted on the 7th of June, the parish church in Great Hamilton Street having been built in 1816 originally for the Methodists. The foundation-stone of the Grammar School, on the elevated ground to the north of George Street, was laid by Mr. John Alston, convener of the High School Committee, in presence of the magistrates, the committee, and the scholars. The revenue of the Clyde Trust for this year was £6,328, 18s. 10d., being a slight decrease as compared with 1810. There were seventy-seven vessels owned in Glasgow, with an aggregate of 6,131 tons; and there had been entered in the harbour books as arriving or departing, 3,543 vessels, with a total tonnage of 158,869 tons. The celebrated Francis Jeffrey was installed as Lord Rector of the University on the 20th December, 1820, and on that occasion delivered an elegant address to the students, in the course of which he reminded them that within the walls of that same college he had "received the earliest, and by far the most valuable, part of his education."

In 1821, the census revealed the population of Glasgow to be 147,043, consisting of 68,119 males, and 78,924 females. There had been no difference made on the quay space or the water area of the harbour since 1811, but in this year the river had been deepened to admit of vessels drawing 13 feet 6 inches unloading at the Broomielaw. The Clyde Trust revenue had increased to £8,070, 2s. 2d.; and the customs revenue amounted to £16,147, 17s. 7d., or fully five times what it had been ten years before. In the same year the cavalry barracks in Eglinton Street were built.

The year 1822 was quite eventful in its own way. The clock dials in the Tron Church were lighted by gas reflectors in the winter of 1821-22, and this is believed to have been the first steeple in the kingdom so illuminated. The inventor of this expedient was, says Cleland (*Statistical Tables*, p. 200), "Mr. John Hart, an ingenious and scientific pastry-baker of this city." Then, again, the quay at the Broomielaw was extended 482 feet. A riot occurred on Sunday, 17th February, through some persons imagining that a colour merchant named Provand, whose house was in Clyde Street, was connected with the resurrectionists. The house was stripped of its valuables by an unruly mob.

Provand escaped their fury with the greatest difficulty, and the Riot Act had to be read, and the people dispersed by the military. Five persons were transported for participating in this affair, and one of them was whipped through the streets by the public hangman. This was the last case of public whipping in the city. Another disturbance occurred on the evening of Saturday, 21st July. Thomas Harvey, an extensive Glasgow distiller, had grievously offended and encroached upon the privileges of the people by putting a dyke over a footpath along the Clyde at Westthorn, which was his property, in order to preserve the privacy of his house. This evening an immense armed mob assembled and threw down the dyke, and a skirmish ensued between them and the Enniskillen Dragoons. No serious bodily injury was inflicted upon any one, though several received a dip in the river. The question of this right of way was raised before the Court of Session, and decided in favour of the people and against Harvey, in 1826. A strike occurred in the power-loom factories in the city in the latter half of 1823, and new tenters and dressers having been engaged by the employers to take the place of those who were out, the strikers resented this, and attempted to intimidate the others, but peace was restored by the appearance of the military. George IV. visited Scotland in the course of 1822, and at Holyrood, on the 17th August, his majesty received Lord Provost Alston, and deputations from the Town Council, and the Merchants' and Trades' Houses.

For some time the probability of there being coal underneath Glasgow Green greatly exercised the Town Council, and they sought professional advice in the matter. A practical miner whom they consulted was of opinion that five seams of workable coal would be found in the Green, and boring operations were conducted for a year or two. It was considered that if the ground could be worked, it would be most profitable to the city, for from the Govan colliery in the vicinity, in 1823, no less than 283 vessels were laden with coal at the harbour, and as the whole amount shipped was 14,150 tons, these, at a profit of 3s. per ton, would yield £2,122, 10s. This return was exclusive of the retail trade in the city. However, nothing came of the investigation.

The house referred to at page 314 of this work, and which is there described as situated in the Saltmarket, fell with a great crash on the morning of Sunday, 16th February, 1823. No one was injured, though one narrow escape was made, the people having been warned out; but by this event Glasgow was deprived of one of its old landmarks, and a structure which, as M'Ure put it, was "adorned with the several orders of architecture," and was "admired by all foreigners and strangers." In the course of this year the Mechanics Institute was founded for the purpose of diffusing knowledge on literary and scientific

THE CLYDE BETWEEN STOCKWELL & BROOMIELAW BRIDGES, ABOUT 1825.

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subjects among the working-men of the city. Acts of Parliament had been obtained in 1822 and 1823 giving power to commissioners to assess the city and county for the building and maintenance of a bridewell. The magistrates gave up to the commissioners their small bridewell and the surrounding grounds in Duke Street, and the plans having been prepared, the work of the erection of increased accommodation for culprits was begun in April, 1824, and finished two years later. The village of Anderston was erected into a burgh of barony by Crown charter, sealed November, 1824; and the council of the new burgh consisted of a provost, three bailies, a treasurer, and eleven councillors, elected by the burgesses.

An interesting contest for the Lord-Rectorship of the University took place in April, 1825. Francis Jeffrey had delivered his parting address to the students on the 15th November, 1822, and the succession was contested by Sir Walter Scott and Sir James Mackintosh, with the result that the latter was elected. Sir James continued in office until April, 1825, and on the 4th of that month he delivered his retiring address. Sir Walter Scott was again nominated for the Lord Rectorship, but was opposed by Henry Brougham. The nations were equally divided, and it fell to the retiring rector to give his casting vote. This he gave in favour of Brougham, who, at his installation on the 6th April, 1825, delivered a most scholarly address, exhorting the students to store their minds with the exquisite learning of former ages, and embue themselves with the sound philosophy of later days, especially with reference to the study of the rhetorical art, by which useful truths were promulgated with effect, and the purposes to which a proficiency in this art should be made subservient.

Another Act of Parliament relative to the Clyde was obtained by the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow in 1825. It gave them power to add to the trustees "five other persons interested in the trade and navigation of the river and frith of Clyde," and to deepen the river between Glasgow Bridge and Port-Glasgow until they had obtained a depth of at least 13 feet. The number of vessels owned in the city in this year was 186, with an aggregate of 31,089 tons. In 1821, the Police Board had obtained an Act of Parliament by which the appointment of two resident commissioners for each ward was authorised; and in the succeeding year they purchased ground in South Albion Street for the erection of police buildings, the price paid being £4,659, 6s. 2d. The present Central Police Office was erected thereon, and was completed in 1825. The first police office had been in the Laigh, or Tron, Kirk Session-House; and, after a while, the police establishment was removed to the *Herald* Office Close, at the north-west corner of Bell Street and Candleriggs. It was up

one stair. A change was next made to premises in Candleriggs, but these also were inadequate for the necessities of the criminals of the city, and the buildings mentioned were erected. At this time there were three suburban police forces—that of Gorbals, constituted in 1808; Calton, in 1819; and Anderston, in 1824. The monument to John Knox was erected by public subscription on the Fir Park—now the Necropolis—in September, 1825. The pillar, which is in the Grecian Doric style, was designed by Hamilton of Edinburgh; and the statue was executed by Forrest, the sculptor.

The first St. Enoch's Church was taken down, and the present structure was erected, in 1827. The old steeple was, however, allowed to remain. In the September of the same year, the house built by Cunningham of Lainshaw, in Queen Street, was sold to the committee of the new Exchange company. The mansion-house was not taken down, but it was converted into offices, and the present handsome buildings of the Royal Exchange were formed by the construction of the portico in front of Cunningham's old dwelling, and the erection of the large room or hall, where now "the merchants most do congregate," on a portion of ground previously used for garden purposes. It was opened on 3rd September, 1829, having cost altogether about £50,000. On the 10th of January, 1829, during morning rehearsal, the theatre in Queen Street was burned to the ground. It had seen many merry nights, not the least noteworthy being on the 18th September, 1818, when gas was first introduced into it. No one was injured by the destruction of the building.

Within the next few years little of purely local interest occurred. J. B. Neilson, a man of considerable scientific attainments, and engineer of the Glasgow Gas Works, made himself quite a reputation by having, in 1827, conceived the idea of heating the air before injecting it into blast furnaces. Previous to that time the air forced into the furnaces had been cold, with the result that the process of smelting was slow and costly; but a trial of Neilson's discovery at Clyde Iron Works two years later demonstrated its value, and, having taken out a patent for the process, it is said the patentee and his partners realised a handsome fortune by it. The iron trade was greatly stimulated by the invention. John Leith, a wealthy citizen, bequeathed £5,000 for the maintenance of a Blind Asylum, and it is noteworthy that he himself was a sufferer from partial blindness. A public subscription was made for the erection of the buildings in Castle Street, and they were opened in 1828. In 1830 the revenue of the river and harbour amounted to £20,296, 18s. 6d.; and the customs dues collected at Glasgow for the year ended 5th January, 1830, amounted to £59,013, 17s. 3d. There were then owned in Glasgow 217 vessels, with an aggregate measurement of 39,432 tons.

During the year 1829-30 the total tonnage of the vessels passed through the harbour was 718,536 tons, of which no less than 527,576 were of steam shipping. Another Police Act had been obtained in the course of 1830, under which the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Magistrates' and the Dean of Guild Courts were extended over the lands of Blythswood; and the annexed territories were divided into nine wards, each to return one general and two resident commissioners. By this time the police force consisted of about 150 men; there were 1,460 street lamps, eight weighing machines, and seven fire-engines.

This was a period of great activity in the promotion of railway schemes, not so much for the accommodation of passenger traffic as for the conveyance of minerals from inland places to river and sea-ports. An immense amount of capital was invested in the various projects, and Parliament was kept busy sanctioning the proposals of the multifarious companies which sprang up. The first Scotch railway, or what would in these days be better denominated as a tramway, was sanctioned in 1808, for construction between Kilmarnock and Troon. It was nearly ten miles in length, and was constructed by the Duke of Portland, at a cost of about £40,000, for the conveyance of coal, limestone, and other produce of his Ayrshire estates to the port of Troon. In 1810, again, there was a proposal made for the construction of a railway between Glasgow and Berwick, but it came to nothing. The Monkland and Kirkintilloch Railway Company was incorporated by Act of Parliament, passed in 1824, with a capital of £25,000. It also was intended for mineral traffic. Within the few following years there was quite a speculative panic in relation to railway matters, and in 1825 a large number of bills passed Parliament. The Garnkirk and Glasgow Railway, for coal and passengers, was authorised in 1826, with a capital of £169,195. The distance of the line was fully eight miles, and the Glasgow station was at St. Rollox. Between three and four years after the act was obtained the line was opened, having cost about £140,000. There was sanctioned, in 1827, the Johnstone and Ardrossan Railway, fully twenty-two miles, for coal and passengers, and a proposed capital of £106,666; and, in 1829, the Wishaw and Coltness Railway, thirteen miles, for minerals, &c., with a capital of £160,000.

CHAPTER L.

(Circa A.D. 1830.)

Progress of the University—Kirkman Finlay—William Motherwell—John Donald Carrick—Dr. James Cleland—Thomas Campbell—John Gibson Lockhart—Thomas Hamilton, James Grahame, and Sir Thomas Munro, Bart.

Between the beginning of the nineteenth century and the year 1830 five professorships had been endowed by the Government in connection with the University of Glasgow. It has already been seen that there were at the close of the previous century thirteen professors, with the principal, composing the teaching staff of the college. Those that have been mentioned are called college professors, in contradistinction to the occupants of the chairs founded within the past eighty years, who are termed regius professors. The professorship of Natural History was founded in 1807 by King George III.; the professorship of Surgery by the Crown in 1815; the professorship of Midwifery by George III. in 1815; the lectureship on Chemistry, founded by the celebrated Dr. Cullen in 1746, was erected into a professorship under the patronage of the Crown in 1817; and the professorship of Botany was founded in 1818, also under the patronage of the Crown. During the first thirty years of the century the Lord Rectorship had been held by some of the most illustrious men in the country, and among them were Francis Jeffrey, Sir James Mackintosh, Henry Brougham, Thomas Campbell, and Henry Petty, Marquis of Lansdowne. Within the same period the degree of B.A. had been conferred upon 46 persons; M.A., 710; D.D., 15; LL.D., 17; B.L., 4; M.S., 234; and M.D., 414. The number of students attending the university was gradually increasing, and in 1830 amounted to about 1,000.

At this point, it may be proper to give biographical sketches of a few of the more prominent men connected in various ways with Glasgow about this period.

Kirkman Finlay, one of the most popular and able men connected with the public affairs of Glasgow for the first two decades of this century, was born in the city in the year 1773. His father was James Finlay, the founder of an eminent firm of merchants. Having been educated in the Grammar School and the University, and having travelled on the Continent, Finlay began business in Glasgow, and became one of the most prosper-

GEORGE SQUARE AS IT APPEARED ABOUT 1830.

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ous of its merchants. He was a farseeing and ready man; and his talents so commended themselves to his fellow-citizens that in 1812 he was made lord provost, and a few days afterwards he was elected member of Parliament for the Glasgow district of burghs. It has already been seen that it was greatly owing to his efforts that the monopoly of the East India Company was broken down, and Hindostan opened up freely to British commerce. His firm was the first to take advantage of the privilege by sending a vessel of 600 tons burden, laden with Glasgow manufactures, to that far-off country. While in Parliament Finlay enjoyed the friendship and esteem of Huskisson and Canning, and his opinions on the freedom of trade were frequently quoted by these statesmen. In the year 1819, he was elected Lord Rector of the University, which office he held for a year. Afterwards he retired from public life, and resided on his estate at Castle-Toward, where he died in October, 1842. He was one of the founders of the commerce of Glasgow on the wider basis which it took after the collapse of the tobacco trade through the American War of Independence.

Another native of Glasgow, at this period actively engaged in the concerns of life, was William Motherwell, whose poetical abilities have embalmed his memory to the Scottish people. Motherwell was born in the city on the 13th October, 1797, and was descended from a well-to-do Stirlingshire family. He received a good education, and adopted the legal profession, being at the age of twenty-one appointed sheriff-clerk-depute at Paisley. His first great literary effort was an essay on the Poets of Renfrewshire, prefixed to a collection of songs published at Paisley in 1819, under the title of *The Harp of Renfrewshire.* In 1827, Motherwell again appeared before the public as editor of *Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern,* a work which gained him no little fame. After having edited a Paisley Conservative newspaper for two years, he, in 1830, became editor of the *Glasgow Courier,* also a Conservative journal, and he conducted it with spirit and talent through the Tory troubles of the great Reform period. Notwithstanding the necessity he was under to engage in active political discussion, he found time to follow the more congenial studies of poetry and antiquities. *Poems, Narrative and Lyrical,* from his pen, were published in 1832; and two years later he, in conjunction with the Ettrick Shepherd, edited a five-volume edition of Burns' works. Motherwell's notes to this latter work are most valuable. He wrote a vast amount of fugitive pieces, both in prose and verse, which came before the public in a variety of ways. On the 1st November, 1835, he died from the effects of an apoplectic fit; and he was interred in the Glasgow Necropolis, where a handsome tombstone has been erected to his memory. This is not the place to

refer critically to Motherwell's genius and talent—they were fully and highly appreciated by his contemporaries, and a later generation has endorsed their verdict.

John Donald Carrick was born in humble circumstances in Glasgow in April, 1787. He was apprenticed to a city architect, from whom he ran away, and, with a few shillings in his pocket, he walked to London to try his fortune in the English metropolis. After having a somewhat precarious existence for two years, Carrick, in 1809, became connected with a firm engaged in business with the Staffordshire Potteries. He returned to his native city in 1811, and started business on his own account as a china and stoneware merchant in Hutcheson Street. While so employed he gave way to the study of ancient Scottish literature; and in 1825 he wrote for *Constable's Miscellany* a two-volume *Life of Sir William Wallace.* This effort brought Carrick into notice as a literary man, and as it was appreciated by the public he devoted himself more particularly to literary pursuits. An extract from his *Life of Wallace,* giving an account of the battle of the Bell o' the Brae, will be found at page 42 of this history; and it need only be added that it is esteemed as being the best record of the career of the Scottish hero, freed from the fables which have clustered round his memory. He afterwards became contributor to several Glasgow periodicals; and some of his humorous songs and poetical scraps were published in David Robertson's *Whistle Binkie.* He was for a time a sub-editor on the staff of the *Scots Times,* a Glasgow newspaper; and subsequently he occupied the editorial chairs of the *Perth Advertiser* and the *Kilmarnock Journal.* In 1835, he projected and edited the first edition of the *Laird of Logan.* Carrick died in August, 1837, and was buried in the High Kirk yard.

One of the most prominent citizens of Glasgow at this time was James Cleland, the superintendent of public works. He was born in January, 1770, in the city of which he afterwards became the annalist. His father was a cabinet-maker, and the son, when he had reached the proper age, was apprenticed to that trade. Cleland, in 1789, went to London to commence life as a journeyman, and after a residence there for two years he returned to Glasgow, entering then into partnership with his father. The office of superintendent of public works became vacant in 1814, and to it Cleland was appointed by the Town Council. Here he showed a thorough knowledge of the general routine of his office; but he combined with his every-day business a study of the history of his native city. Two years after his appointment, he published, in two octavo volumes, his *Annals of Glasgow,* a work most carefully prepared, and forming the most complete and exhaustive history of the city then published. His love for figures was shown in the elaborate statistics which are now the

most valuable part of the volumes; and his account of the various public institutions, as they then existed, is both interesting and instructive. A year later, in 1817, Cleland issued an abridgment of the *Annals;* and in 1820, his *Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* was published. In the years 1821 and 1831, Cleland was appointed by Government as census-taker for Glasgow; and from 1820 until 1834 he yearly drew up the bills of mortality for the Town Council. In both these connections he obtained high commendation for his statistical ability. During his official connection with the city he published several pamphlets bearing upon its history and statistics, and he was engaged in many public movements. It was from his design that the Bazaar in Candleriggs was constructed, and there are numerous other monuments of his industry throughout Glasgow. After having held the post of superintendent of works for twenty years, Cleland, in 1834, retired into private life, and was presented by his fellow-citizens with a tangible token of their esteem. The university had conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D., and he was a member or fellow of various statistical and antiquarian societies. He died on the 14th October, 1840, after a long illness. Dr. Cleland's descendants still hold a high place in Glasgow, perhaps the most prominent of them being his two grandsons, Mr John Burns of Castle-Wemyss, the chairman of the Cunard Line of steamships, and Mr. J. Cleland Burns.

Thomas Campbell, one of the greatest of lyric poets, was born in 1777, in the High Street; and was educated at the Grammar School and the University, distinguishing himself particularly in classical studies. His poem, *The Pleasures of Hope*, was published when he was only twenty-one years of age; but his removal from Glasgow in early life, and the fact that the story of his career has been so well told in other works, preclude the necessity for any detailed record in these pages. Campbell became Lord Rector of the University in 1826, and then delivered a highly polished and instructive address to the students.

John Gibson Lockhart was similarly circumstanced to Campbell in regard to Glasgow. He was the son of Dr. Lockhart, minister of the College Church, and was born in the city in 1795. At the university he took the Snell Scholarship, and was sent as an exhibitioner to Baliol College, Oxford. Afterwards, in 1816, he was called to the Scottish bar; and four years later he married the daughter of Sir Walter Scott. His was an active literary life, and besides the publication of several works of considerable note, he acted for many years as editor of the *Quarterly Review.* The work by which he is best known is his biography of his illustrious father-in-law, the wizard of Scottish romance. He resided out of Glasgow the greater part of his life.

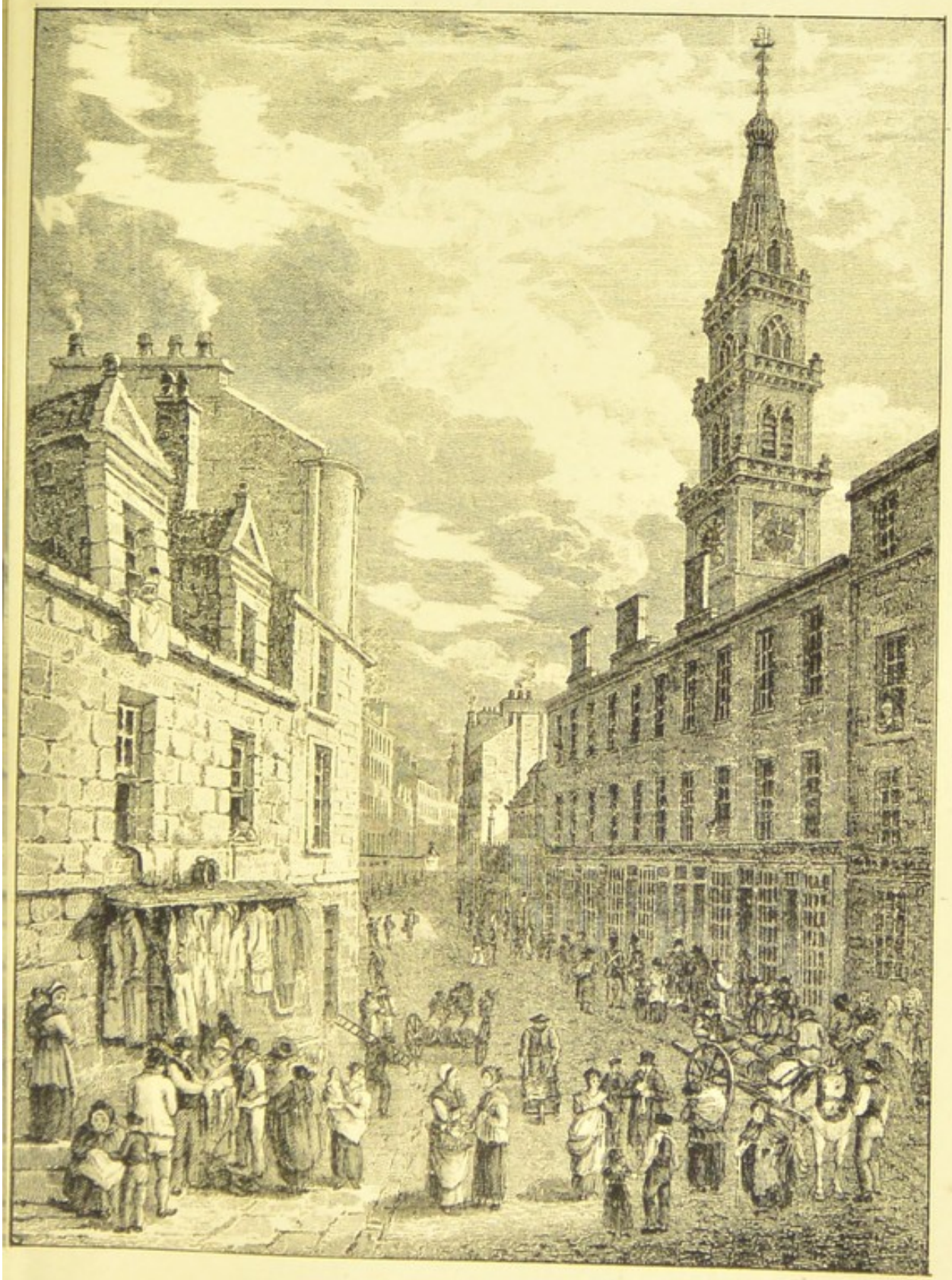
Several other natives of Glasgow, who lived about this period, made themselves noteworthy by their literary talent. Thomas Hamilton, son of a city merchant, published, in 1827, the well-known novel of *Cyril Thornton*. His other works were *Annals of the Peninsular Campaign*, and *Men and Manners in America*. The author of *The Sabbath*, James Grahame, was born in Glasgow about the middle of the eighteenth century, but he removed in early life to Edinburgh, where he became a Writer to the Signet. The work on which his reputation chiefly rests was published in 1804. Sir Thomas Munro, Bart., a distinguished Indian soldier, was the son of a Glasgow merchant. He was born in the city in 1761, and after having been educated for mercantile pursuits, he joined the East India Company's forces at Madras, rising rapidly from the ranks. In 1829, he was appointed Governor of Madras with the rank of Major-General, and to the honour of K.C.B., conferred upon him in 1819, there was added, in 1825, the still higher rank of baronet.

CHAPTER LI.

(A.D. 1830 TO A.D. 1839.)

An Old Glasgow Election—Local Statistics—Glasgow and the Reform Bill—The City First Sends Two Members to Parliament—Municipal Reform—The Necropolis Opened—Broomielaw Bridge Rebuilt—Earl Durham and Sir Robert Peel in Glasgow—Steamboat Traffic on the Clyde—Cotton-Spinners' Riots—Joint-Stock Banks Established in Glasgow.

KING GEORGE IV. died on the 26th June, 1830, and the event caused, among other things, a general election. It has previously been indicated that Glasgow was one of four burghs who returned a member to Parliament, and as this was the last occasion on which the close-burgh system was worked in Glasgow, it may not be uninteresting to refer with some little detail to it. The burghs were Glasgow, Rutherglen, Renfrew, and Dumbarton. Each of these places had a vote in this way:—The respective town councils appointed a representative to meet with the representatives of the other three, and these four men were the actual voting parties. Of course, there was frequently in each council a determined contest as to who should be deputed to perform this duty, and on the result of that preliminary skirmish the issue of the election often depended. In rotation, each of the burghs became



THE BRIDGEGATE ABOUT 1830.

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the returning burgh; and in the event of there being an equal division of the representatives—two voting for one man and two for another—it was the privilege of the representative of the returning burgh to have the casting vote. The people, while the most interested parties, had no hand in the election; for it must be remembered that each council was elected from the burgess class by the retiring council; these men had the election of the representative; and the representatives of the four burghs voted for the member of Parliament. It was for the abolition of this system that the reformers had demanded, and it was in this connection that many of them were brought to the scaffold. These stirring times were now past, and the agitation had assumed such a formidable appearance, that the favourers of the close-burgh system were beginning to see that the reform could not be long put off. Some of the most prominent men in the kingdom had joined the ranks of the reformers; and the great Reform Bill was in the process of incubation.

It happened that this year, 1830, Glasgow was the returning burgh, and it was felt by both political parties that a great deal depended upon the result of the election of the representative of the Glasgow Town Council. The candidates who came forward were Archibald Campbell of Blythswood, Conservative, and Kirkman Finlay, Liberal. Campbell had been in possession of the seat from 1826, and he had held it in 1806 and 1807, but Finlay obtained it in 1812 and 1819. Both these gentlemen sent letters to the Town Council of Glasgow, each expressing the hope that they would be honoured with the support of that illustrious body. The preliminary contest now became quite exciting. Lord Provost Garden, a son-in-law of Henry Monteith of Carstairs, was a Conservative, and consequently a supporter of Campbell; while Bailie Robertson was a Liberal, and favoured Finlay. They were put in nomination for the office of representative, and, after a vote, it was found that the councillors were equally divided. The lord provost had the casting vote, and he gave it for himself. On the 23rd August, the representatives met in the Justiciary Court Hall at the Green, and again there was a tie, Glasgow and Renfrew voting for Campbell, and Dumbarton and Rutherglen for Finlay. The casting vote fell to Lord Provost Garden, and, of course, he gave it for Campbell. Bailie Robertson came forward in front of the crowd which had assembled in the hall, and protested that he was the legal delegate for Glasgow, and he insisted upon voting for Finlay. The town-clerks returned Campbell as having been duly elected. Finlay presented a petition to Parliament, but the Parliamentary Committee on Election Petitions confirmed the decision of the town-clerks.

Another political event of 1830, was the downfall of the

Wellington cabinet, and the accession to office of the Reform Government under the leadership of Earl Grey.

But leaving political matters, and their effect on Glasgow, for a short time, it will be well to turn and see what progress the city had been making during the last decade. The population was found by the census of 1831 to be 202,426, an increase of 55,383 over the numbers for 1821; and the Parliamentary constituency numbered 8,783, while the municipal constituency was 5,506. The revenue of the Clyde Trustees in 1830 amounted to £20,296, 18s. 6d., against £6,328, 18s. 10d. ten years previously. The number of vessels owned at Glasgow in the same year was 217, representing an aggregate tonnage of 39,432 tons—an increase over 1820 of thirty-one vessels and 18,343 tons. For the year 1830-31, the total number of arrivals and departures entered in the harbour books was 11,542, equal to an aggregate of 732,327 tons. Of these vessels, 4,005 were sailing, with a tonnage of 186,576 tons, and 7,537 were steam, of the aggregate of 545,751 tons—making, as already stated, 11,542 vessels of an aggregate of 732,327 tons. The amount of customs dues collected at Glasgow for the year ended 5th January, 1831, was £72,053, 17s. 4d., and the declared value of the exports was £202,038. The length of the quays at the Broomielaw was 1,543 yards, and the water area of the harbour was fourteen acres, both having doubled within ten years.

The city was extending itself rapidly, and it was becoming more and more of a commercial centre. Trade was increasing, and in particular coal was coming into greater prominence for export purposes. To enable a more speedy means of transit, two new railways were promoted—the Pollok and Govan Railway Co., in 1830, for the conveyance of coal, with a capital of £66,000; and the Rutherglen Railway Co., for the same purpose, with a capital of £20,000. Numerous other commercial schemes were set afoot, and the enterprise of its merchants was effecting most remarkable and extensive changes on the outward appearance and social condition of Glasgow. Houses were being built in all directions, and the suburbs of Anderston and Bridgeton, which a short time before were perfectly distinct from the city, were being assimilated by it. Gorbals and Tradeston were feuing quickly; Calton was filling up; and Cowcaddens, the once far-off village, was becoming connected with the great city.

However, to return to the important political movements of the time, it may induce to the clearness of the narrative to follow to state that the Reform Government took office on the 3rd February, 1831, and that on the 1st March, Lord John Russell, Paymaster-General, in the House of Commons asked leave to introduce the Reform Bill. The terms of that bill applicable to Glasgow provided that the city should have two members,

and in common with the rest of the burghs in the country, the franchise was to be possessed by all male householders paying an annual rent of £10. When the news of this motion from the Government reached Glasgow, it was received with the greatest jubilation, as the following extract from the *Glasgow Chronicle* of Friday, 4th March, 1831, will show:—"At the hour of the London mail's arrival yesterday afternoon, both the Exchanges [the one at the Tontine and the Royal Exchange in Queen Street] were thronged with people anxiously awaiting for the intelligence respecting Parliamentary reform. In the Royal Exchange, Mr. David Bell, the secretary, mounted a table properly situated for the purpose, and read the principal parts of Lord John Russell's speech from the London *Sun* newspaper, surrounded by a large crowd of gentlemen, who repeatedly cheered the announcements made in the speech, particularly those regarding Scotland, and especially the extension of the representation to Glasgow. Mr. Alison, the keeper of the exchange, who took the trouble of counting them, found the number present to be about 900. In the Tontine coffee-room at the Cross, the principal parts of the speech were read by Mr. Thomas Atkinson and Mr. Peter Mackenzie." A few days later a crowded meeting was held in the Justiciary Court Hall, and Robert Grahame, Professor Milne, James Oswald of Shield-hall, Colin Dunlop, James Lumsden, and Sir D. K. Sandford, the Professor of Greek in the University, having delivered speeches appropriate to the occasion, it was agreed to petition both Houses of Parliament to carry into effect the plan of Parliamentary reform proposed by the Government; and an address was drawn up for presentation to the king, beseeching his majesty, "in this momentous crisis, to use every constitutional means for securing the adoption of the measure, as one on which the salvation of the country depends." Petitions in favour of the bill were presented on behalf of the Town Council, the Merchants' House, the Faculty of Procurators, and other public bodies. The second reading was gained by a majority of one, but that was sufficient for the purpose. On the 21st March, Glasgow was more jubilant than ever when the news arrived. Bells were rung, and at the requisition of a number of the more prominent citizens, Provost Dalglish, father of the late M.P., agreed to permit an illumination of the city on the evening of Monday, 28th March. On that evening Glasgow was gay. Flags were flying in every street, lights were in every window, and several houses had designs in gas in front of them. The house of Provost Dalglish in St. Vincent Place had in front of it a device by which the words "Let Glasgow Flourish" were displayed by means of gas, while the background was filled with variegated lamps. A dinner, attended by the leaders of the community, was served in the

Royal Exchange Tavern, and toasts to the cause of reform, and to the reformers, were enthusiastically honoured. The passage of the Bill was, however, delayed in committee, and the country became restless. On the 8th of September, 1831—the coronation day of William IV., and his consort, Queen Adelaide—"a magnificent procession of all the trades in the city of Glasgow, without exception, took place, and walked with their countless emblems, flags, and banners, through the principal streets and the Green of Glasgow, where, with one heart and voice, they set up their shouts for Reform—the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. The day was remarkably fine. It was computed that there were at least 150,000 human beings congregated in that procession when it reached the Green of Glasgow. Certainly it was one of the most splendid and imposing assemblages ever witnessed in this city" (Mackenzie's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 256). The Glasgow Political Union was afterwards formed, with Peter Mackenzie as its secretary, for the promotion of the Bill, which passed the Commons on the 22nd of September, by a majority of 109. The Lords rejected it on the 7th October following, and the nation was thrown into a state of tremendous excitement. In March, 1832, the Bill again passed the Lower House, and on this occasion the Peers accepted it by a majority of nine, but they made such amendments on it that Earl Grey resigned. A great demonstration was held on Glasgow Green on the 12th of May, to protest against the action of the lords; and as the whole country was almost at the point of rebellion, Earl Grey was again sent for by the King, and the House of Lords, on the 4th June, 1832, allowed the Bill to pass without any mutilation.

It now remained for the enfranchised inhabitants of Glasgow to exercise the privileges conferred upon them by the Reform Act. The first electoral roll showed that 7,024 persons were entitled to vote. Sheriff Robinson read the writ on the 17th of December, 1832, from the hustings erected in front of the Justiciary Court, at the Green, to an immense multitude. Six gentlemen presented themselves as candidates, among them being Joseph Dixon of Little Govan, James Ewing of Strathleven, Sir D. K. Sandford, and James Oswald of Shieldhall. A thorough canvass was made of the electors, and on the election days, Tuesday and Wednesday, the 18th and 19th of December, no fewer than 12,405 votes were recorded, showing that between 6,000 and 7,000 electors had been at the poll. The result was that Ewing and Oswald were elected the first members of Parliament for Glasgow after the passing of the Reform Bill—a most enviable distinction. Sandford was third, while Dixon was the least successful in obtaining the suffrages of the constituents. It should be stated that the suburbs of Gorbals, Calton, and

GLASGOW FROM THE SOUTH EAST ABOUT 1830.

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Anderston, were included within the Parliamentary boundary of the city at this time, and had their share in the election, but for municipal purposes they were still distinct burghs. In this way ended the first great Reform movement, which had agitated the country for about forty years.

The first Reform Parliament early took into consideration the anomalies of the close-burgh system, under which Town Councils were self-elected, the people having no voice in the matter. In the case of Glasgow, as has been seen, the retiring councillors elected their successors, and the government of the community was practically in the hands of the members of the Merchants' and Trades' Houses, who, as burgesses, were the only persons eligible to serve on the Council. Cleland (*Rise and Progress*, p. 65) states that in 1819 various suggestions had been made as to improvement or removal of this "obnoxious system," but none of these involved any extension of the burgh franchise to the people. After reviewing, in his own peculiar way, the views given forth in these suggestions, the annalist of Glasgow proceeds to give his own opinion upon the question as to who should be the electors:—"In answering this important question, it should be remembered that any scheme bordering on a general poll, or what has been called universal suffrage, would never answer any good end in a great manufacturing town like Glasgow; on the contrary, anarchy and confusion would most certainly ensue. The burgesses, who are the legitimate members of the public bodies, become of right the natural electors of the public functionaries; but, as this class of the community is too numerous to have all an immediate voice in the election of councillors or magistrates, the number should be restricted by certain qualifications" (*Rise and Progress*, p. 67). Cleland's somewhat narrow opinions on this subject seem to have been dictated by a feeling that the advocation of absolute reform was not favoured by those in high places; but it is undoubtedly evident that the question was forcing itself upon the public attention. Alongside the kindred and wider matter of Parliamentary reform, that of municipal reform gradually assumed such dangerous proportions that it became absolutely necessary that something should be done in the way of amendment on the close-burgh system. By the extension of the Parliamentary franchise, the principle involved in the other question was admitted; and it followed naturally that the privileges granted the people in respect to the election of their representatives to the House of Commons should also be conceded them in the election of the members of Town Councils. Accordingly, on the 28th August, 1833, an Act "to alter and amend the Laws for the Election of Magistrates and Councillors of Royal Burghs in Scotland" received the royal assent. Briefly stated, this Act provided that all who were

entitled to vote for a member of Parliament in royal burghs in Scotland, were also qualified to vote in the elections of their Town Council and Police Board representatives. Under this measure Glasgow was divided into five wards, each returning six representatives, and these, with a representative each from the Merchants' and Trades' Houses, made up a Council of thirty-two members. The first election in Glasgow under the new system took place on the November following the passing of the Act.

In the year 1832, the citizens of Glasgow showed their appreciation of the genius of James Watt, and of the benefit he had conferred upon the nation, by the erection of his statue in George Square. Chantrey was the sculptor, and the statue was cast in bronze, while the pedestal was executed in Aberdeen granite.

The Glasgow Necropolis, on the opposite bank of the Molendinar from the Cathedral, was opened for interments in May, 1833. Mention has already been made of the Fir Park as being the property of the Merchants' House; and it may again be stated that it was originally known as Craig's Park, but as it had been, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, planted with fir trees, it was re-named Fir Park, a name which still applies to it. Increased cemetery accommodation had been necessitated through the augmentation of the population of the city, and the consequent greater mortality, and it was a matter of some concern as to where such accommodation could be found. Dr. John Strang, City Chamberlain—author of *Glasgow and its Clubs*, and *Necropolis Glasguensis*—speaks of the Necropolis in the following language:—"In point of situation the ground belonging to the Merchants' House of Glasgow bears, in fact, no small resemblance to that of Mount Louis [Père la Chaise]. Its surface, like it, is broken and varied, its form is picturesque and romantic, and its position appropriate and commanding. It is already beautified with venerable trees and young shrubbery, it is possessed of several winding walks, and affords from almost every point the most splendid views of the city and neighbourhood. The singular diversity, too, of its soil and substrata, proclaims it to be of all other spots the most eligible for a cemetery; calculated, as it should be, for every species of sepulture, and suitable, as it is, for every sort of sepulchral ornament" (*Necro. Glasguen.*, p. 37). The foundation-stone of the Bridge of Sighs, across the Molendinar, was laid by Lord Dean of Guild Hutcheson, on the 18th October, 1833. It has a span of 60 feet, and cost £1,240. The estate of Wester Craigs, including what is now known as the Necropolis, had been purchased by the Merchants' House, in 1650, from Stuart of Minto, the amount of the purchase money being £1,291, 13s. 4d.

Broomielaw Bridge, erected in 1768, had been found to be

inadequate for the traffic requiring to cross it, and the Bridges Trustees resolved upon its removal. This was accordingly done, and on the 3rd September, 1833, James Ewing, the senior member of Parliament for the city, laid the foundation-stone of a new bridge, on the same site, with full masonic honours. This structure, which still exists, is cased in Aberdeen Granite, is 560 feet long, 60 feet wide, and is carried over the Clyde on seven arches. It cost £34,000, with the addition of £4,000 expended for the purchase of extra ground; and it was at the time of its erection considered one of the widest river bridges in the kingdom.

Earl Durham, who was Lord Privy Seal in the Reform Cabinet, and who was son-in-law of Earl Grey, was entertained to a banquet in Glasgow, on the 29th October, 1834. His lordship was, at a meeting held early in the day, presented with the freedom of the city, and thereafter he had a triumphal reception from the crowds lining the streets on the route to the pavilion erected for the occasion in front of the High School. About 1500 persons were present at the banquet. The earl spoke on the all-absorbing topic of reform, and his utterances were of so much moment, that three London newspapers had representatives present. Another event of 1834 was that, on the 9th October of that year, the ship "Mountstewart" arrived in the harbour with the first cargo of tea direct from India to Glasgow. In it were 33 chests and 402 boxes, consigned from Bombay to Messrs. Jas. Finlay & Co., and John Fleming of Claremont.

Great progress was being made in shipbuilding on the Clyde, and a large number of steamers was plying on the river. On the 24th July, 1835, however, an explosion occurred on board the "Earl Grey," a steam passenger vessel, which was lying at Greenock Pier on its return trip from Dunoon to Glasgow. Several lives were lost. Within the next few years numerous additions were made to the Clyde fleet of steamers, and the Clyde shipbuilding trade began a vigorous infancy. In 1836, the engineer to the Clyde Trustees reported that there was then a depth of from seven to eight feet of water at the Broomielaw when the tide had ebbed; while there was a depth of twelve feet at neap, and fifteen feet at spring tides.

Several small savings banks were merged in the National Security Savings Bank, which was established in Glasgow in 1836. The congregation of the Outer High Church, which had met in the nave of the Cathedral since 1648, entered St. Paul's Church, High John Street, on the 3rd August, 1836, this building having been erected by the Town Council for their accommodation.

Glasgow was visited by the distinguished statesman, Sir Robert Peel, in the year 1837. Prior to the opening of the winter session of 1836-7, the students at the university had the

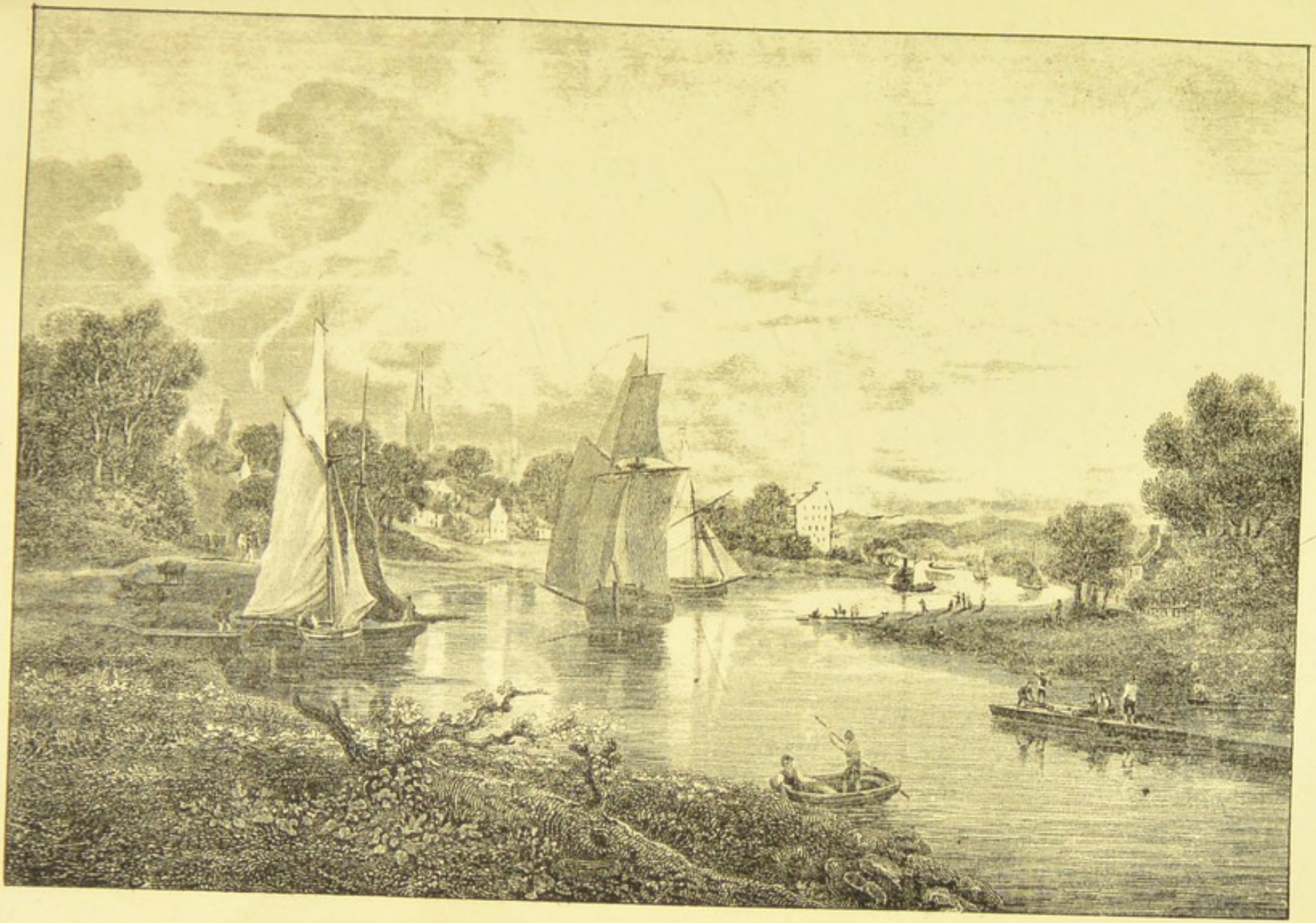
privilege of electing a gentleman to fill the chair of Lord Rector. After Lansdowne's demission of office, Henry Cockburn held the post for three years, and in 1834 he was succeeded by Lord Stanley, better known to this generation as the late Lord Derby, and father of the present peer of that name. Stanley remained in the position for two years. On his retiral, Sir Robert Peel and Sir John Campbell, M.P., were put in nomination for the post; but the former had a majority in three nations, and he was accordingly declared elected. When the result of the contest was known in the city, a committee of the principal merchants was formed to make arrangements for a banquet to Sir Robert, on the occasion of his being in Glasgow to deliver his inaugural address. It was also proposed that he should be presented with a burgess ticket, and the Town Council was approached on the subject, but they ungraciously declined to move in the matter, on the ground that Peel was a Tory. The obstacle was surmounted by the Conservative operatives of the city purchasing the freedom for him. On the 11th January, 1837, Sir Robert Peel appeared before his constituents for installation, and at the close of the ceremony he delivered an address dealing particularly with the value of the study of the Latin and Greek classics. Three days later, the Lord Rector was entertained to a banquet, at which upwards of three thousand persons were present; and at it he was presented with the burgess ticket, in a silver box. During his stay in Glasgow he was greatly fêted.

In May, 1837, the Paisley and Renfrew Railway was opened for the conveyance of passengers from the former place to the pier of Renfrew. The company wrought upon an Act of Parliament obtained in 1835. The length of the line was three and a quarter miles, and the authorised capital was £33,000.

The Normal School in connection with the Established Church was erected at Dundas Vale, at what is now the junction of Garscube and New City Roads with Cowcaddens, in 1837, at a cost of £15,000. About ten years before, a model school had been instituted in the city, and it had been so successful in its operations that these permanent premises were erected for its accommodation. A statue of Sir Walter Scott, by Ritchie, was placed this year, on a Grecian column designed by Rhind, in George Square. It is 80 feet high, and was the first monument erected in honour of Scotland's greatest romancist.

The Govan Iron Works, now so prominent a feature, especially after nightfall, on the south side of the city, were commenced about this time by William Dixon. They were originally intended to contain eight blast furnaces.

Riots of a serious nature occurred in Glasgow in 1837. More



THE CLYDE AT GOVAN FROM THE EAST

money was wanted by the cotton-spinners, and they came out on strike. The employers brought men from other places, and the operatives banded together to prevent their successors continuing at work. In the course of the operations of this society, a man was shot in Anderston, mills were wrecked, and for some time a reign of terror existed. Several of the ringleaders were apprehended, and brought before the High Court of Justiciary on a charge of conspiracy, and, being found guilty, were transported for five years.

By 1839, new railways in the city and neighbourhood had been commenced; the river at the harbour had been deepened; and the trade and commerce of the city was being greatly augmented. Some progress had been made in banking. The Glasgow Union Bank, afterwards the Union Bank of Scotland, was founded in 1830; the Western Bank of Scotland in 1832; the Clydesdale Bank in 1838; and the City of Glasgow Bank in 1839. All these establishments were on the joint-stock principle, the previous banks native to Glasgow having been private concerns.

CHAPTER LII.

(A.D. 1840 TO A.D. 1848.)

Sighthill Cemetery—Opening of Railway Communication between Glasgow and Greenock—The Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway—The Effects of the Disruption in Glasgow—General Assembly of the Free Church in the City—Erection of County Buildings—Statue of the Duke of Wellington—Municipal Extension and Reform—Removal of the Old Glasgow Bridge.

THE year 1840 was a busy one in Glasgow, for during its progress many schemes of importance in relation to the city were either inaugurated or completed.

Cemetery accommodation was still too limited for the growing necessities of Glasgow, and a joint-stock company was formed for the purpose of providing such accommodation. The lands of Sighthill had been in the possession of Jonathan Anderson, a Glasgow merchant, who, on his death, had bequeathed them to the magistrates of Forres, for the endowment of a school in that place, of which he was a native. The new company bought these lands from the magistrates. The purchase consisted of forty-six imperial acres, but at first only twelve were prepared for the reception of the dead. The first interment in Sighthill

took place on the 24th April, 1840. Writing seven years after the opening of the cemetery, Mr. Pagan speaks quite enthusiastically of the view to be had from it; and as his remarks conjure up a vision very different from anything that can now be seen, they may be reproduced here. Pagan (*Hist. Glas.*, p. 166) says that Sighthill "received its name from Mr. Archibald Ewing about the middle of last century, who was then its proprietor, and the title well beseems it. It is situated on the Kirkintilloch road, near St. Rollox, and within one mile and a quarter of the Cross of Glasgow; and the summit of the hill rising about 400 feet above the level of the Clyde, it is thus the highest ground in the royalty of Glasgow, and presents a view of the most beautiful and panoramic kind. On a clear day, the naked eye takes in, to the north, the Cowlairs Station of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, the village of Springburn, the imposing range of the Campsie and Kilpatrick hills, the outlines of Benlomond and Benledi, and, with the glass, may be distinctly seen the peaks of Benvenue and the lofty Ben Nevis. To the east we have the line of the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway, the town of Hamilton, the red steeple of Bothwell, and the flowery village around, with a sweep, including the varied beauties of the Upper Vale of Clyde, and extending to fully thirty miles. On the south we have the best view of the St. Rollox stalk which we have seen from any point, along with the Cathedral, the eastern portion of the city, the braes of Cathkin and Castlemilk, and the summit of the far-famed Tinto. The southern view is perhaps the most beautiful of the whole, for, amongst other prominent objects, the eye takes in the inclined plane of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, which skirts the base of the hill, the Union Canal, Port-Dundas, Cowcaddens, the New Town, the Broomielaw, the new Observatory, the Lunatic Asylum at Gartnavel, the Partick mills, the steeples of Paisley, the chimneys of Johnstone and Neilston, Neilston Pad, the serrated peaks of Goatfell in Arran, and the frowning range of the Argyllshire hills. Indeed, there are spread out before us portions, more or less extensive, of thirteen of the Scottish counties—viz., the shires of Lanark, Stirling, Dumbarton, Perth, Argyll, Inverness, Clackmannan, Fife, Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Ayr, Renfrew, and Bute." The view has now been greatly changed, but not for the better. About this time, also, the Southern Necropolis, on the lands of Little Govan, was opened.

At this time the Clyde Trustees were doing all in their power to improve the condition of the river. The width of the stream at what is now called Lancefield Quay was only 150 feet, and at the mouth of the Cart it was only 275 feet broad. An Act was promoted in 1839, and received the sanction of the legislature in 1840, on the lines of which the improvements since effected on the Clyde have been principally conducted.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science met for the first time in Glasgow in the autumn of 1840. At Whitsunday in this year the Post-office was removed to premises in Wilson Street, the old place in Nelson Street having become inadequate to the needs of the community; and in it, also, the Custom House in Great Clyde Street was built.

A most important event of 1840 was the opening of the Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock Railway. In 1837, an Act of Parliament had been obtained, authorising the construction of the line, which was to be 22½ miles long, and the capital of the company was to be £533,333. The work was proceeded with rapidly, and a station was erected in what was then called New Bridge Street. Railway communication was first opened between Glasgow and Paisley on the 14th July; and on the 31st March of the following year, the pioneer train was run between this city and Greenock. Hitherto, Greenock had been reached by steamboats plying on the Clyde, but now a brisk competition sprang up between the rival modes of transit; and the steamers themselves competed for traffic so eagerly that the fare to Rothesay was for a long time only sixpence, and on one occasion it was as low as threepence. The railway line between Glasgow and Ayr was executed at the joint expense of the Glasgow and Greenock and the Glasgow and Ayr companies. The latter company, in 1837, had been incorporated under Act of Parliament, with a capital of £833,000. The works were begun in 1838, and that portion of the line between Ayr and Irvine was opened in July, 1839; and the first train passed from Glasgow to Ayr on the 11th of August, 1840. The gross expenditure on the line had been £812,000. Great rejoicings took place at Ayr in honour of the occasion.

Trade had, apparently, been driven too fast; the speculative spirit seems to have been rife in 1841; for in that year there were several heavy failures among Glasgow mill-owners.

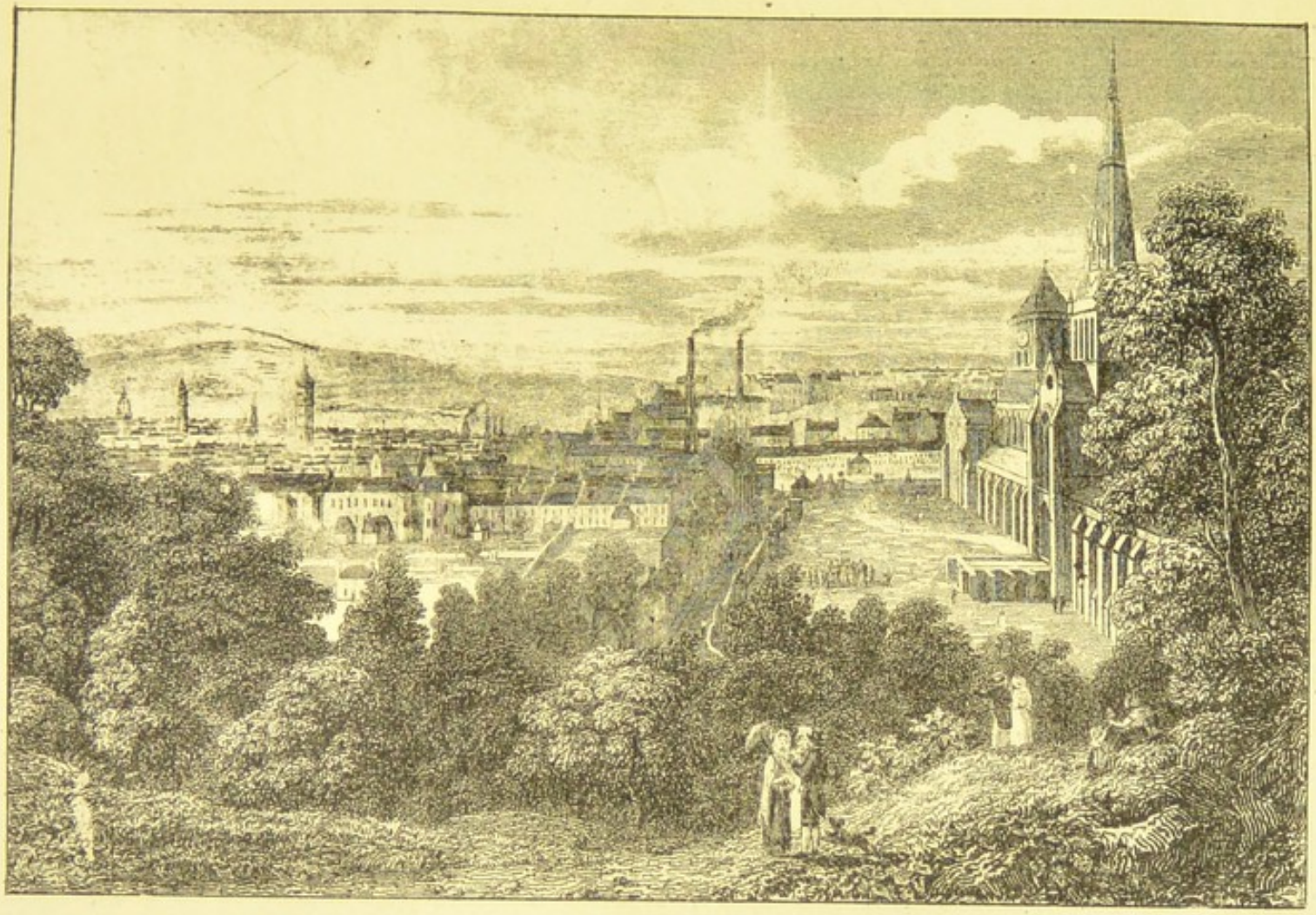
At the commencement of another decade it will be interesting to note the progress Glasgow had made within ten years, in so far as that may be shown by statistics. The population had increased to 282,134 in 1841, being 79,708 more than it was in 1831. The parliamentary constituency was 8,783, and the burgh constituency 5,506. The length of the quays at the Broomielaw was 1,973 yards, about 400 yards more than in 1831; and the water area in the harbour amounted to 23 acres. The total registered tonnage arrived in the harbour was 1,142,373 tons, the maximum draught of the vessels being seventeen feet, while there was a depth of fully eighteen feet at high water. The revenue of the Clyde Trust amounted to £49,665, 15s. 7d.; the customs revenue was £526,100, 0s. 11d., and the declared value of the exports from the city was £2,007,192. Passenger boats

were then used regularly on the Forth and Clyde, Paisley and Johnstone, and Monkland Canals; and five trains left the city in summer and four in winter, to the stations on the line of the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway; almost hourly on the Ayrshire Railway; and nine in summer, and six in winter, on the Greenock Railway.

Chartism was at this time in full strength, and in January of 1842, a convention of the friends of the movement—among them the well-known Feargus O'Connor—was held in Glasgow. Later in the year the greatest distress prevailed among the working classes of the city, who massed on the Green and cried for bread. The establishment of the Corn Exchange was also an event of 1842.

On the 18th February, 1842, railway communication was first established between Glasgow and Edinburgh, and in honour of the event both cities were decorated, and great rejoicings took place among the people. The Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company had been incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1838, with a capital of £900,000 in shares, and £300,000 on loan. The length of the line was 46 miles, and it took three years to construct, costing fully a million and a quarter. The tunnel between the Glasgow station and Cowlairs was the most stupendous work of the kind until then seen in Scotland. It was about three-quarters of a mile in length, while the expense connected with its construction amounted to about £40,000. On the 22nd February, four days after the opening, the shareholders of the company agreed to allow the running of trains on Sundays, although there was a great outcry against the proposal. The company had locomotive works at Cowlairs.

On the Disruption in May, 1843, thirty ministers in the Presbytery of Glasgow, and a very large number of the laymen, left the Church of Scotland. The citizens of Glasgow were greatly excited over the event. For some time prior to its actual occurrence numerous public meetings had been held for the purpose of ventilating the questions in dispute between the two parties in the Church of Scotland; but when the news arrived in the city that Dr. Welsh, the Moderator of the General Assembly, and a large following of ministers and elders, had retired from the Assembly, and formed themselves into the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the excitement was as intense as if disruption had never been anticipated. On the Sunday following, every Established Church in Glasgow was crowded, and most of the non-intrusion clergy preached farewell sermons. Many of the people rallied round them, formed congregations of the Free Church, and the effect was that in a short time the city churches were nearly doubled. Of the Glasgow Disruption ministers then in parishes in the city and barony, and who are still labouring here, the only two are the Rev. Dr. A. N. Somerville, who was then



GLASGOW FROM THE NORTH EAST ABOUT 1830.

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n Anderston parish, and who became minister of Free Anderston
Church, and the Rev. Dr. A. S. Patterson, then of Hutchesontown
Church, and afterwards (and still) of Hutchesontown Free Church.
The new congregations set about the erection of temporary or
ermanent buildings for public worship, and their efforts in a
hort time caused a remarkable change in the ecclesiastical archi-
ecture of the city. In the month of October following the Dis-
uption, the enthusiasm of the members of the new denomination
as revived by a meeting of their General Assembly in Glasgow.
n more respects than one this was an important event, for the
ity had not been honoured with a visit from any General As-
embly whatever since the famous meeting of 1638, when the
ishops were excommunicated, and Presbytery was declared to
e the form of government of the Church of Scotland. Elaborate
reparations were made for the reception of the new court. The
ity Hall was engaged for the accommodation of the Assembly,
nd it was decorated with cloth of Presbyterian blue. On Tues-
ay, 17th October, the Assembly met. Dr. Chalmers, as retiring
ioderator, preached the sermon, and thereafter Dr. Thomas
rown, formerly of St. John's parish, was appointed to the chair.
or a week the reverend court transacted a large amount of
usiness, rendered necessary by the unsettled condition of the
hurch; and arrangements were made for the formation of Pres-
yteries, the carrying on of home and foreign mission work, and
ie institution of funds for the support of the various schemes.
college in connection with the denomination was to be insti-
ited in Glasgow, and negotiations were entered into for premises
George Street. At each of the sederunts of the Assembly the
tendance of the public was very large, and the utmost enthusi-
m prevailed. The last meeting was a most protracted one, and
ie Assembly rose, to convene in Edinburgh the May following,
two o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, the 24th October.
bout 600 members had been present during the entire week;
nd as these were accompanied by their friends from all parts of
ie country, the influx of strangers into Glasgow was very great.
he whole proceedings were watched with the keenest interest
all parts of the United Kingdom, and the local newspapers,
ith the Edinburgh *Witness*—then edited by the celebrated
ugh Miller, author of the *Testimony of the Rocks*—devoted a
nsiderable portion of their space to the record of business.
fter the Assembly rose, the schemes in Glasgow were pushed
rward with vigour, and the Free Church rapidly assumed
otable proportions in the city.

Another ecclesiastical event, and one which gave Scotland an
dditional denomination, took place in Glasgow in June, 1843.
that month the synod of the Secession Church met in the city,
deal with the Rev. James Morison, minister of Clerk's Lane

Secession Church, Kilmarnock, who was on his trial for holding what were considered heretical views on the nature and extent of the atonement. After a protracted trial, he was suspended, and he became the founder of the Evangelical Union of Scotland, a denomination which has its headquarters in Glasgow, and of which Mr. (now Dr.) Morison is still the leader.

In 1843, also, Messrs. Charles Tennent & Co., formerly Messrs. Tennent, Knox & Co., erected, in connection with their chemical works at St. Rollox, an immense smoke stalk, 500 feet above the Clyde level, at a cost of about £12,000.

The City and County Buildings in Wilson Street were opened for business in 1844. The old premises at the jail had become too contracted for the whole business required to be done in it, and it was proposed that the Sheriffs and the Council officials should remove to new buildings, while the erection at the Green should be devoted entirely to justiciary purposes. An Act of Parliament sanctioning this important change having been obtained, the foundation-stone of the new erection was laid on the 18th November, 1842. Two years later it was ready for occupation. In the western portion of the building were the council chamber, the offices of the town-clerks, city chamberlain, burgh fiscal, &c.; and the eastern side was given up to the use of the sheriffs, the sheriff-clerk, the county fiscal, &c. At the old jail, the Justiciary Court-house and the general accommodation were greatly improved, consequent upon the increased space now available. The total expenditure on these works was £56,000, of which £29,000 were paid by the city, and £27,000 by the County of Lanark. The site of the new erection cost fully £17,000; the building work caused an outlay of £20,000; while the rest of the expenditure was made up of furniture and fittings, alterations on the Justiciary Court, interest, &c. The Merchants' House, having sold their property in Bridgegate in 1817 for £7,500, erected, in connection with the County Buildings, a handsome hall, which they opened in November, 1843. Their expenditure was £10,300. The steeple of the old Merchants' Hospital still stands in Bridgegate, in what is appropriately known as the Guildry Court.

A most influential committee, composed of many west country noblemen and gentlemen, originated, at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Glasgow, held in February, 1840, a subscription for the erection of a statue to the Duke of Wellington. The "Iron Duke," on being apprised of the intention of the citizens, remarked that he "regarded this as one of the highest compliments I have ever received, coming, as it does, altogether unexpectedly, from a city of such rank and importance, in connection with the western counties of Scotland." The work was placed in the hands of Baron Marochetti, who produced the

equestrian statue at present in front of the Royal Exchange. Nearly £10,000 had been collected for the statue. On the 8th October, it was inaugurated in presence of the Scots Greys, the 92nd Highlanders, a large body of pensioners, many of whom bore the Waterloo medal, and a large crowd of the general public. In this year, 1844, Messrs. Alexander and John Downie fitted out an expedition which was the first to bring guano from the island of Ichaboe.

About this period there was great commotion in municipal circles in consequence of the extension fever which seemed to have affected all the "suburban burghs." In 1842, the Police Board of Glasgow presented a bill to Parliament by which it was proposed to annex, for criminal purposes, the burghs of Gorbals, Calton, and Anderston, and also to include within their jurisdiction the lands of Milton and the village of Port-Dundas. While this bill was before the House of Commons, the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, intimated that the Government intended to introduce a Police Bill dealing with the whole parliamentary burgh of Glasgow, which, it may be noted, included for parliamentary, though not for municipal, purposes, the burghs mentioned. Sir James Campbell of Stracathro, them M.P. for, and Lord Provost of, Glasgow, was understood to have approved of this bill, and, as it was opposed to the wishes of the citizens, he was censured by the Town Council and other public bodies for his action in relation to it. Petitions were sent from Glasgow against the measure, and ultimately the Government withdrew it; and the bill promoted by the Police Board was passed into law. This Act was to remain in force for twenty-one years, and it was thought that in this matter there would be peace for a long time. However, towards the close of 1844, the Town Council of Anderston prepared a bill for the annexation of the lands of Woodside, the most wealthy suburb of Glasgow; the City Police Board then prepared a bill for including the same territories; the feuars of Bridgeton sought the erection of their district into the dignity of a burgh; and, to add to the confusion, the burgh of Calton sought the annexation of Bridgeton. Here was a pretty state of matters; and when the various proposals came before a committee of the House of Commons in the summer of 1845, they were all refused, and the chairman of the committee, Sir George Strickland, stated that unless the authorities of Glasgow and its suburbs came forward with some proper scheme of police management, the Government would be under the necessity of preparing one for them.

Immediately after the refusal of the committee of the House of Commons to sanction any of the annexation schemes, Lord Provost James Lumsden, father of the late Sir James Lumsden, proposed to a meeting of the Town Council, held in July, 1845,

the preparation of a general municipal and police extension bill, and a committee of the council was appointed to act upon the suggestion. Conferences were held with the Police Board and the suburban authorities, and, after considerable labour, a bill was prepared, which passed into law on the 27th July, 1846. This new Act came into operation on the 3rd November following, and, as it effected a great revolution in the municipal government of the city, its provisions may be briefly stated. In the first instance, the Police Board, which had been in existence since 1800, was abolished; and the municipality was made co-extensive with the parliamentary burgh, and, as a consequence, included Gorbals, Calton, Bridgeton, and Anderston. The Act also provided for the division of the extended municipality into sixteen wards, each of which was to return three representatives to the Town Council, who, with the dean of guild from the Merchants' House and the deacon-convener from the Trades' House, would make up a council of fifty members; the number of bailies was to be increased to eight; the police and statute-labour committee was to be appointed by the Town Council, and was to consist of a member from each ward, two from the general council, the lord provost, the eight bailies, the dean of guild, and the deacon-convener; and the appointment of the chief-constable was to be in the hands of the sheriff, the lord provost, and the eight magistrates. Such were the main features of this Act, which, with several amendments afterwards made, may be said to be still the ruling Act of the city. The total value of the property of the combined establishment at the union was £40,318, 18s. 10d., and their total combined assets amounted to £51,694, 17s. 4d.

The Free Church had been rapidly gaining strength, and in 1846 the members of the denomination erected a normal seminary in Cowcaddens at a cost of about £8,000. The Glasgow and Airdrie Railway Company, in 1847, sought to obtain power to lay a line across the Green in order to connect their proposed terminus on the college grounds with the railway lines on the south side of the city, but the opposition on the part of the Town Council and the citizens was so determined that the House of Commons committee rejected the bill brought before them. The proposal of the company was to carry their line across the Green by means of a viaduct, which was to be erected a little to the east of Nelson's Monument. The bodies of Hardie and Baird, who were executed at Stirling on the 8th September, 1820, for participation in the Reform movement, were, on the 20th July, 1847, privately removed from Stirling Castle to Sighthill Cemetery, where a monument was subsequently erected to their memory.

The old bridge of Glasgow, erected by Bishop Rae as long ago

as 1350, was becoming totally useless, and in 1847 it was removed to make room for a more modern and more extensive structure. When originally built, the "great brig of Glasgow" was of eight arches, and was twelve feet wide. It was the first stone bridge in the city, and was long admired as being one of the finest bridges in the kingdom. An addition of ten feet was made to its breadth in 1777, and again in 1821 it was further improved, but it was found to be inadequate very soon afterwards. In 1845, an Act of Parliament was obtained for its reconstruction, and an accommodation bridge was opened for traffic in January, 1847, having cost £3,149, 5s. 6d. When the Broomielaw Bridge was being rebuilt in 1833, a wooden accommodation bridge had been erected opposite South Portland Street; but that structure having become unsafe, it was removed in 1846, and the South Portland Street Suspension Bridge was afterwards erected on the same site, at the expense of the heritors of Gorbals.

On the 6th March, 1848, a large mob of people collected in the Green, and, on the pretence that they were starving, they made a raid on the city. They plundered jewellers' shops, caused great damage to several mills, and fairly overpowered the police. Their cry, as they marched along the streets, was *Vive la Republique.* The appearance of a detachment of the 3rd Dragoons and the 71st Regiment brought the disturbance to an end on the following day. The sugar-house of Messrs. Wilson & Sons, in Alston Street, was burned on the 30th October following. Fourteen persons lost their lives, while the damage was estimated at £15,000. In this year, Greenwich time was adopted in Glasgow, the difference being about ten minutes of an advance.

CHAPTER LIII.

(A.D. 1849 TO A.D. 1860.)

Queen Victoria in Glasgow—Catastrophe in Dunlop Street Theatre—Opening of Buchanan Street Station—The State of the City—Clyde Shipbuilding and Marine Engineering—Ravages of the Cholera—Improvements on the Cathedral—Failure of the Western Bank—Inauguration of Loch Katrine Water Supply—Further Development of Shipbuilding Trade.

AFTER a long interval, Glasgow was again honoured with a royal visit, the illustrious personage on this occasion being Queen Victoria. The last time royalty had illumined the city of St.

Mungo with its presence was in 1745, when the unfortunate Prince Charlie marched into it at the head of his gallant clansmen; the Duke of York, afterwards James VII. of Scotland and II. of England, was entertained in it in 1681; but at the time of their visits neither of these were enthroned. Cromwell, of course, cannot be counted, and the consequence is that the last visit of royalty regnant to Glasgow, was paid by James VI., in 1617. Thus, after an absence of nearly two and a half centuries, the prospect of a visit from the highest personage in the land was eagerly looked forward to by the citizens of Glasgow, and the occasion was made one of loyal demonstration.

In the summer of 1849, it was intimated that the Queen purposed making a tour through Scotland in the course of the autumn, and that in all probability she would visit Glasgow. The news was greeted with the hearty approbation of the people, and the municipal authorities entered into communication with Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, who was to be the minister in attendance on Her Majesty during her Scottish tour. James Anderson was Lord Provost at the time, and he and his colleagues of the Town Council made the necessary arrangements for the royal visit. The Queen was to come up the river in a steam yacht, and the landing stage at the foot of West Street was finely decorated; a battery of artillery was placed at Windmill Croft—now Kingston Dock—in the immediate vicinity of the landing stage; a triumphal arch was erected at the north end of Glasgow, or Jamaica Street, Bridge; and the city at various points along the route to be travelled by the royal party was appropriately embellished with flags and other decorations.

The exact date of the Queen's visit was not known when the royal squadron arrived in the Clyde on the morning of Monday, 13th August. Lord Provost Anderson, with several other leaders of the community, attended upon Her Majesty that afternoon, and ascertained that it was her pleasure to be in Glasgow on the following day. They returned to the city, and in the evening a proclamation was issued setting forth the arrangements that had been made for the Queen's reception.

The morning of Tuesday, the 14th August, broke amidst the greatest excitement in Glasgow, and the citizens were determined to show their loyalty with the utmost demonstration. From daybreak the streets were thronged by people, a large proportion of whom made towards the landing-stage, while others posted themselves at points which it was expected the royal procession would pass. As early as nine o'clock the Lord Provost, magistrates, and Town Council, with Mr. Hastie, one of the members of Parliament for the city, Sheriff Alison, and Sheriff-Substitute Henry Glassford Bell, were in waiting at the landing-stage. Here, also, were the military authorities, together with

the Glasgow members of the Celtic Society of Scotland in Highland uniform. About half-past ten o'clock the intimation reached Bridge Street Station, by express train from Greenock, that the royal yacht "Fairy," with the Queen on board, had passed that port about twenty minutes past nine o'clock, on its voyage up the river to Glasgow. "Expectation stood on tiptoe." At a quarter before twelve o'clock noon, the firing of a royal salute from the battery at Windmill Croft announced the approach of Her Majesty; and as the yacht was being moored at the landing-stage the multitude lining the sides of the harbour cheered to the echo. The Lord Provost and Bailie Stewart, with Mr. Hastie, M.P., went on board the yacht, and had another interview with Sir George Grey. His lordship afterwards presented an address of welcome from the magistrates and council to the Queen. Then came an interesting little ceremony. Sir George Grey desired the Lord Provost to kneel, and the Queen, touching him on the shoulder with the point of a sword, commanded him to rise as Sir James Anderson. A number of the more prominent members was then presented to Her Majesty by the newly-made knight; and the proceedings on board the yacht were concluded by the presentation of addresses from the magistracy of the county of Lanark, the Merchants' House, the Trades' House, the Presbytery of Glasgow, the Free Presbytery of Glasgow, and other public bodies. The Queen, leaning on the arm of the Prince Consort, then stepped ashore, and was followed by the rest of the royal company. Handsome equipages had been provided for the occasion. The Queen and Prince Albert occupied one carriage, and in the one immediately succeeding were the royal children, Princess Alice and Prince Alfred, with their attendants. The other carriages were occupied by the Lord Provost, magistrates, councillors, and others. General Riddel and Sheriff Alison rode by the side of Her Majesty's carriage, the latter acting as *cicerone*. The procession was of the most imposing description, and the enthusiasm of the people was unbounded. Having passed through the principal streets, the Cathedral was reached by the royal party, who were there received by Principal Macfarlan, then the minister of the church. He conducted them through the entire building, and both the Queen and Prince Albert expressed themselves as delighted with the appearance of the ancient structure. The next visit was to the university, at the entrance of which the Queen was welcomed by the principal and professors in their gowns, and preceded by their mace-bearer and other officials. Principal Macfarlan, as vice-chancellor, presented an address, and acted as guide to the illustrious visitors in their examination of the college. The terminus of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway was the next place, and, while passing up Queen Street,

Her Majesty took approving notice of the statue erected to the Duke of Wellington in front of the Royal Exchange. At the station, prior to the starting of the royal train, both the Queen and Prince Consort remarked upon the pleasure they had derived from their visit to Glasgow, and they expressed their admiration of the streets and buildings of the city. When the train moved off, the crowd in the station repeatedly cheered, and their cheers were re-echoed by the multitudes outside. This did not quite end the proceedings, for in the evening a splendid banquet took place in honour of the occasion; and the loyal toasts were drunk in conjunction with that of Glasgow's knightly Lord Provost. "The oldest inhabitant" still speaks of the visit of Queen Victoria to this city, as producing a demonstration of the people such as had never been seen in Glasgow.

Some time prior to this visit—which must, however, stand out prominently as the most noteworthy of the Glasgow events of 1849—was another of a different and more melancholy character. On the night of Saturday, the 17th February, 1849, during the performance of the second act of the "Surrender of Calais," a cry of fire was raised in the gallery of the Dunlop Street Theatre, and a stampede immediately ensued. Every one rushed to the doors, and notwithstanding the efforts of the manager and others to quiet the people, sixty-five persons were trampled to death, and many were injured. The alarm was false, but the results were disastrous.

Many noteworthy changes were taking place at this time in regard to the railways in and around Glasgow. In the year 1846, the Caledonian Railway Company obtained Parliamentary sanction for a number of Acts amalgamating several small companies with their system. One of these Acts enabled the company to purchase the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway, of which the Glasgow station was then at St. Rollox. The proposal was that that line should be carried into the city, that the terminus should be in the vicinity of the present Buchanan Street Station, and for that purpose the necessary sanction was obtained. It was intended by the engineers that the railway be carried over the Monkland Canal, and that a station be erected on a high level at Port-Dundas Road. The work was so far proceeded with, but as the impracticability of the plans became plainly apparent, the powers under the Act were abandoned, and a new Act promoted for the construction of a tunnel below the canal, and of a station on the ground level. When these works received the royal assent, they were carried to a successful issue. Buchanan Street Station was opened for passenger traffic on the 1st November, 1849, and on the 1st January, 1850, the first goods train entered it. Another important railway amalgamation took place in October, 1850. The Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock, and Ayr

Railway Company, and the Glasgow, Dumfries, and Carlisle Railway Company amalgamated under the name of the Glasgow and South-Western Railway Company, on the opening of the Cumnock and Gretna line on the 28th October of this year. On the 9th April, 1851, the foundation-stone of the New Victoria Bridge, to take the place of the demolished "Brig of Glasgow," at the foot of Stockwell Street, was laid by the Duke of Athole, Grand Master Mason of Scotland, in presence of Sir James Anderson, the lord provost, the public bodies of the city, several masonic lodges, and an immense concourse of spectators. The occasion was celebrated with due honour. The bridge cost fully £50,000.

In 1851, the population of the city was ascertained, by the census, to be 329,096, an increase of 73,446 since 1841. The corporation revenue for 1850-1 was £20,646, 1s. 1d., and the expenditure £20,033, 19s. 5d., leaving a surplus of £612, 1s. 8d.; while the corporation stock was of the value of £408,675, 3s. 10d., and, after the deduction from that sum of debts amounting to £224,158, 2s. 10d., left a net stock account of £184,517, 1s. The amount of the customs revenue collected at Glasgow in that year was £675,044, 15s. 10d.; the revenue of the Clyde Trust was £68,875, 4s. 9d.; the aggregate registered tonnage of the vessels arrived in the harbour was 1,446,606 tons; and the total tonnage of goods inward and outward was 1,023,216 tons. There were then fifty-one acres of water area in the harbour, 3,591 yards of quay walls, the depth at high water was twenty feet, and the maximum draught of vessels frequenting the harbour was eighteen feet. Glasgow, as a shipping port, was now rapidly rising into importance. The operations of the Clyde Trust in deepening the river—from which about five millions cubic yards of earthy material had been taken—were bearing good effects. The width of the harbour was now about 400 feet; on the south side, a railway wharf had been erected, by means of which coals and other materials could be shipped direct from the railway waggons; and various other facilities, such as cranes, &c., had been placed on the quays. Direct steam communication had been opened with London, and there was a proposal for a line of steamships between Glasgow and New York.

Shipbuilding was becoming a most important industry of Glasgow and its neighbourhood. Previous to the time of Henry Bell, shipbuilding was not unknown on the Clyde; but his valuable gift to the world in the way of the demonstration of steam navigation, was the means of instituting shipbuilding and marine engineering as industries, which in a few years became to be regarded as specially belonging to Glasgow and the Clyde. David Napier, who had constructed the boiler for Bell's Comet,

actively engaged in the improvement of marine engines, and he also sought an improvement in the shape of vessels, so that increased speed might be obtained. He had them constructed with tapering bows, instead of the almost semicircular ones then common, and in this respect he may be said to have caused quite a revolution in the art of shipbuilding. Through his means, several lines of steamships were started between Glasgow and Ireland and England. By 1830, Messrs G. & J. Burns established a fleet to ply between Liverpool and Glasgow. They had as partners David MacIver of Liverpool, and Robert Napier, cousin to David Napier, already mentioned. Wood, of Port-Glasgow, and Steele of Greenock, constructed the hulls of the vessels for the new line, Napier supplied their engines, and their voyages were considered as something marvellous. The pioneer steamers of the Cunard line, which was founded in 1840, were built at Port-Glasgow and Greenock, and all engined by Napier. Thomas Wingate and Co. had, in the preceding year, supplied engines to the "Sirius," which was the first vessel to steam across the Atlantic. In 1843, Napier combined shipbuilding with marine engineering, and he pursued a most successful course, both commercially and scientifically. Iron shipbuilding was now becoming a feature on the Clyde; the tonnage of vessels was rapidly increasing; and the horse-power of engines was being augmented with every new order. In the period of seven years closing with 1852, there had been built on the Clyde 247 steamships, of which fourteen were of wood and 233 of iron. The tonnage was—wooden vessels, 18,331 tons; and iron vessels, 129,273 tons. Of these vessels, 141 were paddle and 106 screw; while their engines had an aggregate of 38,332 horse-power. Within the same period engines of an aggregate of 9,434 horse-power had been constructed by Glasgow engineers for vessels not built on the Clyde.

Within the next few years Glasgow rapidly progressed in its commercial relationships, and topographically it had almost entirely changed its aspect. Green fields were being taken up as building stances, public works were being set down in various parts of the city, factories were multiplying in the eastern division, and in everything there was an onward movement. Two papers, read before the Cheltenham meeting of the British Association, in 1856, by Dr. John Strang, the City Chamberlain, give some important details regarding the finances of the working classes of Glasgow about this period. Dr. Strang states that there were then about 30,000 cotton-spinners and power-loom weavers in the West of Scotland, "of which Glasgow is the central mart." In 1841, the average weekly wage of a cotton-spinner was 21s., and of a power-loom weaver 7s.; in 1851, 21s. and 7s. 3d. respectively; and in 1856, 20s. to 35s. in the one case, and 8s. 3d.

in the other. The working hours in 1841 were 69 hours per week, and in 1851 60 hours per week. In 1852, coal and iron miners were paid at the rate of 2s. 6d. per day, but by a gradual ascent their wages reached 5s. per day. Ironworkers were variously paid—blast-furnace keepers having 5s. per day in 1852, and 7s. 9d. in 1856; puddlers, 7s. 6d. and 10s.; rollers, 10s. to 13s. 6d.; and labourers, 1s. 6d. to 2s., with other workmen in proportion. For a ten-hours day the engineers and mechanics of Glasgow and vicinity were paid at the daily rate of 3·43 shillings in 1851, and 4·0 shillings in 1856. Quarriers received 16s. per week of 60 hours in 1851, and 22s. in 1856. In the summer of 1851 the average wage of masons was 21s., but by 1856 it had increased to 25s., though the operatives had reduced their weekly working hours from 60 to 57 in the three last years. Carpenters and joiners were paid 21s. 6d. per week of 60 hours in 1850, and 24s. per week of 57 hours in 1855. Common labourers had received 12s. per week in 1850, and by 1856 they were in receipt of 17s. per week. Handloom weaving was beginning to decline, those who were receiving 13s. 6d. per week in 1825, being reduced to 7s. in 1856. The manufacture of porcelain, earthenware, glass, and tobacco pipes was becoming an important industry in Glasgow. There were eight porcelain and earthenware manufactories, employing about 2,000 persons, who received an average of 12s. per week of wages. The flint-glass manufactories employed 323 workers, and the annual aggregate of wages paid them was about £16,000. The workers in twelve bottle-works received the weekly wage of £1, 10s. About 600 persons were employed in making tobacco pipes, and they were paid at the rate of about £1 per week. The water supply was again a trouble to the authorities, various schemes were suggested for the settlement of the difficulty, and Loch Katrine began to be mentioned as a probable source. The year 1854 saw the Forbes Mackenzie Act in force in Glasgow, much to the satisfaction of the best of the citizens, who anticipated a reform of the drinking habits of the people. The temperance cause was making headway, and the Scottish Temperance League, established in 1848, under the presidency of Robert Kettle, with kindred societies, was doing much good. By 1854, also, the Clyde had been dredged to a depth of nineteen feet.

In December, 1853, and the whole of 1854, Glasgow suffered terribly from the ravages of Asiatic cholera. During those thirteen months no fewer than 3,885 deaths took place, and the utmost consternation prevailed in the community. No fewer than 144 persons succumbed in December, 1853, and the plague raged with deadly effect, until it reached a climax in August, 1854, when the deaths numbered 1,023 in that month alone, but

the record fell until December following, when only six deaths were reported.

The Cathedral had been suffering from the neglect of many years, and was in a ruinous condition. Dr. Cleland, the annalist of Glasgow, had, in 1829, drawn the public attention to the dilapidated state of the venerable structure, and a subscription for the repair of the nave was then originated, but through some means or other it was interrupted. The matter lay in abeyance for several years, until 1854, when Archibald M'Lellan, and other public-spirited citizens, again took it in hand, and moved the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, to whose care the Cathedral as Crown property had been committed, and the work of improvement was commenced. Internally, the church was cleaned out, and the accumulated rubbish in the crypts was cleared away. The consistory house and tower, two ungainly structures at the western gable, and which seemed to have nothing in common with the architecture of the main building, were taken down, and the great west window and doorway were opened up and improved. In other respects the Cathedral was put into a better condition than it had been since the Reformation, and had again become a credit and an ornament to the city of which it had seen the foundation.

In 1855, the Loch Katrine scheme was adopted as the one best suited to the wants of the community, and an Act of Parliament was obtained sanctioning the construction of the necessary works. The Glasgow, Dumbarton, and Helensburgh Railway Company was incorporated by Act of Parliament, passed on the 15th August, 1855, and was authorised to make a line from the Edinburgh and Glasgow main line at Cowlairs, to the Caledonian and Dumbartonshire Railway, at Bowling, with a branch to Helensburgh. The Caledonian and Dumbartonshire Railway had been constructed under an Act of Parliament obtained in June, 1846, and ran from Bowling to Loch Lomond, at Balloch. The Helensburgh Company had an authorised capital of £240,000, in £10 shares, with borrowing powers to the extent of £60,000. Of this capital, £50,000 were subscribed by the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company. In the autumn of this year, the British Association held its second meeting in Glasgow, the Duke of Argyll being president. In the course of 1855, Harvey's, or St. Andrew's Suspension Bridge, was thrown across the Clyde, at the Green, for the accommodation of Bridgeton and Calton people working in the factories on the south side of the river. There had been a ferry at the place, but as it was inconvenient, Bailie Harvey inaugurated a movement for the erection of the bridge. Next year, 1856, the Post Office establishment, having become too straitened in Glassford Street, was removed to Manhattan Buildings, at the corner of South Hanover

Street and George Square. When the Lands Valuation Act came into operation, it was found that for the year 1855-6 the rental of the city of Glasgow, including the portion of the ancient royalty outside the Parliamentary boundary, amounted to £1,362,168.

An event of the most disastrous kind occurred in Glasgow in the year 1857, in the failure of the Western Bank. This institution had been founded in 1832, and was one of the earliest of the Glasgow joint-stock banks. Its authorised capital was £4,000,000 sterling, in 200,000 shares of £200 each. The stock was held by the best men in the city, and the bank was to all appearance doing an excellent and profitable business, not entirely confined to commercial men, but also with the working classes, for whose accommodation its doors were opened on certain evenings during the week. At the annual meeting of the partners of the concern, held on the 24th June, 1857, the directors submitted their twenty-fifth annual report, showing that the profits for the year then closed amounted to £145,826, 5s. 6d., and from this sum it was proposed to pay a dividend at the rate of nine per cent. per annum, carrying forward £10,826, 5s. 6d.; to be added to the "rest," which, with this addition, would amount to £226,777, 3s. 3d. At that time there were 101 branches throughout the country, and the bank appeared to be in a thoroughly sound condition. However, a commercial panic in America so severely affected four eminent Glasgow firms, that, in the autumn of 1857, they suspended payment. Their collapse caused the greatest excitement in Glasgow, especially as it was known each of the firms was heavily indebted to the Western Bank for accommodation; and for a week or two there was a drain upon the resources of the bank, the deposits being reduced by about £1,000,000 sterling, while the value of its shares fell on the stock market. The directors endeavoured to obtain assistance from their neighbours, but after long negotiations they were compelled to close their doors on the 9th November. For the next few days, the city was in a state of the greatest anxiety and turmoil, and the magistrates were so apprehensive of disturbances that they sent to Edinburgh for additional troops. These, happily, were not required; but another act of the magistrates had a more beneficial effect. They promptly issued a proclamation advising the people to accept payment of whatever notes were presented to them; and this, with the arrival of a large quantity of gold from London, resulted in a certain restoration of the public confidence. To heighten the crisis, the City of Glasgow Bank, which, like the Western Bank, took in the small savings of the working classes, closed its doors for a few days, but after the panic was over it again commenced business. The affairs of the

Western Bank were put in liquidation, and it was then made known to the public that the amount due by the four insolvent firms, whose failures had been the cause of the collapse, was £1,603,728, while the whole taken-up share capital of the institution was only £1,500,000. When the bank suspended payment, the paid-up capital, in 30,000 shares of £50 each, was, as stated, £1,500,000. The "rest" amounted to £226,777, 3s. 3d.; the guarantee fund to £20,045, 18s. 1d.; and the dividends declared payable on the 24th June previous to £65,531, 5s., making a total for these three items of £312,354, 6s. 4d. But from that sum there fell to be deducted the balance of debit at profit and loss, leaving £245,387, 9s. 1d.; and that, added to the paid-up capital, made a total of £1,245,387, 9s. 1d. The liquidators made two calls, equal to £125 per share, which produced £2,054,566, 4s. 10d., and with that and the assets of the bank at the stoppage, amounting to £7,872,402, 14s. 9d., they were enabled to pay off, after the lapse of some years, a total liability of £8,911,932. A great amount of distress was caused in the city through this commercial disaster. Many persons were utterly ruined, and the effect of the failures was felt for a long time afterwards.

Of a cheerier nature than what has been recorded in the preceding page, is the account of the increased interest which the citizens of Glasgow were now taking in the Cathedral. It has been seen that it was put into a state of thorough repair by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests; and on the completion of that important work, an influential local committee was formed for placing stained glass in the windows of the church. The Government, the Duke of Hamilton, the Bairds of Gartsherrie, and Miss Douglas of Orbiston, undertook to complete the four great windows, and other members of the local nobility and gentry came forward and helped in the work. The royal establishment of glass painting at Munich was entrusted with the execution of the designs, taken from Scripture subjects, and in 1859 the first of the windows were placed in the Cathedral.

In 1859, also, the Loch Katrine Water Works were inaugurated by the Queen. At a meeting of the magistrates and council as Water Commissioners, held on the 21st July, 1859, Lord Provost Stewart suggested the propriety of Her Majesty being asked to inaugurate the Loch Katrine Water Works, then in the course of completion. A correspondence was carried on with those in authority, and it was learned that an application to the Queen while on her autumn visit to Balmoral would probably be successful. A deputation waited at Deeside, and were able to return to Glasgow with the information that the city would receive its first supply of water from the Perthshire loch under royal patronage. As on the occasion of the visit of 1849, the

citizens bestirred themselves to show their appreciation of the importance of the event. The 14th October was fixed for the ceremony, and it was arranged that the Queen should arrive in Edinburgh the previous evening, remain a night at Holyrood, next morning travel by railway to Callendar, and thence by coach to the foot of Loch Katrine. The Glasgow Volunteer Regiment was accepted as a guard of honour, together with eighty members of the Glasgow Celtic Society. The day was anxiously looked forward to; many intended to leave the city and witness the royal ceremony, and the railway companies made preparations for a greatly augmented traffic. Unfortunately, the 14th October opened wet and stormy; but there was, nevertheless, an immense crowd congregated on the shores of the loch long before the Queen arrived. Her Majesty's programme had been faithfully carried out, and she and the Prince Consort, with several members of the royal family, left Holyrood about ten o'clock, and arrived at Callendar at half-past eleven in the forenoon. The village was finely decorated, and many visitors were present to witness the arrival. The royal company was met at the station by Lord and Lady Willoughby de Eresby, and, accompanied by them, they drove to the foot of the loch, with a guard of honour of the 42nd and 79th Highlanders. Lord Provost Stewart was here waiting in the screw steamer "Rob Roy," and, having taken the illustrious personages on board, the vessel steamed up the loch to the inlet, or mouth of the tunnel which was to convey the water to the western metropolis. When the yacht approached the place, the military bands played the national anthem. Mr. Burnet, secretary to the Water Commissioners, and afterwards author of a *History of the Glasgow Water Supply*, presented an address to Her Majesty, after the reading of which she said to the company:—"Such a work is worthy of the enterprise and philanthropy of Glasgow, and I trust it will be blessed with complete success." A number of the councillors were then presented. Rev. Dr. Craik, of St. George's, Glasgow, asked the divine blessing on the proceedings, the Queen turned a handle placed for the purpose, and the water of the loch rushed into the tunnel, the noise it made being heard a considerable distance off. The distinguished party, after examining the works, returned to Edinburgh by the same route by which they had come in the morning. Immediately the water had been let into the tunnel, telegrams were sent to Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Stirling, and from the castles at the latter places were fired cannon in honour of the event, while Glasgow was jubilant in its own quieter way.

The Act of Parliament sanctioning the construction of these important works was passed, it has been seen, on the 2nd July, 1855. The plans were prepared by Mr. J. F. Bateman, C.E., and the work of tunnelling the thirty-four miles between Loch

Katrine and Glasgow was immediately begun, and completed so as to be inaugurated as already recorded. The total cost of the works themselves was about £700,000, but the total cost of the scheme, including purchase of, and compensation for lands, the purchase of water privileges, &c., amounted to £1,500,000. Lochs Katrine, Vennacher, and Drunkie, were all put under contribution; and it was estimated that a supply of fifty millions gallons per day would be obtained. The scheme was not carried out a day too soon, for the Water Companies, whose rights were purchased by the Corporation, had been giving a most inadequate and imperfect supply to the public, who were receiving through the water pipes all sorts of impurities. The Clyde was becoming sadly polluted, and whatever may have been its excellencies when the companies were originated, it was certainly now not fitted for a domestic water supply.

Shipbuilding and marine engineering continued to make marvellous progress on the Clyde; and Mr. Robert Napier, the Messrs. Wood of Port-Glasgow, and Messrs. Tod & M'Gregor of Meadowbank, Partick, were all of them engaged with extensive orders. Napier had built several small vessels for the Royal Navy, and the "Simoom," a troop ship. During the Crimean war, he built his first iron-clad, the "Erebus," and he supplied the engines of the "Terror." In 1859, he contracted for an armoured steam frigate of 6,040 tons, with engines of 800 horse-power, which was launched in the presence of a large crowd of spectators. This vessel was the "Black Prince," well-known on the Clyde as having been the guardship at the Tail of the Bank until a few years ago. Messrs. Barclay, Curle & Co., of Whiteinch, were coming into prominence as makers of marine engines. In 1852, John Elder, who had been an apprentice with Robert Napier, joined Charles Randolph, a most skilful engineer, whose work up till this time had been specially that of a millwright. When Elder joined him, and the firm became Randolph, Elder & Co., marine engineering was added to the business. In 1853, the two partners took out a patent for an arrangement of the compound engines adapted to driving the screw propeller, by which an increased steam pressure was obtained by a lessened consumption of fuel. The firm supplied many of their improved engines to the Royal Navy, and rapidly came into repute among engineers.

A report by the Commissioners under the Universities (Scotland) Act, published in 1860, condemned the use of the old college buildings in High Street for university purposes, and the authorities of that ancient seat of learning were laid under the necessity of looking about them to see what was to be done for the future. An important boon was conferred upon the working classes of Glasgow, by the establishment of what afterwards

became known as the Western Cooking Depôt. Thomas Corbett, the founder, was a philanthropist, and not a speculator, and he laid aside the profits of the business in order to improve the supply of food given to its patrons.

The first musical festival was held in Glasgow in January, 1860, under the auspices of the Choral Union, a society formed, in 1843, for the cultivation of music, then at a low ebb in the city. This festival extended over four days—Tuesday, the 24th; Wednesday, the 25th; Thursday, the 26th; and Friday, the 27th of January. On Tuesday, the oratorio of "Elijah" was sung; on Wednesday, there was a miscellaneous concert; on Thursday, Horseley's "Gideon" was produced for the first time, under the leadership of the composer; and on the Friday, the festival was brought to a close with the "Messiah." The concerts were held in the City Hall; they were largely attended; and the proceeds were given to the Royal Infirmary and the Asylum for the Blind. Among the soloists was Sims Reeves; Henry Smart presided at the organ; Henry A. Lambeth conducted; while the Choral Union acted as chorus.

About this period the Volunteer movement, as it now exists, had its origin, and in Glasgow several regiments were raised, including within their ranks some of the most prominent citizens.

CHAPTER LIV.

(Circa A.D. 1860.)

Newspaper Enterprise in Glasgow — James Pagan, Hugh Macdonald, "Senex," and David Gray—Henry Monteith of Carstairs—David Dale—Revs. Thomas Chalmers, D.D., and Edward Irving—Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.—Robert Kettle, the Temperance Reformer—James Ewing of Strathleven—Important University Changes.

During the past half century, the printing-press had been busy in Glasgow, and many improvements and developments in connection with it had been effected. Several attempts to establish additional newspapers had been made, but comparatively few of them had met with permanent success. The *Reformers' Gazette*, under the management of Peter Mackenzie, had an active career of many years' duration, but it had ultimately to succumb to the powerful competition of journals conducted upon more modern lines. *The Herald*, to which reference

has been made in a former chapter, had a successful existence under Samuel Hunter, George Outram, and James Pagan, and, affected by the spirit of enterprise, it was first issued daily in January, 1859. In 1842, Mr. (now Dr.) James Hedderwick commenced *The Glasgow Citizen*, a publication combining the provinces of a newspaper and a literary journal, and it rapidly gained a hold upon the people. However, the issue of *The North British Daily Mail*, for the first time, on the 14th April, 1847, constituted it the premier daily paper in Scotland. In a certain sense, the *Mail* was not the first daily newspaper in Glasgow, for in 1846 an interesting experiment was made. From the 24th December, 1846, until the 9th January, 1847, an industrial exhibition had been held in the City Hall, under the auspices of the Glasgow Philosophical Society. Messrs. W. G. Blackie & Co. had a stall in the exhibition, and they printed off the *Daily Exhibitor*, consisting of eight pages of closely printed matter, and containing news relating to the exhibition, or items bearing upon some of the more prominent exhibits. Eleven numbers of this paper were printed; but, of course, its existence terminated with the exhibition. All these movements were well received by the public; indeed, they were almost compelled by the avidity with which people were beginning to crave for news of the great world beyond the city, and they were greatly assisted by the repeal of the Newspaper Stamp Duty in 1855. Steam-printing machinery had been introduced into the city newspaper offices; the newspapers themselves were being conducted with more talent and enterprise than they had been before; merchants and others were beginning to appreciate the advantages of advertising; and, as a consequence, the daily and weekly prints were assuming a higher literary tone, and were becoming more valuable as commercial ventures.

There are two men who were connected with Glasgow newspapers in the period dealt with in the preceding lines, who are worthy of mention because of their work in relation to the history and antiquities of Glasgow and its neighbourhood. These were James Pagan and Hugh Macdonald. Pagan had become connected with the *Herald* early in the century, and had gradually advanced until he reached the editorial chair. In addition to his duties as editor of an important newspaper, he found time to write an excellent *Sketch of the History of Glasgow*, published in 1847, and to edit *Glasgow, Past and Present*, a three-volume work containing sketches of old Glasgow by "Senex," "Aliquis," and others, together with some interesting Dean of Guild Court Reports. Both of these works were highly successful, and their value has frequently and conclusively been attested. Hugh Macdonald, born in Bridgeton, in 1817, had been introduced to literary work by Mr. James Hedderwick, of

the *Glasgow Citizen*, under whom he became sub-editor. For three years he, writing under the *nom de plume* of "Caleb"—the "Gentle Caleb," as his admirers have called him—contributed to that paper a series of articles which, in 1854, was published in book-form with the title of *Rambles round Glasgow*. These *Rambles* are now too well-known and admired to need any explanatory comment here—their subjects have caused them to be popular, and the style in which they are written has compelled admiration. Another work of Macdonald's was his *Days at the Coast*, and in it his individuality is shown as much as in the other, and to it, also, the same remarks are applicable.

A reference has been made to "Senex" in the preceding page, and a few lines regarding him cannot fail to be interesting. "Senex" was the *nom de plume* of Robert Reid, a Glasgow merchant, who has perhaps written more about the antiquities of old Glasgow than any of the many authors who have taken that subject in hand. He was descended from a venerable Glasgow stock, and was born on the 27th January, 1773, in the Candleriggs. After attending the Grammar School, he received an excellent education at the university, sitting at the feet of Professor Anderson, the founder of Anderson's College; of Professor Jeffray, whose relation to the murderer Clydesdale has been mentioned in these pages; and of Professor Millar, to whom is due the credit of reviving the law classes of the university. Reid afterwards engaged in a variety of commercial ventures, and after a successful business career he retired, in 1832, from all mercantile pursuits, devoting himself to the antiquarian lore of Glasgow, especially with reference to his own recollections of it in the closing years of the eighteenth and the first three decades of the nineteenth centuries. He contributed interesting and valuable articles to the *Glasgow Herald*, and these were republished in *Glasgow, Past and Present*, in 1851-56. In 1853, he removed his residence to Strahoun Lodge, Isle of Cumbrae, and there he remained until his death in June, 1865. On the 23rd February, 1860, when in the eighty-seventh year of his age, "Senex" was entertained to a banquet by the Glasgow Archæological Society; and about six months prior to his death he published his last work, *Old Glasgow and its Environs*. In concluding this brief account of "Senex," it is only necessary to quote from the *Glasgow Herald* notice of his death:—"No man possessed in a more eminent degree than Mr. Reid the merits necessary in a local annalist. . . . He had a sound literary education in his youthful days; he mixed in the best society; he was singularly observant throughout his lengthened career; he was blessed with a capital memory, which served him as well last week as it did eighty years ago; and the result of all is that immense

mass of local memorabilia with which, since his retirement from the active business of life, he has from time to time pleased and instructed the Glasgow public."

In some respects the career of David Gray offers a contrast to that of "Senex," especially in that he died before reaching maturity, and had not developed the literary talents with which it has been seen he was endowed. He was born in humble circumstances in Kirkintilloch, on the 29th January, 1838, and after a studious boyhood he came to Glasgow when he was fourteen years of age. Supporting himself by teaching, he attended several of the university classes, and he contributed poetical pieces to the *Glasgow Citizen*. Mr. James Hedderwick, a keen observer of literary ability, interested himself in the youthful bard, who ultimately decided upon a literary career, and made his way to London. In the English metropolis he was overtaken by consumption, and Lord Houghton, who had been attracted to him, sent him to Italy. There was no improvement, and poor David Gray returned to his native village, where he died on the 3rd December, 1861, at the early age of twenty-four. His poem, *The Luggie*, was published soon afterwards—he only saw a specimen page of it in print—and its fine poetic feeling discovered that Scotland had lost one who, had greater length of days been granted him, would have added lustre to her national literature.

Leaving literary matters, it will again be appropriate to refer briefly to a few of those who, during the first half of the nineteenth century, contributed to the moral or commercial advancement of Glasgow.

Henry Monteith was the son of James Monteith of Anderston, a Glasgow manufacturer, and he was born in the city in 1765. In early life he became a muslin manufacturer, and in 1802, his firm of Monteith, Bogle, & Co., began the manufacture of bandana handkerchiefs. His business habits, and his zeal for the welfare of the community, brought him into public notice; and in 1814, and again in 1818, he was elected to the high position of lord provost. In 1819, Monteith acquired the estate of Carstairs, from which he obtained his territorial designation. Throughout the Reform troubles of 1819 and 1820, he strongly supported the Government policy; and, in 1821, he was returned to Parliament for the Lanark district of burghs, which then included Selkirk, Peebles, Linlithgow, and Lanark. He retired from political life in 1830, and he died on the 14th December, 1848. Throughout his whole public career, he had greatly benefited the city, and during his municipal reigns his work was so appreciated that Monteith Row, built on a portion of the Green, was called after him. His works at Barrowfield gave employment to many people; while to him is due

the credit of introducing several new textile industries into Glasgow.

David Dale died on the 17th March, 1856, and to him the textile manufactures of Glasgow were greatly indebted. He was of Ayrshire birth, but, coming to this city in his youth, he soon became a prominent merchant, and was twice elected to the magistracy. The New Lanark cotton mills were erected by him, and he joined in many commercial ventures in Glasgow—such as in cotton factories, Turkey-red dyeing, inkle factories, &c.—much to the advantage of the working classes. Having been instrumental, along with others, in forming a Congregational Church in Greyfriars Wynd, he preached in it for many years, to the great scandal of those who thought that only college-bred men should occupy a pulpit. A due idea of Dale's worth may be obtained from the tribute paid to his memory by the late Dr. Strang, the city chamberlain:—"He was respected by the wealthy and beloved by the poor; and when he bade a last adieu to the city which his talents and industry had certainly advanced, and which his philanthropy and religious example had improved, he was universally lamented as one of the ablest merchants, best magistrates, and most benevolent sons." (*Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 300.)

Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D., while minister of the Tron and St. John's parishes, was actively engaged in the promotion of the educational interests of the city, and he materially assisted in the amelioration of the condition of the working and pauper classes during the Reform agitation. He had been appointed to the Tron Church in 1815, and in 1819 he was translated to the newly erected parish of St. John. In both these positions his high talents as a preacher gave him large congregations; and on his removal to St. Andrews, in 1824, to occupy the chair of Moral Philosophy there, he was presented with many marks of appreciation and respect by the citizens of Glasgow. Chalmers kept up an intimate connection with the city, his most prominent appearance in it after 1824 being at the Glasgow Assembly of the Free Church in October, 1843, when he, as retiring moderator, preached the opening sermon.

Edward Irving was born in Annan, in August, 1792. Having studied at Edinbugh University, he removed to Glasgow, where he laboured for some time as assistant to Dr. Chalmers in St. John's parish. In 1822, he went to London, and became one of the most popular and effective Scotch preachers ever seen there. His peculiar views, however, brought about his deposition from the ministry, and he retired to Glasgow, dying on the 6th December, 1834, aged forty-two years. Irving's was a most mournful career, disappointment following disappointment, even in the midst of apparent success. A monument has been erected over

his grave in Glasgow Necropolis. As for the peculiar views which brought him so much trouble, they are believed to be the groundwork of the tenets of the Catholic Apostolic Church, the members of which are popularly called Irvingites.

Principal Macfarlan, for many years a prominent citizen of Glasgow, was son of the minister of Drymen, and was born at Auchingray in 1770. He attended Glasgow University, received his licence as a minister of the Church of Scotland in 1791, and was, in the following year, ordained to the parish of Drymen. His *Alma Mater* conferred the degree of D.D. upon him in 1806; and after a successful course of years he was appointed, in 1824, Principal of Glasgow University and incumbent of the High Kirk. During his connection with Glasgow he greatly advanced its interests; and to him is due the credit of originating the Colonial Scheme of the Church of Scotland. So far as his literary efforts in relation to Glasgow are concerned, it may be stated that the most noteworthy was his contribution, to the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, of an exhaustive article on the history, antiquities, and commerce of the city. He twice occupied the chair as Moderator of the General Assembly. He died on the 25th November, 1857, the father of his church, at the age of eighty-seven. A monument has been erected to his memory in the Necropolis.

Ralph Wardlaw was a native of Dalkeith, having been born there in 1779; but as his father settled in Glasgow about the time of his birth, he may almost be regarded as a Glasgow man. In early life he studied at the High School and the University, and was trained for the ministry in the Divinity Hall in connection with the Associate Secession Church. About the year 1800, he identified himself with the Independent movement, the Glasgow adherents of which met in the "Tabernacle," in Jamaica Street. Three years later, a chapel in North Albion Street, built specially for him, was opened, and he was inducted pastor. Wardlaw engaged in evangelistic work, and he quickly became the most prominent dissenting minister in the city. A larger chapel was built for him in West George Street in 1818. He received the degree of D.D. from Yale College, Connecticut. After a useful career, in the course of which he greatly advanced the interests of his denomination and the moral and spiritual welfare of Glasgow, he died on the 17th December, 1853, his jubilee having been celebrated in February of the same year. His chapel in West George Street has now been converted into offices for the North British Railway Company.

Robert Kettle was a social reformer who was mainly instrumental in founding the Scottish Temperance League. He was born at Kintillo, in Perthshire, in 1791, and came to Glasgow when he was twenty-four years of age. In 1829, he commenced

business in the city as a cotton-yarn merchant. About this time the temperance cause was inaugurated, and Kettle, having become connected with it, ultimately took the lead in Glasgow. Having instituted a number of temperance and total abstinence societies he was elected the first president of the Scottish Temperance League in 1848. He died at Glasgow in March, 1852.

James Ewing of Strathleven long occupied a foremost position in Glasgow, having been councillor, dean of guild, lord provost, and member of Parliament, in addition to holding other offices which, while not so prominent, were as important in their own way. His father, Walter Ewing, afterwards Walter Ewing M'Lae of Cathkin, was a West India merchant, who had married a daughter of the Rev. James Fisher, one of the founders of the Independent denomination. The son was born on the 7th December, 1775. After having been in business as an accountant, James Ewing became, on the death of his father, in 1814, head of the firm of James Ewing & Company, West India merchants; and two years later, on the 10th October, 1816, he was elected lord dean of guild. In 1817, he published a *History of the Merchants' House from* 1605 *to* 1816. About this time he was connected with most of the institutions in the city; but perhaps the most noteworthy work in which he was engaged was as convener of a committee of the Town Council, which had been appointed to draw up a report on the Test and Corporation Acts. Upon the report of Ewing, as convener of this committee, the magistrates and council, on the 25th March, 1819, enacted that in all time coming the burgess oath should be dispensed with in Glasgow. During the Reform agitation of 1819-20, it was his misfortune to be foreman of the jury which condemned old James Wilson of Strathaven. In 1820, he was elected lord provost of the city, in room of Henry Monteith of Carstairs, who then retired from the office. Afterwards he was one of the promoters of the erection of the Duke Street Prison and the Royal Exchange, and it was at his suggestion that the Fir Park was utilised as a necropolis. It has already been told in these pages how great was the interest excited over the passing of the Reform Bill, and how, on the 19th December, 1832, James Ewing's name was declared to be at the top of the poll for the election of two Parliamentary representatives for Glasgow. At the election three years later he was thrown out, and he afterwards retired into private life, having purchased the estate of Levenside, in Dumbartonshire, where he resided for the remainder of his life. The University of Glasgow conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Ewing died on the 29th November, 1853, at the age of seventy-eight. He had throughout his long life amassed immense wealth, and by his disposition and deed of settlement, dated 9th September, 1844, he made most liberal bequests to Glasgow and

Free Church institutions. His personal estate was found, on his death, to be of the value of £280,000, and of that he gifted away the sum of nearly £70,000. The Merchants' House received £31,000 for various purposes; Glasgow institutions received £9,000 among them; £500 were bequeathed to the Trades' House; the Royal Infirmary received £10,000; Dumbarton institutions, £500; and the Free Church received £18,500 for a variety of schemes, £5,000 of that sum being for the building of the Free Church College in Glasgow.

Several important changes had taken place in connection with the University of Glasgow in the thirty years prior to 1860. Within that period four new professorships had been instituted —Materia Medica, in 1831; Institutes of Medicine, in 1839; Forensic Medicine, also in 1839; and Civil Engineering, in 1840. By the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858, some alterations of the first importance had been made upon the constitution and government of the college. Before the passing of that Act, the business of the university was conducted by the Senate, the Faculty, and the Comitia, three distinct courts. The Senate, consisting of the rector, dean, principal, and all the professors, conferred degrees, managed the libraries, &c.; the Faculty, consisting of the principal and what were called the "college" professors, in contradistinction to the "regius" professors, had the administration of the revenue and property of the institution, with rights of patronage and presentation to bursaries; and the Comitia, consisting of the rector, dean, principal, professors, and matriculated students, elected and admitted the rector, and heard the inaugural discourses of principals and professors previous to their admission to office. Under the Act of 1858, the distinction between the Senate and the Faculty was abolished; the University Court and General Council were instituted; and commissioners were appointed, with powers to issue ordinances, under the sanction of the Crown, for the administration of the affairs of the university. Among those who had been elected Lord Rector between 1836, when Sir Robert Peel took office, and 1860 were—Lord John Russell, Lord Macaulay, Sheriff Alison, the Duke of Argyll, Bulwer Lytton, and the Earl of Elgin.

CHAPTER LV.

(A.D. 1861 TO A.D. 1867.)

Glasgow Statistics—Clyde Shipbuilding—New College Buildings at Gilmorehill—The First Evening Paper in Glasgow—Important Criminal Trials—The First City Improvement Act—Mr. Gladstone Visits Glasgow—Armorial Insignia of Glasgow—Great Reform Demonstration in the City—Statue of Prince Consort Unveiled by the Duke of Edinburgh—Construction of Kingston Dock.

WITH the beginning of another decade, it will be interesting to turn again to statistics, for, while the ordinary record of events may form more interesting reading, it yet gives no absolute measure of the growth of the city; and, though statistics themselves may, to some extent, be inadequate, they are, nevertheless, the most reliable gauge of national and civic progress.

The census of 1861 discovered the population of Glasgow to be 395,503, an increase of 66,407 over the figures for 1851. In the sixteen Parliamentary wards of the city there was then a total constituency of 20,260. The number of occupied houses was 82,493, and unoccupied, 5,086; while the rental of the city for the year 1860-61 was £1,666,336, or an increase of £304,168 over the valuation of 1855-56, which was the first under the Lands Valuation Act. In 1861, the revenue of the Corporation, for itself and as administering various trusts, was £50,419, 11s. 5d., the expenditure was £41,760, 19s. 6d., and its debt amounted to £280,257, 12s. 5½d. There was, in this year, a water area in the harbour of 70 acres; the quays extended 4,376 lineal yards, and the depth of water at high tide was 22 feet. The total shipping arrivals in the harbour numbered 16,085, representing an aggregate of 1,504,220 tons; and of these 11,281, with a tonnage of 1,029,480 tons, were steam vessels, while their maximum draught was 20 feet. The Clyde Navigation Trust—the constitution of which had been altered by the Consolidation Act of 1858, and instead of the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow, was now composed of the Lord Provost and nine councillors, two representatives each from the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' House, and Trades' House, and nine representatives of the shipowners and ratepayers—had a revenue, in 1861, of £105,768, 11s.; its ordinary expenditure was £86,256, 9s. 10d.; extraordinary expenditure, £47,683, 16s. 3d.; and debt, £1,203,525,

14s. 6d. The customs duties gave a total for the year of £924,445, 10s. There were then on the register at Glasgow 679 vessels, with a tonnage of 218,684 tons, while the total tonnage of goods inwards and outwards was 1,366,327 tons. The exports of British produce and manufactures amounted to the declared value of £5,259,887. To the United States about 35,000 tons of Scotch pig-iron had been exported, being nearly one-half the amount of the previous year, the falling off being owing to the outbreak of the disputes between the Northern and Southern States; to France about 64,000 tons were shipped, an increase over 1860; and Spain and Italy also showed an increase by receiving about 39,000 tons. Merchandise to the value of £367,000 was despatched, in 1861, from Glasgow direct to France; and of this sum pig and malleable iron represented £224,463; spirits, £99,340; chemical products, £13,406; and textile products, £25,121. The raw sugar imports into the Clyde amounted to 19,991 tons; and duty was levied upon 4,077,774 lbs. of tea and 1,668,959 lbs. of tobacco. During the year 81 iron steamers, of an aggregate of 60,185 tons, and 5 sailing vessels, of 3,060 tons —a total of 86 vessels, and an aggregate of 63,245 tons—had been built or finished on the Clyde. The cost of the hulls and fittings of the steamers was £1,252,300; the cost of the engines, which had a total of 12,493 horse-power, was £456,800; and the cost of the hulls and fittings of the sailing vessels was £50,560— making a grand total of £1,759,660. Leaving the harbour and returning to the city, it will be seen that industrially Glasgow had been progressing to a large extent. There were employed in cotton, flax and jute, wool, and silk factories in Glasgow 1,104,472 spindles, 22,813 power-looms, steam-engines of an aggregate of 13,214 horse-power, and 28,489 operatives of both sexes. Iron works, &c., were rapidly increasing. The mortality for 1861 was 10,932, while there had been 16,536 births, and 3,480 marriages. The police force consisted of 701 men, being one constable to every 469 of the population; and there were 1,732 publicans. Letters to the number of 13,700,467 passed through the Post-Office, their value in postage being £70,476; the value of the money-orders was £100,832, 17s. 4d.; and 156,633 messages were received or sent off by the two telegraphic companies. At the city railway stations 2,326,650 passengers arrived, and from them 2,099,950 departed. The National Security Savings' Bank had 42,122 depositors, representing deposits of the value of £927,427, 16s. 3d., against 29,045 depositors and £477,196 in 1851. All these figures show in a most conclusive manner that Glasgow was flourishing, and that it had now assumed a high position among the cities of the world, offering a marked contrast to its condition at the beginning of the century. In every direction the city was being extended;

the hamlets in the vicinity were gradually being assimilated; and the quaint, but restricted, dwellings, warehouses, and workshops were giving way to modern structures supplied with every convenience.

On the 6th of April, 1861, an accident occurred which cast a heavy gloom over the city. The Govan ferry boat, which was greatly overcrowded, upset, and seven persons were drowned, and the lives of many others were endangered.

Shipbuilding in the vicinity of Glasgow was becoming more and more of a staple industry. Messrs. Napier & Sons, in September, 1862, launched an armour-plated steam frigate, the "Hector," of 4,089 tons; and in the following year they launched the "Rolf Krake," a turret ship for the Danish Government, which was the first of its class engaged in active warfare. Messrs. Randolph, Elder & Company, already famous as marine engineers, had added shipbuilding as a branch of their business, their first contract being the construction of the "Macgregor Laird," a screw steamer for the African Mail Company. Otherwise, the trade was progressing. New lines of steamships being started, created a demand for more ships; and the improved methods and superior workmanship of the Clyde yards brought a large proportion of the orders to them. Wooden vessels were, in comparison to iron, seldom being built, and in this respect also the Clyde builders had an advantage, owing to their close proximity to the principal coal and iron fields of Scotland. Messrs Handyside and Henderson had started the "Anchor" Line of steamships between Glasgow and New York in 1856, and it, with the accommodation to Canada offered by the "Allan" Line, was doing much to develop the commercial relationships between this port and the North American Continent. In addition to these, numerous other shipping projects were launched, and all were fast making Glasgow, what it has since become, second only to London as a river port.

The Free Church College, and the church in connection with it, were erected, in 1862, at the head of Lynedoch Street, in the western district of the city, and were important additions to the scholastic wealth and architectural beauty of Glasgow.

In the January of 1863, the theatre in Dunlop Street was totally destroyed, but no one was injured. The Prince of Wales, on the 10th of March following, was married to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, and on the evening of the marriage day Glasgow was finely illuminated in honour of the event. Lord Palmerston, then Premier, was elected Lord Rector of the University in 1862, and on the 30th March, 1863, he was formally installed into the office. He delivered an address appropriate to the occasion, and met with an enthusiastic reception. Afterwards, he was entertained to a banquet, and on the following day he was

the guest of the Clyde Navigation Trustees, by whom he was taken a sail down the Clyde, and gained a personal knowledge of the industrial importance of the river.

The old college buildings in the High Street were, with the exception of the Cathedral, the most venerable structures in Glasgow, but for a variety of reasons they were now doomed to demolition. For upwards of twenty years prior to this time the authorities of the university had been cognisant of the inadequacy of the premises to the need of their institution, and of the unsuitability of the locality in which they were situated, and they had therefore had the question of removal to more commodious buildings before them, but hitherto nothing practical had been done. An Act of Parliament had been obtained in 1846, authorising the sale of the college grounds and buildings to the Monkland Junction Railway, and the transference of the university to a new site on Woodlands; but as the railway company could not implement their portion of the agreement, the scheme failed. In 1863, negotiations were entered into between the university and the promoters of the City of Glasgow Union Railway Company, with the result that an agreement was come to for the sale of the college buildings and grounds for railway purposes for the price of £100,000. The railway company applied to Parliament for incorporation in 1864, and the Act they then obtained sanctioned the agreement with the university. In the month of July, 1864, the University Senate purchased the lands of Gilmorehill, consisting of forty-three acres, for the sum of £65,000; and to these they added the lands of Donaldshill, purchased for £16,000; and five or six acres of the lands of Clayslip, on which to erect an hospital, for £17,400. It is noteworthy that Gilmorehill had been acquired in 1845, at a large price, by the Glasgow Western Cemetery Company, whose intentions regarding it are fairly premised in their title. The scheme did not meet with any encouragement, and the lands ultimately came into the possession of the university. When thus contemplating removal, the university had a total sum of £138,900 at their disposal, it being made up of the £100,000 received from the City Union Railway Company; £17,500 being principal sum and interest obtained from the Monkland Junction Company as compensation for non-fulfilment of their agreement of 1846; and £21,400 promised by Government on condition that a further sum of £24,000 be raised by public subscription for the erection of an hospital in connection with the university. Matters being thus far advanced, the late Sir G. Gilbert Scott was entrusted with the preparation of plans for the new buildings; and on the 2nd June, 1866, Professor Allen Thomson, as chairman of the Build-

ing Committee, turned the first sod. Thereafter, rapid progress was made with the erection of the new college.

On the 8th August, 1864, Mr. Hedderwick, the proprietor and editor of the *Glasgow Citizen*, issued, for the first time in Glasgow, an evening halfpenny newspaper, bearing the name of the *Evening Citizen*. After that event the *Glasgow Citizen* was re-named the *Weekly Citizen*, and its columns were devoted entirely to literary matter, with the exception of a column summary of the events of the week. This new venture met with a hearty reception by the people, and its publication marks a new era in the history of the Glasgow press. By an Act passed on the 5th July, 1865, the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company amalgamated with the North British Railway Company. Locomotive building was now becoming an important branch of Glasgow trade, and in several large workshops an extensive business was being transacted. The public spirit of the citizens had heartily responded to the appeal on behalf of the ornamentation of the Cathedral, and, by 1864, the windows of that venerable structure, with the exception of the clerestory, had been filled with stained glass, representing Scripture subjects, from the royal manufactory at Munich.

The public mind about this period was greatly perturbed by two criminal trials, especially on account of the social condition of some of the parties more or less involved in them. The first occurrence was the murder, on the 4th of July, 1862, of Jessie M'Pherson, and the apprehension and trial of Jessie M'Intosh or M'Lachlan as the perpetrator of the crime. The accused was tried before the Circuit Court in Glasgow on the 16th September following. A verdict of guilty against M'Lachlan was returned by the jury, and the judge sentenced her to suffer the extreme penalty of the law on the 11th October; but as she had, with great consistency, told a story criminating another party, public feeling was very evenly divided on the question of her guilt, and the pressure brought to bear on the Home Secretary induced him, under the circumstances, to commute the sentence to one of penal servitude. In 1865, the trial of Dr. Edward William Pritchard, a medical man of hitherto good reputation in the city, for poisoning his wife and mother-in-law, created extraordinary feeling in the community. On the 3rd of July, 1865, Pritchard was placed at the bar of the High Court of Justiciary, in Edinburgh, on that charge, and the evidence adduced against him conclusively established his guilt. It discovered him to be a hypocrite of the blackest kind, and to be a most dangerous and cold-hearted murderer. A particular feature of the trial, which extended over five days, was the amount and excellence of the medical evidence led for the prosecution and the defence; and in

this respect it is one of the most noteworthy cases in Scotch criminal annals. Sentence of death was passed on Pritchard, and he was executed in front of the South Prison, at the Green, Glasgow, on the 28th July, 1865, being the last criminal execution in public in Glasgow. Public sympathy had been excited in favour of Jessie M'Lachlan, but in the case of Pritchard, the people were so horrified at the atrocity of his crime that they felt no compunction at seeing him on the gallows.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Russell's Government, visited Glasgow on the 1st November, 1865, accompanied by Mrs. Gladstone. In the course of the forenoon they visited the Cathedral, and afterwards they proceeded to the Trades' Hall, where Mr. Gladstone was presented with an address from the Glasgow Reform Union. A crowded meeting had assembled in the City Hall by two o'clock in the afternoon in order to witness the presentation of the freedom of the city to the illustrious statesman. After the ceremony, Mr. Gladstone delivered a long speech on the political controversies of the time. Later on, he visited the Royal Exchange, and in the early evening he was present as a guest at the annual finance dinner of the corporation, in the Corporation Galleries, Sauchiehall Street. At a working-men's meeting in the Scotia Music Hall, in the evening, he received another congratulatory address on behalf of the working classes of Glasgow, and in reply he spoke at considerable length on the industrial progress of the age.

On the 12th December, 1865, an industrial exhibition was opened in Glasgow. The exhibition hall was at 99 Argyle Street, and in the several galleries were shown exhibits of all kinds, especially those relating to the industrial arts; and of 500, no fewer than 400 of these exhibits were the property of working men. On the evening of the opening day, the Duke of Argyll delivered the inaugural address to a large audience in the City Hall. The exhibition remained open until the close of March, 1866.

The Town Council had had under their consideration for a long time the insanitary condition of the city, consequent upon the overcrowding of dwellings, the narrowness of many of the streets, and the antiquated structure of the buildings. That such a state of matters should have existed is not surprising, for the rapid progress of Glasgow since the beginning of the century had enormously increased the value of building stances in the business part of the city, and had induced an economy of space which, while politic from a certain point of view, was causing an abnormal death-rate. In order to do away with this undesirable state of things, the Town Council made application to Parliament to sanction a City Improvement Act, and after much

trouble that measure was passed into law on the 11th June, 1866. The preamble of the Act recites that, "Whereas various portions of the City of Glasgow are so built, and the buildings so densely inhabited, as to be highly injurious to the moral and physical welfare of the inhabitants, and many of the thoroughfares are narrow and circuitous and inconvenient, and it would be a public and local advantage if various houses and buildings were taken down, and those portions of the said city reconstituted, and new streets were constructed in and through various parts of the said city, and several of the existing streets altered and widened, and that in connection with the reconstruction of these portions of the city provision was made for dwellings for the labouring classes displaced in consequence thereof." Such were the expressed grounds of the council for seeking Parliamentary powers, and such was the work they had set before themselves. Under the provisions of the Act, the lord provost, magistrates, and council, and their successors, were appointed trustees for improvement purposes, and they were authorised to construct thirty-nine new streets, and to alter, widen, or divert twelve others. They were also empowered to borrow on bond, or mortgage, or cash credit, any sum not exceeding £1,250,000; and for defraying the expense of carrying out the Act, it would be lawful for them to assess lands and heritages for a sum not exceeding 6d. per £ on the annual rental for the first five years after the Act had come into operation, and 3d. per £ on the rental for the remaining ten years of the continuance of the Act. The passing of this measure caused an outcry in certain portions of the community, who resented the heavy incidence of taxation. The Improvement Trust, immediately on its constitution, set to work under Lord Provost Blackie, to carry out the duties imposed upon them; and a levy of 6d. per £ for the first year, 1866-67, yielded the handsome sum of £37,891.

In an early part of this work reference was briefly made to the armorial bearings of Glasgow and their probable origin; and it is now requisite to refer to the final settlement of their form, if not to a satisfactory solution of how they came into existence. Until the year 1866, there had been no definite and authentic arms for the city, but the armorial ensigns had been grouped very much according to the fancy of the person proposing to use them. Even the various departments of the corporation had differences of opinion on the point. But besides this confusion, unworthy of a great city—and one by this time seeking to be acknowledged as the second in the empire—there was the important consideration that the Glasgow arms had never received the sanction of the Lyon King of Arms. There was admirable scope for the formation of effective armorial insignia for the city, for the bishops and archbishops had on their seals tasteful designs

representing, with more or less artistic effect, several of the reputed miracles of St. Mungo. Lord Provost Blackie, at a meeting of the magistrates of the city, held on the 3rd October, 1866, stated "that several practical difficulties had occurred in regard to the city arms, in consequence of no authentic arms for the city having been granted or authorised by the Lord Lyon, and that the matter had been minutely investigated by Mr. Andrew Macgeorge, writer, who took a great interest in such matters; and the magistrates remit to the Lord Provost, Mr. Monro [the town clerk], and Mr. Macgeorge, to get the proper arms of the city recorded, published, and authorised in due form." Now that the matter had been taken up, it was very quickly settled. The Lord Lyon King of Arms (George Burnet, advocate) granted a patent, dated at Edinburgh, 25th October, 1866, declaring the armorial insignia of Glasgow to be as follows:—"Argent, on a mount in base vert an oak tree proper, the stem at the base thereof surmounted by a salmon on its back also proper, with a signet ring in its mouth, or; on the top of the tree a red-breast, and in the sinister fess point an ancient hand-bell, both also proper. Above the shield is placed a suitable helmet, with a mantling gules doubled argent, and, issuing out of a wreath of the proper liveries, is set for crest the half-length figure of S. Kentigern affronté, vested and mitred, his right hand raised in the act of benediction, and having in his left hand a crozier, all proper; in a compartment below the shield are placed for supporters two salmon, proper, each holding in its mouth a signet ring, or; and in an escrol entwined with the compartment this motto, 'Let Glasgow Flourish.'" Mr. Macgeorge's report, which goes fully into the whole subject, and is a most interesting treatise on the heraldry of Glasgow, was printed by Lord Provost Blackie, and presented to the Town Council. The only important change made in the authorised arms was the curtailment of the motto of the city—"Let Glasgow Flourish by the Preaching of the Word," to "Let Glasgow Flourish." In other respects, the old rhyme still applies to them:—

"Here's the bird that never flew,
Here's the tree that never grew,
Here's the bell that never rang,
Here's the fish that never swam,
That's jist the dru'ken salmon."

It is worthy of notice, however, that even after an authoritative declaration of the arms of the city, there is still a want of uniformity in the seals of various departments of the corporation.

By the defeat of Lord Russell's Government on their bill for Parliamentary Reform, the country was thrown into an excited state, and in every city and town demonstrations were made in

favour of Reform. On the 17th October, 1866, such a demonstration took place in Glasgow; and, as the *Glasgow Herald* of next day said—"No one who witnessed it will be likely to forget it to his dying day." The day was observed as a general holiday, and the trades of the city and neighbourhood, with appropriate emblems, to the strains of instrumental music, marched to the Green early in the forenoon. Here six platforms were erected, and prominent leaders of the Reform movement throughout the country, together with local politicians, delivered addresses to immense multitudes on the action of the "Adullamites," led by Mr. Lowe, and of the Conservatives, led by Mr. Disraeli. Protests were made against the existing system of Parliamentary representation; the grateful thanks of the various meetings were given to Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Mr. John Stuart Mill, for their exertions in the cause of Reform; and declarations were passed in favour of "residential and registered manhood suffrage." The processionists then marched through the principal streets, which were thickly lined with sympathetic spectators, and the great variety and ingenuity of the devices carried by a number of the trades were notable features of the demonstration. In the evening, a great Reform meeting was held in the City Hall, and Mr. Bright then spoke with power upon the all-absorbing topic, carrying his audience with him. Next morning, he was entertained to breakfast. The great Reform demonstration was an extraordinary success, and it is recollected as one of the most imposing events of the kind that ever occurred in Glasgow.

But this was not the only out-door demonstration of that most fruitful year, 1866. His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh unveiled the memorial statue of his father, the Prince Consort, erected in George Square, on the 19th October. Shortly after the death of the Prince in December, 1861, a subscription was commenced by Lord Provost Clouston in Glasgow for the erection of a memorial to him. The public cordially responded to the appeal, and, ultimately, about £6,000 were raised. Baron Marochetti, the eminent sculptor, was commissioned to prepare an equestrian statue of the Prince Consort, and when it was completed it was erected in George Square. At this time the statue of Queen Victoria, which, since 1854, had stood in St. Vincent Place, was removed to the square, and the two statues made appropriate companions. The unveiling ceremony was fixed to take place on the 19th October, 1866, and the Duke of Edinburgh, as representing the Queen, was to perform the duty. The day was miserably wet, but, notwithstanding, immense crowds thronged the streets throughout the whole day. His royal highness arrived in Glasgow from Edinburgh early in the forenoon, and, guarded by an escort of

the Queen's Own Glasgow Yeomanry, he proceeded in the company of the authorities to the City Hall, where Lord Provost Blackie presented him with the freedom of the city. This ceremony concluded, the procession was re-formed, and the royal visitor drove to George Square, where he unveiled the statue of his illustrious father, amid the cheers of a vast multitude. He was afterwards entertained to luncheon, and returned to Edinburgh in the course of the afternoon.

Perhaps not the least noteworthy event of 1866, was the presentation of the freedom of the city to Sir William Thomson, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University, who had then greatly distinguished himself by the successful completion of the submarine cable. The presentation was made at the annual corporation dinner on the 1st of November. In the course of this year, Asiatic cholera had committed some ravages in the country, but Glasgow escaped with the small number of only fifty-three deaths from that destructive agency—an immunity attributed to the excellent water-supply of the city. The statue to Lord Clyde, a native of Glasgow, was erected in George Square in 1866.

While all these important movements were going on in the city, the Clyde Trust had been quietly occupying itself in extending the harbour accommodation of the port of Glasgow. Every engineer who had reported on schemes for the improvement of the harbour in the early part of the century, had recommended the construction of tidal docks instead of extension of river quayage; but although Acts of Parliament had been obtained for carrying out these recommendations, no action had been taken until after the re-constitution of the Trust in 1858. What was known as Windmill Croft, on the south side of the river, and amounting to about ten acres, was purchased by the Trustees at a cost of £40,000; and that purchase they converted into a tidal basin having a water area of five and a third acres. This was called Kingston Dock. It was opened on the 10th October, 1867, and was the first dock at Glasgow. The basin is surrounded by a wharf, giving 830 lineal yards of quayage; and the water surface gives accommodation for 11,000 tons of shipping, and the depth at low water is ten feet, with nineteen feet at high water. Access is obtained to the dock from the river by means of a passage, crossed by a swing bridge on the lattice-girder principle, worked by hydraulic power. The total cost of the undertaking, exclusive of the price of land, was about £115,000.

CHAPTER LVI.

(A.D. 1868 TO A.D. 1874.)

Prince and Princess of Wales in Glasgow—Laying of the Foundation-Stone of New University Buildings—City and University Parliamentary Elections under the Reform Act—The Amenities of the Green—Lord Stanley and Mr. Disraeli in Glasgow—Erection of Albert Bridge—Harbour Accommodation—The Glasgow Tramways Scheme—Local Statistics—Election of the First School Board—Free Libraries in Glasgow.

AGAIN a royal pageant was seen in Glasgow. It had been arranged that the foundation-stone of the new buildings for the university on Gilmorehill should be laid on the 8th October, 1868; and as the Prince and Princess of Wales had consented to assist in the ceremony, the event was anticipated with feelings of satisfaction by the townspeople and by the collegians. Every arrangement was made for the worthy reception of the royal visitors. The streets on the routes which it was proposed they should take were appropriately decorated; and the people, making the day one of general holiday, turned out in immense crowds, and posted themselves at every available point to witness the royal progress. Their royal highnesses, accompanied by Prince John of Glücksburg, arrived at Queen Street Station, from Edinburgh, shortly after noon, and were received by Lord Provost Lumsden, who was presented by the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, and by the Lord Justice-General John Inglis, then Lord Rector of the University, Lord Advocate Moncrieff, Sir James Campbell of Stracathro, Sheriff Bell, Mr. Hamilton of Dalzell, Principal Barclay, the Professors of the College in their gowns, and the members of the municipality in court costume.

After the presentation ceremonies were over, the procession started. The order was as follows:—Body of police, detachment of the Queen's Own Glasgow Yeomanry, the chief constable, twelve carriages containing the professors and officials of the university, eleven carriages containing the members of the municipality and the sheriff of the county, detachment of yeomanry, the royal carriage, detachment of yeomanry, three carriages containing the royal suite, two carriages containing the sheriffs-substitute, concluding with another detachment of yeomanry and a body of police. The streets, barricaded for the safety

of the great crowds that lined them, were guarded by the local volunteers. By way of George Square, Ingram Street, North Albion Street, and College Street, the procession passed to the college amid the loyal plaudits of the people. Having gone through the old building, the royal party proceeded to the City Hall, where there was an assemblage of between two and three thousand persons. On the platform were the Lord Rector, Principal Barclay, the Marquis of Bute, Sir James Fergusson, Mr. Robert Dalglish, M.P., Mr. William Graham, M.P., Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, Lord Provost Lumsden, the members of the Town Council, and other public bodies, together with many of the district gentry. Their royal highnesses, on entering the hall, were greeted with the utmost enthusiasm. At the close of the preliminary ceremonies, the Lord Provost presented the Prince of Wales with an address from the corporation, and with the freedom of the city. In reply, the Prince said:—"It is a peculiar satisfaction to have become a freeman of so ancient a corporation, and of a city whose loyalty to the Queen and the royal family has on this and previous occasions been so conspicuously displayed."

Upon the conclusion of this interesting incident, the procession was re-formed, and went by way of Stirling Street, High Street, and Trongate, to the new university buildings at Gilmorehill. All along the route an immense concourse of people was thronged, and the loyal manifestations were frequent and hearty.

When the procession had arrived at Gilmorehill, a meeting of the Senatus of the university was constituted, and Sir James Fergusson, as Dean of Faculties, proposed that on the Prince of Wales and Prince John of Glücksburg be conferred the honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws. Of course, the graceful proposal was adopted, and their royal highnesses were duly "capped." The Choral Union, under the leadership of Mr. H. A. Lambeth, then sang the National Anthem. Principal Barclay presented an address from the university to the Prince of Wales, who said, in reply:—"It affords me the greatest satisfaction to become a member and graduate of the university, and at the same time to visit a city, the close connection of which with you has been so beneficial to both, as well as to the interests of learning and knowledge. The presence of so many of all classes of the citizens of Glasgow around me, and their liberal subscriptions for the prosecution of the work we are engaged in to-day, attest the value they attach to its completion, and their sense of the advantages they and the people of Scotland derive from your institution." The Lord Provost then formally requested the Prince to lay the foundation-stone; and after Professor John Caird had offered up prayer, his royal highness acceded to

the petition. The ceremony concluded, the Choral Union sang the Hallelujah chorus.

The royal party next visited Lord Provost Lumsden's residence in Bath Street, where they partook of luncheon; and shortly after six o'clock in the evening they left Glasgow by train for Edinburgh, having expressed themselves highly gratified at the day's proceedings. In the evening, on the invitation of the Lord Provost, a large company, composed of the university authorities, the members of the Town Council, and others who had taken part in the demonstration, sat down to a banquet in the Corporation Galleries. The city was in a stir until a late hour, and numerous illuminations were made in honour of the occasion. Lord Provost Lumsden had afterwards conferred upon him the distinction of knighthood.

In respect of other matters, the year 1868 was an important one to Glasgow. By the passing of the Scotch Reform Act of 1868, which, to a certain extent, assimilated the franchise in Scotland to that of England—a burgh franchise for all householders rated for the relief of the poor, and a county franchise based either on £5 clear annual value of property, or an annual occupation of £14 a year—six additional members of Parliament were given to the northern kingdom. Glasgow obtained one of these members, two were given to the four universities, and three to counties. On Tuesday, the 17th November, 1868, the new constituency of Glasgow for the first time exercised its privilege of voting for three Parliamentary representatives. For some months prior to the election the city had been eagerly canvassed, and the political instincts of the community were fully awakened to the importance of the event. Four candidates solicited the suffrages of the electors. Messrs. Robert Dalglish and William Graham, who had represented the city in several Parliaments, again came forward, and along with them, in the Liberal interest, was Mr. George Anderson. Sir George Campbell of Succoth entered the lists on behalf of the Conservative party, in the hope of obtaining the "minority seat." It was the first experience the Glasgow people had of the "three-cornered constituency" system, but the event showed that the method of working it to secure a party triumph was not altogether unknown. On the election day, many people were unable to work from excitement, and at the polling booths throughout the city groups of local politicians gathered and discussed the state of the poll at the various periods of the issue of the numbers for each candidate. The result was that there were 18,281 votes recorded for Mr. Dalglish, 18,090 for Mr. Graham, 17,804 for Mr. Anderson, and 10,814 for Sir George Campbell—a victory for the three Liberals. It need hardly be stated that the event was celebrated by great party rejoicings.

Under the new Act the Parliamentary constituency of Glasgow was 47,854, as against 18,361 immediately previous to its being passed; but of the 47,854 electors, only 37,735 recorded their votes at this contest.

The election of the first member of Parliament for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen commenced on the 2nd December following, and was concluded on the 7th of the same month. The candidates were Mr. James Moncrieff, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, Liberal; and Mr. Edward Strathearn Gordon, Lord Advocate, Conservative. Mr. Moncrieff is now Lord Moncrieff, Lord Justice-Clerk; and Mr. Gordon became a Lord of Appeal with the title of Lord Gordon, an office which he held until his death a year ago. The result of the contest was that Moncrieff had a majority in Glasgow, while Gordon had a majority in Aberdeen, but the combined polling showed 2,067 votes recorded for Moncrieff, as against 2,020 for Gordon. Mr. Moncrieff was accordingly declared elected. At that time the constituency in the University of Glasgow was 2,360, and of that number 2,191 electors voted.

Fenianism had alarmed the whole kingdom in the later months of 1867 and the early months of 1868, and in Glasgow the authorities provided for the preservation of the peace in an emergeny by enrolment of special constables. In January of 1868, Michael Barrett and James O'Neil were apprehended for recklessly discharging fire-arms on the Green, and it was afterwards discovered that they had been connected with the Clerkenwell explosion on the 13th December previous. No outbreak occurred in Glasgow, and the Fenian agitation passed over without any unfortunate occurrences in the city. The question of encroachment on the Green again emerged in 1868. The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council had resolved to throw 2,216 square yards of the Green into Greenhead Street, but no sooner was the proposal known to the public, than it was immediately reprobated by large meetings of the citizens; and the vigilance committee, appointed at the time, obtained a suspension and interim interdict against the provost, magistrates, and council. After the lapse of eight months an amicable settlement was come to, it being agreed that the roadway in Greenhead Street should be eighteen feet wide, and the footpath eight feet wide, with palls and rails to mark the boundary of the Green. A joint minute was lodged in court, the interim interdict was recalled, and the action was dismissed. The lawyers' and other expenses incurred by the opposition amounted to £368, 1s. 1d. In the Parliamentary session of 1868-9, the corporation obtained Acts empowering them to purchase the properties and business of the two gas companies then in existence, and which had supplied the city with that commodity for many

years; and since that time the city has been supplied with gas from the corporation works, which are managed by a special committee of the Town Council.

The only event of special importance in Glasgow in 1869, was the installation of Lord Stanley, now the Earl of Derby, as Lord Rector of the University, on Thursday, 1st April of that year. He had been elected to the office at the beginning of the winter session. The inaugural address was delivered in the City Hall; and in the evening his lordship was entertained to dinner by the senatus of the college. Next day, he visited the Cathedral, the Royal Exchange, and the shipbuilding yard of Messrs. Randolph and Elder, and was present at a public banquet given in his honour. On Saturday, the Glasgow Working Men's Conservative Association presented him with an address, and in reply he delivered a speech bearing upon the political questions then before the country.

Again the bridges over the Clyde came into prominence. The Hutchesontown Bridge—the foundation-stone of which was laid by Preceptor Robert Dalglish, on the 18th August, 1829, and which was opened in the following year—had become inconvenient and insecure, and it had to be closed on the 20th June, 1868. A wooden accommodation bridge was erected to the west of the condemned structure; and the erection of a new permanent bridge was proceeded with immediately on the removal of its predecessor. The foundation-stone of this, the Albert Bridge, was laid by the Earl of Dalhousie, Grand Master Mason of Scotland, with full masonic honours, on the 3rd June, 1870. On the occasion the Earl was presented with the freedom of the city. The Grand Lodge was opened in the chapter house of the Cathedral, and afterwards the Rev. Dr. Burns, incumbent of the city parish and Provincial Grand Chaplain, conducted Divine service in presence of the Earl of Dalhousie, Grand Master, Lord Rosehill, Grand Sword-Bearer, Lord Provost Rae Arthur, and a large congregation. Outside the Cathedral, a procession, including about three thousand masons, was formed, and marched, amid a drenching rain, down High Street, along George Street, down Buchanan Street, along Argyle Street and Trongate, and down Saltmarket. At the Justiciary Court House, the procession passed through a triumphal arch. The foundation-stone was then laid by the Earl of Dalhousie in the presence of an immense multitude. A dinner was given by the Lord Provost and the members of the Bridges Trust in the Corporation Galleries in the evening, and the Earl, the brethren of the Grand Lodge, and others were present. On the 21st June, 1871, the bridge, named after the late Prince Consort, was opened for traffic, its cost being about £50,000.

The university buildings at Gilmorehill, though not com-

pleted, had been so far advanced as to be ready for occupation for the winter session of 1870-71; and on the 7th November, 1870, the opening meeting was held within them, the last meeting having been held in the Old College on the 28th July previous. At the opening ceremony in the Lower Hall of the Museum at the College, the Duke of Montrose, as Chancellor of the University, presided, being surrounded by all the great dignitaries of the institution, and many congratulatory speeches were delivered. The officials were entertained to dinner in the evening in the Corporation Galleries by a committee of subscribers. The buildings thus inaugurated made a noteworthy addition to the architecture of the city. They are 540 feet long by 300 feet broad; and in form are rectangular, having two courts, divided by the handsome Common Hall, now being built at the expense of the Marquis of Bute, who has given £40,000 for that purpose. The tower at the southern, or front elevation, is 150 feet high, and the spire, yet to be completed, will have a similar altitude. To the west of the college are the professors' houses; and to the west of them, again, is the Western Infirmary, built shortly afterwards, and measuring 500 feet by 240 feet.

Harbour accommodation was a matter giving considerable anxiety to the Clyde Navigation Trustees. The construction of tidal docks had long been spoken of, but no very decided step had been taken in that direction until the Kingston Dock was begun, and ultimately opened to shipping in 1867. However, as early as 1845, the Trust had purchased thirty-five acres at Stobcross for dock purposes; and in the following year they obtained an Act of Parliament for the construction of a tidal basin and a wet dock at that place, having a combined water area of seventeen acres, with sixteen acres, or 1,458 lineal yards of quayage. This scheme lay in abeyance for many years, until, in 1864, the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company obtained an Act authorising the construction of a branch from their Helensburgh line to the proposed dock, with a station to the north of it. Consequent upon some financial difficulties of the railway company, an agreement was come to between the company and the Clyde Trustees for laying the line farther to the north, and for the construction of a greatly extended dock, the latter also agreeing to contribute a loan of £150,000 to the railway company towards the making of the lines. In 1870, the parties to this agreement obtained parliamentary sanction to their joint proposals, and they both proceeded to implement them.

On the 10th August, 1870, "an Act to authorise the construction of Street Tramways in certain parts of the City of Glasgow and its Suburbs" received the royal assent. The Act authorised the laying down of certain tramway lines, the incorporation

of the promoters into a limited liability company, and confirmed the heads of an agreement between the company and the corporation of Glasgow. Under the heads of agreement referred to the corporation were to lease the tramways for twenty-three years from the 1st July, 1871, to the company, which was to be called the Glasgow Tramway and Omnibus Company (Limited), and which was to have a capital of not less than £200,000. On the 16th November, 1871, a lease was entered into between the corporation and the Glasgow Tramway Company. Under this lease the corporation bound themselves to construct the tramway lines, the money to be raised or borrowed by them; but the company was to pay the corporation the interest paid by them on the tramways on account, and all the expenses of the Glasgow Street Tramways Act, 1870, and other expenses. The company was also to pay the corporation three per cent. per annum on the gross sum expended on capital account, this percentage to be set aside as a sinking fund to be applied towards the reduction or extinction of the cost of constructing the tramways. The other obligations of the company were that they were to maintain the tramways and the roadway between the lines in good condition, and so deliver them up at the end of the lease; and they were to pay the corporation £150 per annum for every mile of street upon which traffic had been carried on. An Act was obtained by the corporation in July, 1871, authorising them to borrow a sum not exceeding £200,000 for the purpose of constructing the tramways; and by another Act obtained in 1875, their borrowing powers were increased to £300,000. On the 13th July, 1871, the Vale of Clyde Tramways Act received the royal assent.

With the beginning of the eighth decade of the nineteenth century, it is again necessary to refer to the statistics of Glasgow, and see what had been the progress of the city within the ten years that had elapsed since the last reckoning was made. The census for 1871 showed the population within the parliamentary and municipal boundary to be 477,710; including the ancient royalty, 490,442; and including the suburbs, 565,150. The municipal and parliamentary constituency in the same year was 52,033. There were 98,414 dwelling-houses occupied, and 2,090 unoccupied in that year; and the entire rental of the city for 1870-71, amounted to £2,126,324. The ordinary revenue of the corporation for the year ended 15th September, 1871, for itself and as administering the Bridges, Markets, and Public Parks and Galleries Trusts, was £58,535, 10s. 1d., and its ordinary expenditure was £39,413, 16s. 2d. The revenue of the City Improvement Trust was £58,130, 14s. 4d., and the expenditure, £40,961, 4s. 5d., leaving a surplus of £17,169, 9s. 11d.; while with assets valuing £952,257, 16s. 10d., and

£837,873, 3s. 11d. of debts, the net stock amounted to £114,384, 12s. 11d. The water area of the harbour was seventy-six acres; the quayage extended to 5,604 lineal yards; and the depth of water at high tide was twenty-three feet. The total number of arrivals in the harbour was 15,133 vessels, representing a gross tonnage of 1,949,708 tons—being 2,420 sailing vessels, of the aggregate of 361,009 tons; and 12,713 steam vessels, of the aggregate of 1,588,699 tons; while their maximum draught was twenty-two feet. The Clyde Trust for the year ended, 30th June, 1871, had a revenue of £164,188, 18s. 7d.; its ordinary expenditure in the same period was £133,883, 15s. 11d., leaving a surplus of £30,305, 2s. 8d.; but as there had been a total expenditure on new works and improvements of £221,653, 0s. 6d., there was an excess of expenditure on the year of £191,074, 17s. 10d. The total debt due by the Trust at 30th June, 1871, was £2,112,944, 16s. 11d. The customs revenue for the year ended 31st March, 1871, was £999,572, 9s. 7d. There were owned in Glasgow 895 vessels, of a tonnage of 433,016 tons; and the gross tonnage of goods inwards and outwards amounted to 1,986,194 tons. During the year 1870, 314,758 tons of coals and cinders had been shipped coastwise and for foreign ports from Glasgow. The declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from the harbour of Glasgow in 1871, was £9,853,057. Clyde shipbuilding had been rapidly increasing, the amount of new tonnage launched in 1871 being 196,229 tons, 132,984 tons over 1861. The number of depositors in the National Security Savings Bank was 73,808, and the amount at their credit was £1,819,442, 14s. 2d. In every other respect, the city showed signs of progress proportionate to the indications that have already been given.

An important advance was made in Glasgow by the formation of the Steel Company of Scotland (Limited), for the manufacture of steel according to the Siemen's process in 1871. The company erected works at Newton, a few miles from the city. Iron manufactures had enormously increased in all branches, and immense quantities of pig iron and coal were being annually exported. In this year, also, the City Improvement Trust obtained an Act of Parliament extending the time granted them under the act of 1866 for the compulsory purchase of lands. On the 14th August of 1871, a memorial fountain, erected in the Kelvingrove, or West End, Park, to commemorate the introduction of the Loch Katrine water supply, and the services rendered in connection with that great work by the late Lord Provost Stewart, was inaugurated. The municipal elections of November, 1872, were the first in Glasgow conducted under the ballot system. A terrible explosion occurred at the Tradeston Flour Mills on the 9th July, resulting in the death of fourteen

persons and the serious injury of many others. The cause of the catastrophe seemed a mystery, but scientific men came to the conclusion that it was due to the accumulation of explosive dust generated in the process of grinding. The "State" Line of steamships commenced to ply between Glasgow and New York in 1872.

By the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, it was incumbent upon the community of Glasgow to elect a School Board for the administration of educational affairs within the city. The election was appointed to take place on the 26th March, 1873, and for long previous to that date the suffrages of the ratepayers were sought from all kinds of platforms—from "use and wont" through a variety of grades to the most pronounced secularism. No fewer than thirty-nine candidates came forward for fifteen seats; but by the time of the election the interest seemed to a certain extent to have lessened, for out of 101,871 qualified voters only 52,804 went to the poll. The first chairman of the new board, which began its work amid noisy discussions on the question of opening the meetings with prayer, was Mr. Alexander Whitelaw, afterwards one of the members of Parliament for the city. The Govan and other district School Boards in the vicinity of Glasgow were elected about the same time.

An addition was made to the press of Glasgow by the publication, for the first time, on Monday, the 15th September, 1873, of *The Glasgow News*, a paper started in the Conservative interest. For some years previous, the *Evening Star* had been in existence; and there were thus, at this time, published in the city, three morning newspapers—*Herald*, *Mail*, and *News*, and two evening—*Citizen* and *Star*, besides several weekly journals of different complexions. The most notable of these weeklies was *The Bailie*, a comic and satirical journal which rapidly made itself a permanency in a city where, hitherto, comic literature had found no congenial abiding-place. The first number of *The Bailie* was published on Wednesday, the 23rd October, 1872.

Mr. Disraeli had been elected Lord Rector of the University in 1871, his opponent having been Mr. Ruskin; and in the November of 1873, he came to Glasgow to be formally installed, and to deliver his rectorial address. The installation ceremony took place in the Kibble Conservatory of the Botanic Gardens, Great Western Road, on the 19th November, and Mr. Disraeli had then conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. He then delivered, to a large audience composed chiefly of collegians, an address upon the principles to be observed by students for the attainment of success in life. After the ceremony he was entertained to luncheon by the university

authorities. In the evening, a non-political banquet was given in his honour in the City Hall; and in the same place, on the following day, he was presented with the freedom of the city by the corporation, delivering then an appropriate speech. Having visited the Royal Exchange and the Cathedral, Mr. Disraeli was entertained to luncheon in the Corporation Galleries by the municipality. Next day he fulfilled a number of public engagements; and, on Sunday, he, accompanied by Mr. E. S. Gordon, M.P. for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, attended the college chapel in his robes of office as Lord Rector. Upon the death of Principal Barclay in this year, the Rev. Dr. John Caird, Professor of Divinity, was presented to the vacant office of principal.

Again the extension of the municipal and county business required enlarged buildings. The handsome erection in Wilson Street had been found too limited in extent for all the purposes for which it was required, and it was ultimately decided that the municipal offices should be removed to new premises to be erected in Ingram Street, at the other end of the quadrangle, and that the older portion of the block should be given up entirely to sheriff-court business. Accordingly, the Municipal Buildings in Ingram Street were built, and were entered upon on the 24th February, 1874. They are of handsome appearance, and cost fully £43,000; but some structural defects, together with the growing inadequacy of their accommodation, have fixed upon the corporation the necessity of obtaining a site at the east side of George Square, on which it is intended to erect a Town Hall and municipal offices in every way worthy of the city.

In 1874, also, an addition to the Kelvingrove Museum was opened, having cost about £10,000. The original building was Kelvingrove mansion house, which had been altered for museum purposes, in 1871, by the corporation. After twelve o'clock on the night of Wednesday, 11th November, 1874, tolls on the Glasgow bridges were abolished, under the provisions of the Glasgow Bridges Consolidation Act, 1866.

A handsome bequest to the citizens of Glasgow was accepted by the Town Council in July, 1874. Mr. Stephen Mitchell, a prosperous city merchant, had left the sum of £66,998, 10s. 6d. for the institution of a large library to be accessible to the public free of charge. The council took immediate steps for the utilisation of the bequest: premises were secured in East Ingram Street, Mr. F. T. Barrett was appointed the first librarian, books were bought, and ultimately the library was formally opened on the 1st November, 1877, by Lord Provost Bain. By this time the interest accumulating on the original sum had raised it to £70,000. Previous to this period the ques-

tion of a free public library for the city had been frequently mentioned. Mr. Walter Stirling, merchant, had, in 1791, bequeathed the sum of £1,000, some heritable property, and his own collection of books, for the institution of a public library; but its benefits were confined to subscribers until 1848, when they were extended to the general public for a few hours every day. This library was, however, found to be inadequate, from a variety of causes, to the needs of the city; and, in 1864, Lord Provost Blackie brought the question of the adoption of the Free Libraries Acts under the notice of the Town Council. A committee appointed to consider the matter reported in favour of the adoption of the Acts. This report was adopted by the council; but no action followed upon it, though Councillor J. L. Lang made various attempts to stimulate the public mind to the adoption of the Acts. Another bequest had by this time been left the city for library purposes. Mr. George Baillie, senior member of the Faculty of Procurators, had, in 1863, devised a sum of £18,000 to the dean and council of the Faculty of Procurators for the endowment and maintenance of an institution to be called Baillie's Institution. The fund was not to be available for twenty-one years from the date of gift; and it was, in the first instance, to be applied to "aid the self-culture of the operative classes from youth to manhood and old age, by furnishing them with warm, well-lighted, and every way comfortable accommodation at all seasons for reading useful and interesting books in apartments of proper size, attached to one or more free libraries provided for them;" and, in the second instance, for providing the education and industrial training of children of the same class gratuitously or on the payment of small fees. The library or libraries were to be kept open on Sundays; and in the event of the money being insufficient for both purposes, the institution of the schools was to be deferred in favour of the libraries. This gift does not become operative until 1884, three years hence.

The second congress of the Social Science Association held in Glasgow, was opened by the Earl of Rosebery on the 30th September, 1874. The first congress held in the city was in 1860, when Lord Brougham presided. A most cordial welcome was given by the university authorities—who placed the college buildings at the disposal of the sections of the congress—and by the other public bodies; and the meeting was highly successful.

CHAPTER LVII.

(Circa A.D. 1875.)

Norman Macleod, William Anderson, John Eadie, Thomas Barclay, Patrick Fairbairn, and Robert Buchanan—Sir Archibald Alison, Henry Glassford Bell, Peter Mackenzie, and John Buchanan—William John Macquorn Rankine, Archibald and James Smith, and Thomas Graham—Robert and David Napier, John Elder, and Charles Randolph—George and Robert Smith—Robert Dalglish, Alexander Whitelaw, Sir James Campbell, and Alexander Dennistoun—The Bairds of Gartsherrie.

Before concluding the record of the history of Glasgow, nothing can be more appropriate than to bring together a few biographical notes concerning those men who have, in a variety of ways, contributed to the prosperity and importance of the city in these later days, but who have now "gone over to the great majority." Many of those whose names are mentioned in the following pages made not a little credit for themselves throughout the world, and that credit was largely reflected on the community of which they were members. Their labours in the regions of religion, literature, science, commerce, or the industrial arts are not yet forgotten, and on that account short sketches of their lives here need no apology; rather, they will be all the more interesting that their subjects but a few years ago walked the streets of the ancient city of St. Mungo, and actively participated in its affairs.

The memory of the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod is still revered by all sections of the community of Glasgow, as the recent unveiling of his statue in the vicinity of the church in which he ministered amply testifies. He was a "son of the manse," having been born on the 3rd June, 1812, in Campbeltown, while his father, also named Norman, was minister there. The elder Norman became minister of the Glasgow Gaelic Church, now called St. Columba Church, in Hope Street, in 1836. In that year he was moderator of the General Assembly. Norman Macleod, junior, was then attending the University of Glasgow; and when Sir Robert Peel was nominated for the Lord Rectorship, he took an active part in the promotion of the right hon. gentleman's candidature; while at the banquet given to Peel, he was called upon to respond to the toast of the students who had voted for that eminent statesman. This is said to have

been his first public appearance, though it gave no indication of the future popularity of the young divine. After being ordained, he became minister of the parish of Loudon, in Ayrshire, and in 1843 he was presented to the parish of Dalkeith. During the Disruption period, he published anonymously a number of pamphlets dealing with the questions at issue, but it was regarded as an "open secret" that he was their author, as his individuality was unmistakably imprinted upon them. In 1851, Norman Macleod succeeded the late Rev. Dr. Black, as minister of the Barony parish of Glasgow. Here he continued until his death, and so popular had he become, not only locally, but throughout the kingdom, that strangers were thought not to have seen Glasgow properly unless they had been in the Barony Church when the great Norman occupied the pulpit. He had also become a favourite at Court, and in 1854, there was conferred upon him the honour of being one of Her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland and Dean of the Order of the Thistle. He was appointed editor of *Good Words* in 1860, and in 1869 he filled the post of moderator of the General Assembly. At length, after a busy lifetime, he died on the 10th June, 1872, aged sixty years, and was buried in Campsie Kirkyard. During his residence in Glasgow, Dr. Macleod took an active interest in the affairs of the city, in church extension, and in educational matters. Besides his contributions to *Good Words*, he wrote in various magazines; and some of his works are highly esteemed, notably, *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish*, *The Old Lieutenant*, and *The Starling*. The utmost regret was felt in Glasgow at his decease; and the hearty reception awarded his biography, recently published, by his brother, Rev. Dr. Donald Macleod, Park Church, Glasgow, and the erection of the monument already referred to, evince the esteem in which his memory is held.

Another popular divine was the Rev. Dr. William Anderson, minister of John Street U.P. Church. He was born in Kilsyth, in 1800, and having been educated at Glasgow University, he was settled in John Street Church in 1822. The ability and the eccentricities of his preaching drew large congregations, and until his death in September, 1872, he was regarded as one of the most eminent pulpit orators in Glasgow. He published a number of theological works.

But perhaps the most scholarly clergyman in Glasgow during the period here treated of was the Rev. Dr. John Eadie. Born in humble circumstances at Alva, in Stirlingshire, in 1813, he received the elements of his education in a school at Tillicoultry, and afterwards attended Glasgow University and the United Secession Divinity Hall. He was a laborious and successful student, and by the time he had reached his twenty-first year,

he was inducted minister of Cambridge Street U.P. Church, Glasgow. Having preached there for a quarter of a century, he removed with his congregation to a larger and more elegant church on the Great Western Road, at Kelvin Bridge. This was Lansdowne U. P. Church, built at a cost of about £12,000. In the year 1841, Eadie published an abridged edition of Cruden's Concordance; and two years later he was appointed Professor of Biblical Literature in the Divinity Hall of the U.P. Church. His other works were numerous, the more notable of them being a *Biblical Encyclopedia*, *An Analytical Concordance of the Holy Scriptures*, *Ecclesiastical Cyclopedia of Antiquities*, *&c.*, and a *Life of Dr. Kitto*. He was appointed a member of the committee for the revision of the New Testament, the result of whose labours was recently published; and he received the degree of LL.D. from his *Alma Mater*, and that of D.D. from the University of St. Andrews. He died in June, 1876.

Thomas Barclay, D.D., late Principal of the University of Glasgow, was the son of the Rev. James Barclay, minister of Unst, in Shetland, where he was born, in 1792. At King's College, Aberdeen, where he studied for the church, he greatly distinguished himself; and at the close of his curriculum he spent four years in London, acting as a Parliamentary reporter for the *Times*. In 1822, he was settled in one of the Shetland parishes. Afterwards, he held the incumbencies of the parishes of Lerwick, Peterculter in Aberdeenshire, and Currie in Midlothian. Upon the death of Principal Macfarlan, he was, in 1858, appointed Principal of Glasgow University. Barclay died in February, 1873, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was succeeded in the office of Principal by John Caird, D.D., who had from 1862 been Professor of Divinity.

The Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, D.D., Principal of the Free Church College, Glasgow, who died on the 6th August, 1874, was long and favourably known in Glasgow. Born in 1806, he studied for the church, and after holding the parish of North Ronaldshay, he was, in 1836, presented to Bridgeton Church, Glasgow; he was afterwards translated to Salton. Leaving the Church of Scotland at the Disruption, he became a professor in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, in 1853; and in 1856, he was appointed principal and first professor of theology in the denominational college in Glasgow, a post which he held until his death. Principal Fairbairn was the author of several Biblical works.

The Rev. Robert Buchanan, D.D., another eminent Free Church divine, was born at Gargunnock, about the year 1802. Receiving his education at the University of Glasgow, he was ordained in 1827. From 1833 until 1843, he was minister of the Tron

Church, Glasgow; and in the latter year, he became the first minister of the Free Tron Church. In 1857, he was appointed to the Free College Church; and three years later he was elected moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church. Dr. Buchanan was one of the most prominent of the founders of his denomination, having organised its now handsome Sustentation Fund, and having written *The Ten Years' Conflict*, a work which thoroughly explains the cause of the Disruption. After a laborious life, he died on the 30th March, 1875, at the age of seventy-three years.

Archibald Alison was born in December, 1792, at Kenly, in Shropshire, his father being curate of Brancepeth and a prebendary of Sarum. He studied at Edinburgh University, and was afterwards admitted advocate. In 1834, he was appointed Sheriff of Lanarkshire, and while in that position, he wrote his stupendous work, the *History of Europe*, together with biographies of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Castlereagh. Honours were showered upon him. He was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University in 1850, was made a baronet in 1852, a D.C.L. of Oxford in 1855; also, he became Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen. Sir Archibald Alison's residence was at Possil House, the site of which is now taken up by the Saracen Foundry at the new suburb of Possilpark. On the 23rd May, 1867, he died at the age of seventy-five years; and was succeeded in his titles by his son, Sir Archibald Alison, Bart, K.C.B., who has distinguished himself in recent wars.

Henry Glassford Bell, the author of the well-known poem *Mary Queen of Scots*, had been a sheriff-substitute during the principalship of Sir Archibald Alison, and upon the death of that eminent lawyer and historian, he was promoted to the vacant office. He was descended from old Glasgow families, and was born in the city in 1805. His father was a lawyer, and sent his son to the High School and Edinburgh University, for the purpose of educating him for a legal career. At that time Sir Walter Scott, De Quincey, Sir William Hamilton, Francis Jeffrey, John Wilson, James Hogg, and others, were the leaders of literature in the Scottish metropolis, and as Bell's tastes were more of a literary than a legal kind, he gave himself up to the fascinations of the circle consisting of the men whose names have been given. At the age of twenty-three, in 1828, he undertook the editorship of the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, a magazine which, though not absolutely a pecuniary success, could number among its contributors Thomas Aird, Robert Chambers, James Hogg, Mrs. Hemans, Percy Bysshe Shelley, James Thomson, Bell himself, and others not unknown to fame. These pursuits seriously interfered with Bell's study of the law, and it was not until 1832 that he was admitted a member of

the Faculty of Advocates. In 1836, he was a candidate for the chair of Logic in the University of Edinburgh, but Sir William Hamilton was preferred to the appointment. Two years later he acted as junior counsel to the Glasgow cotton-spinners who were on trial for conspiracy; and so well did he acquit himself that Sir Archibald Alison, in 1839, made him a sheriff-substitute. In 1830, he had published the *Life of Mary Queen of Scots.* Upon the death of Alison in 1867, Bell became sheriff-principal, and continued in that office until his decease at Glasgow on the 7th January, 1874.

Peter Mackenzie was born in Glasgow in 1799. In early life he was trained for a legal career, and gave considerable promise; but, as he says in his *Reminiscences*, the itch for writing made a journalist of him. During the Reform period he was an active participator in the movement in Glasgow, and to him the people of these quieter times are indebted for much interesting matter concerning the doings in the city throughout those troublous years preceding the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832. To a large extent the history of Glasgow at that time was bound up with Peter Mackenzie. He afterwards started and conducted *The Reformers' Gazette*, a paper popular for many years, but which had ultimately to succumb to the competition of powerful neighbours. In the columns of that journal he, from time to time, under the *nom de plume* of "St. Mungo's Bell," contributed some most interesting memoranda about Glasgow in the olden time. Mackenzie in 1866, published his *Reminiscences of Glasgow.* On the 18th March, 1875, he died at the age of seventy-six years. He was, perhaps, the best known man in the city about the middle of the present century, and certainly no one could supply more interesting gossip on Glasgow affairs in the early decades than could Peter Mackenzie.

John Buchanan, the "J. B." of *Glasgow, Past and Present*, was one of the most capable of Glasgow antiquarians. He was the son of John Buchanan of Slatefield, and was born in Glasgow in November, 1802. Educated at the university, and passing advocate in 1836, he became Secretary to the Western Bank, continuing in that office until the bank failure in 1857. On West of Scotland, and especially Glasgow, antiquities he was an eminent authority, and his contributions on such matters to the *Glasgow Herald* and to *Glasgow, Past and Present*—which was largely composed of what had previously been published in the *Herald*—were of the highest value. Buchanan died on the 28th June, 1878.

William John Macquorn Rankine, born in Edinburgh in 1820, was the son of a railway director who had formerly been an officer in the Rifle Brigade. After attending Edinburgh University, he commenced business as a civil engineer in his native

city, but he ultimately removed to Glasgow, being, in 1855, appointed Professor of Civil Engineering and Mechanics in Glasgow University. He was an advocate of the Loch Katrine water scheme, and he published many valuable works connected with his own particular branch of knowledge. He was an LL.D. of Dublin University, besides being the promoter and first president of the Institution of Engineers in Scotland. Professor Rankine died in December, 1872.

Archibald Smith of Jordanhill, LL.D., F.R.S., died on the 26th December, 1872, and thus, about the same time, Glasgow lost two men whose investigations into the principles of engineering and mechanics had, by reflection, given it honour. Smith was the descendant of an old Glasgow family, and was born in the year 1814. His whole lifetime was devoted to studies in the construction of iron ships. His researches into compass deviations are regarded as specially valuable. He was a member of many learned societies, and was known in scientific circles throughout Europe. James Smith, father of the subject of the preceding lines, was esteemed for his valuable papers to geographical and geological societies. He published a work entitled *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, and several others of a like nature, among them being *The Ships and Navigation of the Ancients*. He was born on the 15th August, 1782, and died on the 17th January, 1867.

Thomas Graham was another native of Glasgow eminent in the scientific world. He was born in this city on the 20th December, 1805, and received his education at the university. After being lecturer on Chemistry in the Mechanics Institution, and professor of the same science in Anderson's College, he became the occupant of the chair of Chemistry in the University College, London, in 1837. In 1855, he succeeded Sir John Herschel as Master of the Mint. He published a work, *The Elements of Chemistry;* was a fellow of the Royal Society; and a D.C.L. He died in September, 1869; and a statue, the gift of Mr. Young of Kelly, and the work of Brodie, has been erected to his memory in George Square.

Robert Napier, born on the 18th June, 1791, in Dumbarton, may almost be regarded as the father of shipbuilding at Glasgow. He was a blacksmith, and worked as apprentice and journeyman with his father, who followed the same occupation. After being employed for some time in Edinburgh with Robert Stephenson, the lighthouse engineer, he began for himself in Glasgow in May, 1815, his cousin, David Napier, having a flourishing business in the city at the time, and having assisted Bell in the construction of the "Comet." Robert Napier's first workshop was in Greyfriars Wynd, but finding that place too restricted, he removed to Camlachie Foundry, where he supplied pipes to

the Glasgow Water Company, and made a number of improved engines, his first marine engine being constructed in 1823. Afterwards he made another change to the Vulcan Foundry, in Washington Street. He was one of the promoters of the Liverpool and Glasgow line of steamers, for which he supplied the engines; while later, he built and engined the pioneers of the Cunard line. The firm of Messrs. R. Napier & Sons had been formed, and from their yard at Govan many war-ships for the British and other Governments were launched. Robert Napier died at his residence at Shandon, on the Gareloch, on the 23rd June, 1876, after having made for himself an honourable name and fortune, and having conferred extraordinary benefits upon Great Britain, especially in the development of the resources of the Clyde. His valuable collection of pictures and curiosities realised about £50,000 at his death. David Napier, his cousin, had also done much for marine engineering, and had been largely instrumental in establishing steam communication between Belfast and the Clyde, and Dublin and Holyhead. He was born in 1790, and died in 1869.

John Elder was the son of David Elder, manager to Robert Napier, and was born in 1824. He was an apprentice under his father, and, in 1852, he joined Charles Randolph, who at that time carried on an engineering business specially devoted to millwright work. After this junction, the firm turned its attention to marine engineering, and latterly to shipbuilding, founding the Fairfield yard, now the largest place of the kind in Scotland, perhaps in the world. Elder prepared the design for a circular ironclad, but never carried it into effect, and it has been matter for controversy whether he or Admiral Popoff were the first to originate the idea. Popoff's latest development of the notion, the "Livadia," was constructed by Mr. Pearce, the present head of the firm of John Elder & Co. Elder died in September, 1869. His partner, Charles Randolph, was born in Stirling in 1808, and having been educated at Glasgow High School, he served his apprenticeship as an engineer under Robert Napier. In 1834, he founded the firm of Randolph & Co., being joined, as already stated, by John Elder in 1852. These two men signalised themselves for their many and important improvements on marine engines; and in the ten years subsequent to 1861 they built no less than 115 vessels, of a gross tonnage of 125,461 tons. Randolph retired from the firm in 1868, and died two years later. His widow granted a handsome gift for the further endowment of the chair of Engineering and Mechanics in the University of Glasgow.

George Smith, of the firm of Messrs. George Smith & Sons, founders of the "City" Line, was born at Saltcoats, in 1803. In company with his father, George Smith, and his brother

Robert, he began business as a draper in Glasgow about the year 1826; and in 1840, his firm became shipowners. The first ship for George Smith & Sons was launched in 1842, and from that time the vessels belonging to them gradually increased in number, in efficiency, and in popularity. George Smith, the subject of this notice, took charge of the shipping business; and from 1858 to 1873 he was a member of the Clyde Trust. He died on the 3rd March, 1876. Robert Smith, brother to George, was two years his senior, having been born at Saltcoats in 1801. He was a beneficent promoter of the temperance cause in Glasgow, and for many years was president of the Scottish Temperance League. His death took place at Hafton on the 26th July, 1873.

Robert Dalglish of Kilmardinny was born in Glasgow in 1808, and was educated at the university of his native city. He afterwards joined his father's firm of R. Dalglish, Falconer, & Co., calico printers, having their works at Campsie and their offices in Glasgow, and by his enterprise he greatly extended the sphere of their operations. He largely interested himself in public affairs, and in 1857, along with Walter Buchanan, he was returned as one of the Parliamentary representatives of Glasgow, occupying that honourable position until his resignation in 1874. While in Parliament he was a hard-working member, and was esteemed for his shrewd and general knowledge of all matters relating to the commerce of the country. He sat on the Liberal side of the House. Mr. Dalglish died on the 20th June, 1880.

Alexander Whitelaw was born in the parish of Old Monkland, in 1823, and afterwards joined the firm of the Bairds of Gartsherrie, being a grandson of Alexander Baird of Lochwood. He possessed eminent business qualities, and worked with zeal among local affairs in Glasgow. In 1873, he was returned a member of the first Glasgow School Board, and had the honour to be its first chairman. Again, at the Parliamentary election, in 1874, he became the first Conservative member for Glasgow since the passing of the Reform Bill. He died on the 1st July, 1879, after a long illness.

Sir James Campbell of Stracathro was born in 1790. He founded the firm of Messrs. J. & W. Campbell, warehousemen, Glasgow; was Lord Provost in 1840-43, and was knighted in connection with the birth of the Prince of Wales in 1842; and died on the 10th September, 1876. Alexander Dennistoun, of Golfhill, was born in Glasgow in 1790. Afterwards he became head of the firm of J. & A. Dennistoun, and in 1835-7, he represented Dumbartonshire in Parliament. Having, in 1836, succeeded his father in the Golfhill estate, he feued it and founded the district of the city now known as Dennistoun. He died on the 15th July, 1874.

James Baird, of Cambusdoon, was the son of a small farmer in the parish of Old Monkland, being born there in 1803. Along with several of his brothers, he was one of the founders of the firm of the Bairds of Gartsherrie. From 1851 to 1857, he sat in Parliament as member for the Falkirk district of burghs. His great interest in the Church of Scotland was shown by his having, in July, 1873, instituted the Baird Trust, and devoted the sum of £500,000 for the promotion of the spread of the Gospel in connection with that church. His death took place at Cambusdoon, near Ayr, on the 20th June, 1876. Alexander Baird, of Ury, born in 1799, and dying in 1862, had been a member of the Town Council of Glasgow, and River Bailie; and Robert Baird of Auchmeddan, born in 1806, and dying in 1856, had been Lord Dean of Guild in Glasgow in 1855-6. The other members of the firm at Gartsherrie, were—Douglas Baird of Closeburn, born 1808, and died 1854; and William Baird of Ellie, born 1796, and died 1864. This firm, perhaps, more than any other, developed the iron-producing resources of the west of Scotland, and helped the prosperity of Glasgow as the centre and shipping port of the western iron and coal district.

CHAPTER LVIII.

(A.D. 1875 TO A.D. 1878.)

The Suburban Burghs and City Extension—Rival Claimants for "No-Man's Land"—The Partick Riots—Meeting of British Association in Glasgow—The Prince and Princess of Wales again in the City—Laying of Foundation-Stone of New Post Office—Erection of the Burns Monument—Dispute in the Shipbuilding Trades—Restoration of the Roman Catholic Archbishopric of Glasgow.

THE year 1875 will long be memorable for the great fight which took place in the committee rooms of the Houses of Parliament between Glasgow and its suburban burghs. For some years past, the rapid development of the population and resources of the city had fairly outstripped any corresponding extension of its municipal boundaries, and, as a consequence, there was a large and important population just beyond these boundaries. Many persons removed from the city proper, in order to obtain the advantages of suburban residence; others, and this was

specially the case in the vicinity of the Clyde, left the city because of the proximity of the outlying districts to their places of employment. As these districts developed, and became "populous places," steps were taken by their inhabitants to have them formed into police burghs, in order that they might obtain the amenities of burghal rule with suburban residence. In this way, the old village of Partick, with the terraces and public works in its neighbourhood, was erected a burgh in 1851, in which year, also, Maryhill attained to a similar dignity. Govan, or to speak more accurately, the ancient village of Meikle Govan, by this time the seat of extensive shipbuilding, became a burgh in 1862; in 1869, Hillhead, and in 1871, Kinning Park and Crosshill—the first beyond the western, the second beyond the south-western, and the third some distance to the south of the southern boundary of the city—were made burghs. All these burghs, with two exceptions, were in Lanarkshire, the exceptions being Crosshill and Kinning Park, which were in Renfrewshire. Of course, their erection into burghal communities independent of the mother-city was looked upon by the Glasgow corporation with no favour, as they considered that the suburban burghs were really portions of Glasgow, that their inhabitants enjoyed all the privileges of Glasgow citizenship, and in that event were entitled, if they wished municipal government, to be annexed to the city and pay city assessment. This difference of opinion between the two parties found expression in a variety of ways; but with the exception of several small additions of territory—one in 1872, which included the new university buildings on Gilmorehill—the municipality of Glasgow never prevailed against its suburbs. In 1875, however, the battle was renewed in a more determined form. Between the Glasgow boundary and that of Crosshill, there lay a small strip of Lanarkshire which, owing to the fact that it was under no burghal government, though surrounded by it, was dubbed "No-Man's Land." The authorities of the burgh of Crosshill thought they might extend their area so as to include this territory, and for that purpose they promoted an extension bill before Parliament. The Glasgow Town Council, as a countermove, presented for Parliamentary sanction a bill for including "No-Man's Land" within their own boundary. A fair issue was now raised; and in the committee rooms of the House of Commons, each party strove to show that under their individual rule the debatable land would be best cared for. Witnesses for Glasgow praised the city government and resources, and deprecated those of Crosshill; while witnesses for that burgh reversed the praise and deprecation. It was felt, indeed, that the question of the existence of the suburban burghs was at stake, and the authorities of most of these burghs gave their moral

and material assistance to Crosshill. In the end, after evidence on both sides had been led, the House of Commons Committee threw out the Glasgow bill, and approved of the preamble of the Crosshill bill, which was, however, ultimately disapproved of by a committee of the House of Lords. The result was looked upon as a victory of the burghs against Glasgow, and since that time, no attempt has been made by the city to annex its suburban neighbours; though within the last year or two a federation scheme proposed by Dr. Marwick, the Town Clerk of Glasgow, has been favourably discussed by all parties and interests. "No-Man's Land," about which so much was said, became an independent burgh in 1877, under the name of Govanhill; and since 1875, the burghs of Pollokshields and East Pollokshields have been formed in the suburban district to the south of the Kinning Park and Glasgow boundaries.

At the O'Connell Celebration on Saturday, the 5th August, 1875, riots of a somewhat serious nature occurred in Partick. The processionists, while passing through the burgh, are alleged to have been attacked by those of an opposite opinion, but the exact cause of the outbreak was never accurately discovered. Whatever may have been the beginning, Partick was in a disturbed state for two days; the Riot Act had to be read, and the assistance of the Glasgow police had to be obtained. No lives were lost, but some parties were severely injured. By the Monday evening, peace had been restored; and for some days after the magistrates of the burgh were engaged in trying the participators in the tumult.

Within the city, matters had been generally progressing; and on the 22nd May, 1875, the foundation-stone of handsome new public halls, known as St. Andrew's Halls, in Granville Street, in the west-end, was laid with full masonic honours. A fire, which destroyed two mills in Bridgeton district, and caused damages to the extent of about £300,000, broke out on the 2nd November of this year. The Clyde Trustees, having obtained an Act for the construction of a public graving dock, in 1868, had commenced operations in March, 1869, and the dock, the first public one of the kind on the Clyde, was opened in December, 1875. It is considered to be among the largest and finest in Great Britain, being 565 feet in length, 72 feet wide at the entrance, with 22 feet of water at high tide.

The question of the adoption of the Free Libraries Act in Glasgow had again come to the front, and was eagerly agitated by some very worthy citizens. A requisition was presented to Lord Provost Bain, and he, in accordance with its terms, called a public meeting of the ratepayers for the 17th April, 1876, to decide as to the adoption of the Act. The meeting, which was held in the City Hall, decided against the Act by 1779 votes to 993. Nothing in

this direction has since been done; though in the Mitchell and Stirling Libraries, the latter recently improved, the citizens of Glasgow are very well served. On the 28th September following, Mr. R. A. Cross, the Home Secretary, was presented with the freedom of the city, in recognition of the talent with which he had transacted the internal business of the State; and the right hon. gentleman, in his reply, referred in eulogistic terms to the operations of the Glasgow Improvement Trust, and to the beneficial effect these had had in reducing the mortality in the city. *The Evening Times* was first published on Monday, 6th July, of this year.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science having decided to hold its annual session in Glasgow, in 1876, several meetings of gentlemen connected with the various scientific and commercial interests of Glasgow were convened in the latter part of 1875, and arrangements were made for the visit of the association. The senate of the university offered their buildings at Gilmorehill for the accommodation of the *savans*. Local committees for the various departments were appointed, and by the time of the first meeting, on the 6th September, 1876, the arrangements were of the most complete and satisfactory character. On that day, the association met in the university, and Dr. Thomas Andrews, Professor of Chemistry, Queen's College, Belfast, was chosen president, and in the evening, in the Kibble Palace, Botanic Gardens, he delivered his opening address to a large and brilliant audience. The association continued sitting until the 13th September. In every respect, the meeting was of the most successful character. The guarantee fund, raised to meet the expenses of the visit of the association, amounted to £6,608, 10s.; and after paying all charges, the sum of £1,817, 4s., being 5s. 6d. in the £1, was returned to the subscribers ratably upon their subscriptions.

Another noteworthy event of 1876 was the laying of the foundation-stone of the new Post Office buildings in George Square. The old premises had long been found to be entirely inadequate to the increased and increasing postal business of the city; and it had ultimately been decided to take them down and build upon the site, greatly extended, a post office worthy the importance of the community. The buildings to the east of the old post office were accordingly acquired and pulled down, and the new erection was begun. On the 17th October, the Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone of that portion of the structure. His Royal Highness, with the Princess, Princes Albert Victor and George of Wales, and Prince John of Glücksburg, had for some days been the guest of Col. Campbell, at Blythswood House, Renfrew. The important day was, as

regards weather, most unpropitious; but, notwithstanding, the streets of Glasgow were beautifully decorated in honour of the occasion, and the citizens put on holiday attire. The directors of the Glasgow and South-Western Railway Company also anticipated the royal visit, by having the condition of their new station in St. Enoch's Square so far advanced that the royal train might be taken into it. Shortly before eleven o'clock, the Prince and Princess, with their company, arrived from Renfrew by train at St. Enoch's Station, and by their passage through it they informally participated in its inauguration for public traffic. The royal visitors were hailed with loyal cheers from vast multitudes as they drove in open carriages from the station to the Green. On the Green were assembled about 6,000 men, composing the local volunteer regiments; and in presence of the illustrious company the ordinary review movements were gone through. At the conclusion of the evolutions, the royal visitors drove to Lord Provost Bain's residence in Park Terrace, where they were entertained to luncheon. Shortly before five o'clock, the Prince, accompanied by a great procession, in which were nearly 8,000 Freemasons from all parts of the country, proceeded to George Square. Every available space on the square was occupied by a dense crowd eager to witness the ceremony, and when the royal party appeared they were cheered vociferously, and, notwithstanding the untoward state of the weather, the utmost enthusiasm prevailed. His Royal Highness laid the foundation-stone of the new edifice with full masonic honours, and at the conclusion, addressing the authorities and those in his immediate vicinity, he said:—"In wishing all success to your undertaking, let me not forget to mention the name of the distinguished founder of the penny postage system—Sir Rowland Hill, to whom we are all, rich and poor, so much indebted." The royal party left Glasgow for Renfrew about six o'clock in the evening. Later on, several districts of the city were illuminated in celebration of the event. The honour of knighthood was afterwards conferred upon Lord Provost Bain. That portion of the post office buildings in which this interesting ceremony took place has since been completed and utilised for postal purposes, and the old building has been taken down and the whole structure finished according to the full design.

The Burns' anniversary of 1877 was celebrated in Glasgow in a manner in every way creditable to the citizens. A committee, under the presidency of Bailie William Wilson, had been successful in obtaining a handsome subscription from the inhabitants of Glasgow for the erection of a memorial to the great Scottish bard in the Valhalla of the city—George Square—and the commission had been put into the hands of Mr. George Ewing, sculptor. On the 25th January, the statue was unveiled.

By eleven o'clock in the forenoon the trades and societies of the city and suburbs had assembled on the Green, and forming into procession they marched through the principal streets to George Square. Here about thirty thousand people had congregated. Lord Houghton unveiled the statue, and then delivered an oration on the genius of Burns. Bailie Wilson, on behalf of the committee of subscribers, requested Lord Provost Bain to accept of the statue on behalf of the city, a petition to which his lordship acceded in a graceful speech. In the evening, there was a banquet in the Crown Halls, Sauchiehall Street, under the presidency of Lord Houghton.

In the month of April following, the new Stock Exchange in Buchanan Street was opened, the cost of the building, which is in the medieval style of architecture, being upwards of £50,000. The Stock Exchange had been formed in June, 1844, when the railway mania was at its height, and then consisted of twenty-eight members. The Synod of the United Presbyterian Church held its annual session in Glasgow, in May, 1877. The Rev. Mr. France of Paisley was moderator; and the place of meeting was John Street U.P. Church. All the arrangements for the reception of the Synod were carried out by a local committee, and were of such a character as to render the meeting most successful. In the course of 1877, also, the St. Andrew's Halls were completed and opened, the total expenditure upon them being about £80,000. On the 15th November, the rectorial election took place at the university. Mr. Gladstone and Sir Stafford Northcote were the candidates, and the result was that 1,153 votes were recorded for the former against 609 for the latter. Mr. Gladstone was therefore declared elected. Great sufferings were caused among the operatives in the shipbuilding yards on the Clyde in the summer of this year through a strike and lock-out. The workmen desired increased wages, but the masters could not see their course clear to grant them. At last the men went out on strike, and as they would not give way the employers locked them out. This unfortunate state of matters continued until the approach of winter, when the men had to return to work upon the old terms. Intense sympathy was evoked in Glasgow by an explosion of fire-damp which occurred on the 22nd October, at one of the High Blantyre Collieries of Messrs. Dixon & Co. (Limited). Fully 230 miners lost their lives by the disaster. The citizens subscribed liberally for the benefit of the bereaved widows and orphans.

It has been seen that the Merchants' House opened their hall in Hutcheson Street in 1843, and these premises they occupied until 1869, when the Court-House Commissioners, under compulsory powers, acquired the building. From that time until 1877, the merchants rented temporary premises in Virginia

Street. In 1873, however, they had purchased a site for a new hall at the north-western corner of George Square, for the sum of £31,998, and on this there was built, at a cost of about £67,000, the most imposing and handsome erection ever possessed by this important body. The building is in the Italian style of architecture; and at the corner of the square and West George Street, there rises a tower 122 feet high, surmounted by the colossal insignia of the house. In connection with the structure is perhaps the handsomest and most elaborately decorated hall in Glasgow. The formal opening was celebrated by a dinner of the members on the 21st November, 1877, when Sir James Watson, Lord Dean of Guild, presided.

Glasgow was honoured with another visit from an ecclesiastical court in May, 1878. For the second time the General Assembly of the Free Church met in the city, and the sederunts in the St. Andrew's Halls were of the most encouraging nature. The Rev. Dr. Andrew A. Bonar, Glasgow, was moderator.

By the month of January, 1878, Pope Pius IX. had completed arrangements for the restoration of the Scotch hierarchy on something like its ancient basis. From the time of the Reformation that hierarchy had been non-existent, and the prelates of the Roman Catholic Church in the country had not been in possession of territorial designations. Under the proposed scheme, the Most Rev. Charles Eyre, D.D., Archbishop of Anazarba, Apostolic Delegate for Scotland, and Administrator Apostolic of the Western District, ordained in 1842 and consecrated in 1869, was granted the dignity of Archbishop of Glasgow; but the death of Pope Pius IX., before the signing of the necessary documents, caused some months' delay in the re-establishment of the hierarchy. The successor to the Papal throne, Leo X., concluded the matter, and in the month of April following he issued an allocutionary letter giving effect to his predecessor's proposals. In certain classes of the community this "Papal aggression" was the cause of violent opposition; and on the 13th April, a copy of the letter was burned in the presence of several thousand persons, who had assembled on the Glasgow Green to protest against the Papal action. It was feared by the authorities of the city that a disturbance of a serious nature might arise, and a force of military was held in readiness for an emergency, but their services were not required. The archbishopric of Glasgow was thus restored, but it was shorn of some of its ancient dignity in that it had no suffragans.

CHAPTER LIX.

(A.D. 1878 TO A.D. 1880.)

Failure of the City of Glasgow Bank—Commercial Panic in the City—Arrest and Trial of the Bank Directors—Distress among the Working Classes—Burning of the Theatre Royal—Mr. Gladstone's Second Visit to Glasgow—The Last General Election—Railway Stations—The Queen's Dock.

BEYOND all doubt the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, in October, 1878, was the greatest disaster that had ever befallen the commercial community of Great Britain. On its occurrence, the business of the city was paralysed, and as its effects became more and more visible to the public, the panic increased, until there was an almost general collapse. A failure of such unprecedented magnitude, and involving such serious consequences, was a most severe test to the commercial stability of a city such as Glasgow; but it is a fact worthy of emphasis, that when the panic consequent upon the revelations then made had subsided, the enterprise and energy of the city merchants speedily reasserted themselves, and by this time, only three years after the event, the evil results have been almost entirely overcome.

The City of Glasgow Bank was established in 1839, and had had a prosperous career until November, 1857, when the panic consequent upon the stoppage of the Western Bank caused it to close its doors. Recovering, it again resumed business, and became even more successful than formerly. In 1878, it had one hundred and thirty-three branches throughout the country, while as the Bank of Mona, in the Isle of Man, it possessed the utmost confidence of the inhabitants of that island. At the annual meeting of the shareholders in June, 1878, the directors' report showed the concern to be in a most satisfactory state, a dividend of twelve per cent. being recommended, after carrying forward £13,222 to the credit of profit and loss. Under these circumstances, there was no ground for the suspicion that the bank was in an unsound condition; but a month or two later, it began to be remarked, in commercial circles, that too great an amount of the bank's acceptances were going about, and the paper became more difficult to negotiate than formerly. No one, however, was prepared for the intimation, in the morning newspapers of Tuesday, the 2nd October, that the directors of the bank had decided to close their doors, but that certain of the other banks

would accept the notes of the City Bank in the ordinary course of business. This intimation created an immense sensation in the community—to many it meant ruin and penury, to all it was disaster to a greater or less degree. The Stock Exchange was materially affected, business in the city was practically suspended that day, and the public eagerly awaited the issue of the evening newspapers for further information concerning the failure. It transpired that certain rumours had caused the directors of the City Bank to apply for assistance to the other banks, and that these, before entertaining the proposal, had appointed Mr. George Auldjo Jamieson, accountant, Edinburgh, to make an investigation into the affairs of the applicant. On the evening of Monday, 1st October, Mr. Jamieson reported to his employers that the position of the City Bank was worse than had been represented; and, under these circumstances, it was decided that no assistance could be granted. Such was the history of the stoppage, but the public next desired to know the extent of the calamity. The list of shareholders as published was eagerly scanned, every one being suspicious that his neighbour might be involved, and fearing that though the failure might not directly bear upon him it might do so indirectly. That list showed that the 1,270 partners of the bank held stock to the value of £846,464, while the bank itself was entered for £153,536. Many of these partners were widows, orphans, country clergymen, &c., who had invested their savings in the hope of obtaining in this way a livelihood from them, or an addition to their otherwise scanty income. It was at once felt that these were ruined, whatever might become of the wealthy merchants on the black roll. On the afternoon of Tuesday, 2nd October, the day on which the intimation was made, the directors requested Mr. William Anderson, of Messrs. Kerr, Andersons, Muir, and Main, accountants, Glasgow, and Dr. A. B. M'Grigor, writer, Glasgow, to make an investigation into the affairs of the bank. In the few days subsequent to the stoppage, heavy failures took place in connection with it, and these heightened the panic. Messrs. Smith, Fleming & Co., London, failed with debts to the amount of £1,931,178, and assets of the value of £285,382, £1,752,178 having been advanced by the City Bank; and Messrs. Potter, Wilson & Co., Glasgow, a firm of which one of the directors was the senior partner, suspended payment, with liabilities to the extent of £216,000, including £108,000 advanced by the bank. On the Saturday following the bank stoppage, the investigators informed the directors that after a cursory examination of the bank's books, they had come to the conclusion that it could not be carried on, but must go into liquidation. But the record of collateral failures continued. Messrs. Heugh, Balfour & Co., Manchester, suspended with a deficiency of liabilities over

assets of £450,000; and Messrs. T. D. Findlay & Co., Glasgow, with a deficiency of £317,000. Late on Friday, the 18th October, the official report of the investigators was issued. This document stated that the balance of loss amounted to £5,190,983, 11s. 3d., which, with the addition of the capital of the bank, £1,000,000, made a total loss of £6,190,983, 11s. 3d. It was further stated that the amount of bullion in the coffers of the bank on the 28th September previous, would only have justified the issue of notes to the extent of £366,464, whereas the amount circulating on the previous Saturday was £604,196; that the shareholders had been led to believe that the bank had lent upon credits less than was the fact by £1,126,764; that it had been represented that the bank had in its possession good securities belonging to these credits, absolutely more than was the fact by £926,764; that it had been represented that the bank had in its cash chest more reserve gold than was the fact by £200,000; and as to the estimated securities held against bad debts, the report stated that the total amount represented by bad debts, which the investigators, as at 1st October, estimated at £7,345,359, the bank had been in the habit of treating in the balance sheets as available assets. That report created the greatest sensation, and public feeling ran bitterly against the directors of the unfortunate concern. Mr. W. A. Brown, the procurator-fiscal, obtained possession of the investigators' report, and after a consultation with Lord-Advocate Watson, instructions were given for the apprehension of all the directors, and the manager and secretary. These were—Messrs. Henry Inglis, Lewis Potter, Robert Salmond, John Stewart, William Taylor, and John Innes Wright, directors; Mr. Robert Summers Stronach, manager; and Mr. Charles Samuel Leresche, secretary. Most of them were apprehended in their residences on the evening of Saturday, the 19th October, and brought before the police courts in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and remanded on a charge of "having on various occasions between the years 1873 and 1878, by falsely and fraudulently falsifying the books of the City of Glasgow Bank, Virginia Street, and represented large sums of money as debts to said bank which were not truly due, and was false and fictitious; and by falsely and fraudulently understating the liabilities of the bank; and by preparing false balance-sheets, and submitting the same to the shareholders, concealed from the said shareholders and the public the true state of the liabilities of the said banking company." The Crown immediately caused an investigation to be made into the condition of the bank for the purpose of a criminal prosecution, and Mr. John Muir, accountant, Glasgow, was appointed to assist in the investigation. A meeting of the shareholders of the bank, convened by the directors, was held in the City

Hall, on Tuesday, the 22nd October. Considerable feeling was evinced on the occasion, but considering that most of those present were ruined men, the attacks upon the directors were more temperate than might have been expected. It was then unanimously agreed that the bank go into voluntary liquidation; and Messrs. William Anderson, accountant, Glasgow; George Auldjo Jamieson and James Haldane, accountants, Edinburgh; and John Cameron, secretary of the Clydesdale Bank, Glasgow, were appointed liquidators. On the same day the directors were taken before Sheriff Clark and emitted declarations, being afterwards committed for further examination. The news of other failures came daily, and people began to wonder where the disaster would end. Messrs. James Morton & Co., merchants, Glasgow and London, suspended with liabilities amounting to £3,461,034, and to this firm the City Bank had advanced £2,173,000; Messrs. Matthew, Buchanan & Co., Glasgow, failed with £1,310,266 of liabilities; and Messrs. Matthew & Thielman stopped with liabilities to the extent of £486,000. The liquidators, however, had begun their work, and on the 25th October they made a call of £500 per £100 of stock, payable by two instalments, which would be equal to about £4,000,000 on the stock held by the public. The magnitude of this demand caused the bulk of the shareholders to succumb; and the distress became so general, that Lord Provost Collins called a meeting of the citizens to consider a scheme for the relief of the unfortunate shareholders and their dependants, and within a short period the magnificent sum of nearly £400,000 was raised for this purpose, the greater part of it in Scotland. In the meantime, on the 27th October, a warrant had been issued for the apprehension of James Nicol Fleming, who had formerly been a director of the bank, and who was its debtor to the extent of £1,230,000; but he left the country and eluded the vigilance of the officers of the law. The directors had, on the 29th October, been brought before Sheriff Clark for examination, when a further charge was laid against them—the theft or embezzlement of £23,000, being the value of bills lodged with them by customers to be discounted; and on this and the other charge they were all committed for trial. They applied to be admitted to bail, but all the applications were refused, with the exception of that of Stewart, who was released on granting bail of £15,000 for his appearance at the trial. About this time, Fenton's Bank in Rochdale, and the West of England and South Wales District Bank, both suspended, with £610,000 and £3,500,000 liabilities respectively; and on the 4th December, the Caledonian Bank, Inverness, in which there had been a want of confidence since it was discovered to be the holder of City Bank stock to the extent of £400, also closed its

doors. On the 16th December, William Scott, a partner of the firm of John Innes Wright & Co., the head of which was one of the imprisoned directors, while being examined in bankruptcy, was apprehended on a charge of having stolen or embezzled £48,000, the proceeds of bills received from the London firm of Messrs. Glen, Walker & Co., to discount with the City of Glasgow Bank; and he was afterwards committed for trial. Mr. Leresche, the secretary of the defaulting bank, was released from custody on the 30th December, but was retained as a witness for the Crown against the other prisoners. By the extraordinary disclosures made at the bankruptcy examinations of those who had failed directly or indirectly through the suspension of the bank, the public anticipated that the trial of the directors would still further discover the looseness of the morality which seemed to have regulated many important commercial transactions.

The trial of the directors commenced in the High Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh, on the 20th January, 1879, the judges being Lord Moncrieff (Lord Justice-Clerk) and Lords Mure and Craighill. As the accused were all men of good commercial position, and many of them had borne public office with credit to themselves and benefit to the community—Inglis was a prominent freemason, and a deputy-lieutenant of Morayshire; Potter, an important shipowner and Australian merchant; Salmond had been a former manager of the City Bank, and was then director of several companies in England; Stewart was the head of an important firm of wine merchants and distillers; Taylor had been a councillor and a bailie in Glasgow, and had been a representative elder in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and Wright was senior partner of a firm of East India merchants—the interest in the trial was heightened on that account. All the newspapers in the three kingdoms were represented at the trial, and most voluminous accounts of the proceedings were day after day telegraphed by these representatives, who numbered between seventy and eighty. Lord-Advocate Watson, aided by the Solicitor-General, Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald, and Messrs Burnet and Pearson, Advocates, were counsel for the Crown; and for the defence the most brilliant gentlemen of the bar had been retained. The indictment against the prisoners was one of the most extraordinary documents of the kind ever brought into a court of justice, consisting, as it did, of fully ninety pages, of which over forty were filled with a list of books and documents to be produced in the case for the prosecution. Briefly put, this indictment charged (1.) John Stewart, Lewis Potter, Robert Salmond, William Taylor, and Henry Inglis, with having during the years 1876, 1877, and 1878; John Innes Wright, during the years 1875, 1876, 1877,

and 1878, as directors; and Robert Summers Stronach, during the years 1876, 1877, and 1878, as manager and *ex-officio* director, with having on the 7th June, 1876, fabricated and issued, or caused to be fabricated and issued, a balance-sheet showing a dividend of 11 per cent., after carrying forward £21,365, 10s. 3d. to next year's profit and loss account, which they knew to be false in the following particulars:—*First*, That the amount of deposits and balances at the credit of correspondents was understated to the extent of £1,006,215; *Second*, That the amount of drafts outstanding and drafts accepted by the bank and its London agents was understated to the extent of £973,000; *Third*, That the amount of bills of exchange, local and country bills, credit accounts, and other advances, was understated to the extent of £2,698,539; *Fourth*, That the amount of cash in hand was overstated to the extent of £29,095; *Fifth*, That the amount of Government stocks, exchequer bills, railway and other stocks and debentures, and balances in the hands of correspondents, was overstated to the extent of £753,211; *Sixth*, That the earnings of the bank during the year were overstated under profit and loss to the extent of £125,763; *Seventh*, That a reserve fund to the extent of £450,000 was stated to exist which had no existence; and, *Eighth*, That bad and irrecoverable debts to an amount far exceeding the whole capital stock of the bank were included on the creditor side, and so treated as existing and available assets of the company: (2.) With having in June, 1877, fabricated and issued another false balance-sheet, showing a dividend at the rate of 12 per cent., after carrying £18,501, 12s. 6d. forward to next year's profit and loss account, in which they knew that there were overstatements to the extent of £910,753, 19s. 9d., and understatements to the extent of £5,785,496, 5s. 2d., while £450,000 of a reserve fund, non-existent, was stated to exist, and the bad debts were treated as assets: (3.) With having in June, 1878, fabricated and issued a similar false balance-sheet, showing a dividend at the rate of 12 per cent., after carrying forward £13,222 to profit and loss, in which they knew there were overstatements to the extent of £1,272,161, 14s. 10d., and understatements to the extent of £5,950,237, 5s. 1d.: (4.) John Stewart was charged with having, in 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, and 1878, taken advantage of his position of director to overdraw his own and his firm's current account in the City Bank to the extent of £35,238, 11s. 2d. without adequate security: (5.) William Taylor was charged with having, during the same years, overdrawn the accounts of his firm to the extent of £73,460, 19s. 3d.: (6.) Henry Inglis was charged with having, from 1862 to 1878, both inclusive, overdrawn his own and his firm's account to the extent of £51,751, 0s. 4d.: (7.) John Innes Wright was charged with

having, during the years 1875, 1876, 1877, and 1878, overdrawn his own and his firm's accounts to the extent of £342,956, 15s. 7d.; the other seven clauses of the indictment charged the prisoners with having stolen or made over to the London Joint Stock Bank, before they came due, fifteen bills of the total value of £25,269, the property of customers of the bank, in order that the proceeds might be carried to the credit of the City of Glasgow Bank. Such is the gist of that very formidable indictment.

The court was engaged the whole of the first day, Monday, 20th January, 1879, in hearing elaborate pleadings on the relevancy of the indictment, the principal objections urged by counsel for the defence being a want of specification throughout the whole document, but particularly in item *eight* of the first charge and the corresponding item in the other charges; the absence of patrimonial gain to the directors on the one hand, and patrimonial loss to the shareholders on the other; and the absence of anything either under the contract of copartnery, or in the common practice of banking, which prohibited the directors from obtaining overdrafts in the ordinary way of business. The Lord-Advocate intimated his withdrawal of the *eighth* item referred to, but he contended for the relevancy of the rest of the indictment. Next day, the court repelled the other objections, and the accused having all pleaded "not guilty," a jury was empannelled, and the case proceeded to proof. The evidence for the prosecution continued for five days, and at the close the Lord-Advocate stated to the court that he withdrew the charges of theft or embezzlement, and would only go to the jury on the first three charges of the indictment—those relating to the fabrication and issuing of the balance-sheets of 1876, 1877, and 1878. Evidence for the defence, which was principally as to the character of the prisoners, occupied the afternoon of the seventh and forenoon of the eighth days of the trial, and for the rest of the eighth and the whole of the ninth and tenth days, the jury was addressed by counsel for the Crown and the defence. The Lord Justice-Clerk occupied nearly the whole of the eleventh day in summing up; and after an absence of two hours, the jury, shortly before six o'clock in the evening, returned to the court with the following verdict, as recorded by the Clerk of Justiciary:—"The jury unanimously find the panels Lewis Potter and Robert Summers Stronach guilty of the first, second, and third charges as libelled, and find them not guilty of the remaining charges; and find by a majority the panels John Stewart, Robert Salmond, William Taylor, Henry Inglis, and John Innes Wright, guilty of using and uttering false balance-sheets as libelled under the first, second, and third charges, and find them not guilty of all the remaining charges." On the forenoon of

Saturday, 1st February, being the twelfth day of the trial, the Lord Justice-Clerk passed sentence of imprisonment for eighteen calendar months on Potter and Stronach, and of imprisonment for eight calendar months on Stewart, Salmond, Wright, Inglis, and Taylor. In the course of his remarks Lord Moncrieff said :—"I am desirous to say that as the case now stands the act which was done by both of you [Potter and Stronach] did not necessarily involve, and probably was not actuated by, any desire or design of personal advantage, but it was a criminal act, committed, as you thought, for the benefit of the bank. It was very far from being that, but this circumstance does remove from the crime of which you have been convicted the element of corrupt personal motives for personal ends."

When the sentences were published in the Glasgow evening newspapers on the Saturday afternoon, they were the topic of conversation in every company, and continued to be so for a week or two afterwards. The business affairs of the city were still in a very bad condition, and throughout the whole year there was scarcely a day without its bankruptcy. These failures, however, cleared the commercial atmosphere, and matters gradually assumed a more healthy aspect; for, although the great inflation of trade was gone, the little that was doing was of a legitimate character. William Scott was brought before the Glasgow Circuit Court on the 8th May, 1879; but the relevancy of the indictment against him was not sustained, on the ground of insufficient specification, and he was discharged.

All through the winter of 1878-79, in which the matters recorded in the preceding pages were pending, the working classes of the city had to undergo great sufferings from want of employment consequent upon the commercial collapse. Lord Provost Collins, with other leading citizens, inaugurated a relief fund, which, with the balances from former funds for similar objects, amounted in all to £29,225, 16s. 1d. A variety of works were instituted for the employment of the idle men, and on relief works, &c., the total outlay during the winter was £27,208, 10s. 4d. Employment was given to 419 skilled, and 1,065 unskilled workers; 13,960 applications were recorded on the relief rolls of the ward stations, and of these, 12,666 were granted relief—no less than 461,787 two-pound loaves, valued at £4,861, 19s.; 2,132 loads of meal, valued at £2,593, 19s. 7d.; 28,833 gallons of soup, valued at £798, 11s. 10d.; and 1,524 tons of coals, valued at £618, 17s. 10d., being distributed to the necessitous at the ward stations; together with wages amounting in all to £7,264, 5s. 8d., and provisions of the value of £3,939, 10s. 10d. at the work stations.

Early on the morning of Sunday, the 2nd February, 1879, the Theatre Royal in Cowcaddens Street was destroyed by fire,

but no one was injured. The building had been erected in 1867 as the Colosseum Music Hall; but in 1869, Messrs. Glover and Francis had taken a lease of it, and on the 10th of June of that year they had opened it as the Theatre Royal. The loss caused by the fire amounted to between £35,000 and £40,000.

On the 15th of July, 1879, Mr. Charles Tennant of the Glen, was elected one of the Parliamentary representatives of Glasgow, in room of Mr. Alexander Whitelaw, deceased. Mr Tennant, who was a Liberal in politics, was elected without opposition.

The Caledonian Railway Company, aware of the defects of their station at Buchanan Street, and fully alive to the advantage of a terminus nearer the heart of the city, in which they could centralise their traffic, had for some years been engaged in the construction of new lines and works, and on the 31st July, 1879, their Central Station, in Gordon Street, was opened. Outside the city there had been some alterations made on the Caledonian system, and within the boundaries a new line had been constructed from the vicinity of the Old Gorbals Station, along the western side of Eglinton Street to Bridge Street Station, whence the line was carried, by means of a stupendous iron bridge, across the harbour to the new terminus. The roof of the covered portion of this station has a span of 220 feet from wall to wall, while it is 600 feet in length. Externally the station buildings are handsomely imposing. The cost of the structure, when completed, is expected to be somewhere between £600,000 and £700,000.

In the autumn of 1879, politics were absorbing the attention of the country to an extraordinary extent, and the visit of Mr. Gladstone to Midlothian roused the Liberals of Scotland to a remarkable pitch of enthusiasm. Those of Glasgow were not behind their neighbours, and when it was intimated that the great statesman would visit Glasgow, to be installed as Lord Rector, and address a political meeting, extensive preparations were made for his reception. Accompanied by Mrs. and Miss Gladstone, and a train of prominent noblemen and gentlemen, Mr. Gladstone arrived in Glasgow from Perthshire, where he had been the guest of Lord Breadalbane, on the evening of Thursday, the 4th December. At Buchanan Street Station the right hon. gentleman was met by the students of the university, and a large company of the more prominent citizens of all shades of political opinion, and he drove to the house of Sir James Watson, whose guest he was to be, having a guard of honour composed of both Liberal and Tory collegians. Early on the afternoon of the following day, Mr. Gladstone was installed as Lord Rector in the Kibble Palace, Botanic Gardens, in the presence of an immense multitude. He had conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws; and after the preliminary ceremonies

he delivered his rectorial address, which dealt in a masterly way with the advantages of the Scottish University system and the perseverance and studiousness of Scottish students. The meeting was characterised by an extraordinary enthusiasm. Later in the afternoon, the St. Andrew's Hall was crowded by an audience desirous of hearing the eminent statesman, who spoke upon subjects that were then before the country. The thoroughfares adjacent to the hall were thronged with the right hon. gentleman's admirers, and his every appearance was hailed with demonstrations of a highly flattering description. In the evening, another densely crowded meeting was held in the City Hall, Mr. Gladstone being there presented by Lord Provost Collins, on behalf of the corporation, with a congratulatory address. When he left Glasgow for Motherwell on the following morning, the conduct of the people towards him was of the same enthusiastic character.

On the dissolution of the late Conservative administration extensive preparations were made for a severe party contest for the representation of Glasgow. At the time, the city members were all on the Liberal side of politics; but the Conservatives made up their minds to make an effort to obtain at least the "minority seat" for a gentleman of their party. On behalf of the Liberals, Dr. Cameron and Mr. Anderson came forward; and as Mr. Tennant had decided to make an attempt to wrest the representation of Peebleshire from the other party, Mr. R. T. Middleton entered the lists in his room. Mr. William Pearce, of Messrs. John Elder & Co., shipbuilders, Govan, and Sir James Bain, the late Lord Provost, solicited the suffrages of the electors in the Conservative interest. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the canvass was more exciting than any that had taken place since the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. The polling was on the 2nd April, 1880; and in the result it was shown that an ingenious method adopted by the Liberals to secure the return of their candidates had gained them the day. It was found that the poll stood thus:—Mr. Anderson, 24,016; Dr. Cameron, 23,658; Mr. Middleton, 23,360; Mr. Pearce, 11,622; and Sir James Bain, 11,071—the three first-named gentlemen being, of course, the successful candidates. Out of a total roll of 57,920 electors, 47,512 had recorded their votes, leaving 10,408 who had not been at the poll.

On the 7th July, 1880, one of the most remarkable vessels ever built was launched from the shipbuilding yard of Messrs. John Elder & Co., at Govan. This was the "Livadia," a yacht built to the order of the late Emperor of Russia. During the construction of this vessel the yard was visited by many of the most eminent engineers in the world, who were desirous of seeing, in a more or less advanced stage, the marvel of naval

architecture which, it was expected, would revolutionise men's notions as to the construction of ships. The "Livadia" is a turbot-shaped vessel, with a superstructure of the ordinary yacht build. It is something after the model of the Popoffka war-ships of the Russian Navy, and in it the designer, Admiral Popoff, hoped to develop some improved features. The vessel is 235 feet long, 153 feet broad, and has a draught of 6 feet 6 inches; its gross tonnage is 7,700 tons, with a displacement of 3,920 tons, and, according to yacht measurement, it shows an aggregate of no less than 11,600 tons. Built of steel, supplied with the most improved engines, and fitted internally in a highly luxurious manner, it was asserted with confidence that the "Livadia" would be the most comfortable deep-sea boat ever launched, and this comfort, it was expected, would be the better ensured by its peculiar shape. On the day of the launch, a highly distinguished company assembled in the Fairfield Yard at Govan. Mr. William Pearce, the head of the firm, had as his guests the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia and Admiral Popoff. After a religious service according to the ritual of the Greek Church, the Grand Duke christened the "Livadia," and the yacht slipped off the stocks into the water amid the huzzas of an immense multitude congregated on both sides of the river. At a luncheon following this interesting ceremony, many congratulatory speeches were made, and the Grand Duke, in proposing the toast of "Mr. Pearce, his yard, and Glasgow," referred, with more than Continental politeness, to the city as being the "centre of the intelligence of England." The "Livadia," in the trial trips, fully met the expectations of the builders; but since the death of the late Czar it seems to be looked upon with little favour in Russia, and from information which has lately come to this country regarding it, there appears to be no disposition to give it a fair trial upon its merits.

Within the past few years steel has been largely used in shipbuilding on the Clyde, and has apparently a great future before it. Generally speaking, shipbuilding is in a most flourishing condition, and in all probability the fame the Clyde has already gained in that respect will extend as years go on.

Mention has already been made of the formal opening of St. Enoch Square Station of the Glasgow and South-Western Railway, on the occasion of the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to the city in 1876. This railway company, in conjunction with the City Union Railway Company, had constructed a new line, from the joint line at Pollokshields, round by Gorbals, across the Clyde on a high girder bridge, and round to St. Enoch's Square, a branch passing over the Bridgegate, Saltmarket, and Gallowgate to Bellgrove, where the Monkland Line of the North British Company was joined. These lines

were opened on the 12th December, 1870, only a portion of what is now called St. Enoch Station being then built, and as it was then entered from Dunlop Street, it was named after that thoroughfare. The work in connection with St. Enoch Station and Hotel was completed in the month of July, 1880; and as they now stand they are perhaps the most imposing structures in Glasgow. The station roof has a span of 205 feet, is 84 feet high, and is 525 feet long. During the past year or two the North British Railway Company's Station at Queen Street has undergone a complete renovation, and instead of the cramped and ungainly structure existing formerly, there is a handsome glass roof 450 feet long by 250 wide, while the platform accommodation has been greatly extended. College Station, also belonging to this company, was opened about the year 1874. The passenger shed is in no way remarkable, but the goods and mineral station in the immediate vicinity is very extensive.

The Queen's Dock, now in the course of completion, is the most stupendous work of the kind ever attempted in Scotland, and its possession by Glasgow cannot fail to assist materially in the future development of the port. Mr. James Deas, C.E., Engineer to the Clyde Trust, in his pamphlet on *The River Clyde and Harbour of Glasgow* (p. 21) says of the Queen's Dock that "it comprises three basins—the north basin, 1866 feet long by 270 feet wide; the south basin, 1674 feet long by 230 feet wide, with a quay between them 195 feet broad; and an outer basin, 695 feet wide at its widest part, by 1,000 feet long. The dock is tidal, and is approached by an entrance 100 feet wide, which is crossed by a swing-bridge constructed by Sir William Armstrong & Co. There are four coaling cranes, to lift twenty tons each, on the north quay of dock, all of which, together with the swing-bridge, which is constructed to carry sixty tons of a rolling load on any part of its roadway, are wrought by hydraulic power." There are 3,334 lineal yards of quayage inside the dock, and 494 yards outside, giving a total of 3,828 yards, or 2 miles 308 yards. The total cost of the dock, when fully equipped, will be something like £1,500,000. It was formally opened on the 18th September, 1877, when the "Anchor" Line S.S. "Victoria" was admitted into it, and it was then called the Queen's Dock, by the special permission of Her Majesty. On the 20th March, 1880, the last copestone was laid by Lord Provost Collins. In concluding this notice of the last great monument of the energy of the Clyde Trust, it may be stated that up till the 30th June, 1880, the total expenditure on the deepening and widening of the Clyde had been £8,786,128, of which the sum of £2,306,766 was paid for interest on borrowed money.

In the summer of 1880, a handsome organ, by Willis of

London, was erected in the Cathedral, having been presented by the Rev. Dr. Burns, minister of the church. The Institute of the Fine Arts, in Sauchiehall Street, was opened in the spring of the same year. The principal matter then troubling the public mind was as to the adoption of a scheme for disposing of the sewage of the city; but though various proposals were made, the immense expenditure that must be involved, and the engineering difficulties, have prevented anything being decided upon. For the year 1880, the iron shipments from Glasgow amounted to 259,425 tons, and the coal shipments to 424,559 tons. A Naval and Marine Engineering Exhibition was opened in the Corporation Galleries in the winter of 1880-81, and was a success in every respect. The electric light was becoming familiar in the city, some of the railway stations being illuminated by it, and experiments being made with it in other places. Telephonic communication was becoming common.

By the 22nd October, 1880, the liquidators of the City of Glasgow Bank had, after two years' work, reduced the liabilities to £1,823,174, 3s. 9d., against which it was estimated that the assets then held by them would realise £2,109,851, 18s. 9d., showing an estimated surplus of £286,677, 15s. Up till the present time all the creditors of the unfortunate concern have been paid 18s. in the £1; but before that result was attained the heavy calls—the first was £500 on £100 stock—caused a great amount of ruin among the shareholders. The Relief Fund, managed by a committee consisting of the principal men in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, has been faithfully administered, and much misery has thus been saved. That committee, up till the 31st December, 1880, had disposed of 874 cases, representing bank stock to the value of £508,772, on which £2,833,057, exclusive of the stock itself, had been surrendered to the liquidators. Of the total sum of £298,264, 3s. 9d. voted, £22,082, 13s. 3d. were granted as annuities for 1879 and 1880, £154,181, 10s. 6d. were paid as donations, and £122,000, were given as loans. The assistance thus given has been received with gratitude by the recipients, and it is highly creditable to Scotland that, with the exception of five per cent., the fund has been collected within its borders.

CHAPTER LX.

CONCLUSION.

Geographical Position and Meteorological Influences in Glasgow—Topographical Notes and City Statistics—The Harbour, Shipping, and Shipbuilding—Ecclesiastical, Educational, and Charitable Institutions—Municipal Government of Glasgow—County Courts and other Public Offices—Commercial Institutions—The Military Garrison—General Conclusions.

GLASGOW as it at present exists cannot be described with anything like the fulness of detail possible two or three hundred years ago, or even at the beginning of the present century. Now the second city in the British empire, and occupying a foremost position among the great civic communities on the earth, anything like an adequate account of its present condition is an absolute impossibility; and all that can be done in the circumstances will be to give a few generalities which may serve as indications of the greater facts that support them.

Before proceeding further, it may be as well to give the geographical position of Glasgow—viz., latitude 55° 51′ 32″ N. and longitude 4° 17′ 54″ W. The city is forty-five miles south-west of Edinburgh, and 405½ miles north-west of London. The climate is fairly good, and in its general characteristics differs little from that of the southern districts of Scotland; while the rainfall, occupying a medium position among the Scottish towns, has, according to Mr. W. West Watson, the City Chamberlain, been at the average for the last twelve years of 41·55 inches in the year. Taking an average of statistics for some years past, it has been found that so far as Glasgow is concerned, the healthiest month of the year is September, and, on the other hand, March is the most fatal.

The city of Glasgow now covers an area of fully six thousand acres, including, of course, the suburban burghs. The municipal boundary has a total length of nearly seventeen miles; while the length of the municipality from east to west is five and a quarter miles, and from north to south the breadth is about four miles. Perhaps in no city in the world is there such a splendid street line as that afforded by Westmuir Street, Great Eastern Road, Gallowgate, Trongate, Argyle Street, Main Street (Anderston), and Dumbarton Road. Beginning with Westmuir Street, at the eastern boundary, and proceeding along the other

thoroughfares named to the Kelvin, at the western boundary, there is one continuous and unbroken line of streets having a total length of five and a quarter miles. From north to south there is a similar line, though not of such a remarkable length. Taking it from the northern boundary at Springburn, down Springburn Road, Castle Street, High Street, Saltmarket, Crown Street, and Cathcart Road to Butterbiggins Road, the southern boundary, is a distance of three and a half miles. Within the municipality there are between eight and nine hundred streets, lanes, and courts; and taking as a fair average eight streets to the mile, it will be quite within the mark to state that there are within Glasgow fully one hundred miles of streets. If the suburbs be included, the number of streets will be something between thirteen and fourteen hundred. The portion of the city to the south of the Clyde is built upon flat ground; but on the north and west the ground is very hilly, and continues to be of an undulating character until the boundaries are reached. A very slight proportion of the municipal and parliamentary area remains to be built up; and unless the boundaries are widened by parliamentary enactment, any future growth must be of that wider Glasgow which includes the rebellious "suburban burghs." So much for topographical matters.

The population of the city, as distinct from the suburbs, was estimated by the Registrar-General as being 589,598 in the middle of the year 1880; but the census taken in April last has shown his calculations to be too favourable. According to that census the united population of the fourteen city registration districts was 510,816; of the suburban districts, 193,620; making a grand total of 704,436. It is, however, only fair to state that Rutherglen and Pollokshaws, the former a royal burgh, and the latter a burgh of barony, are included in these suburban districts, and differ from the others in respect of their foundation being independent of the growth of Glasgow. Even though the prosperity of these two places is now bound up in the great city, it is perhaps scarcely respectful to their dignity to include them as forming what has been aptly termed "natural Glasgow," in contradistinction to municipal Glasgow. The total number of voters on the electoral roll for municipal purposes at November, 1880, was 60,690; and for parliamentary purposes, 57,882; while the total number of school-board electors as at November, 1879, is 119,743. Since these figures were made up, Mr. Campbell, the City Assessor, has made up the roll for 1881-82, and by it there is shown that the municipal constituency now numbers 63,123; and the parliamentary constituency, 60,113. The total rental for the city and royal burgh for the year 1880-81, is put down at £3,400,517. Of that sum—houses,

shops, warehouses, factories, and other works are estimated for £3,029,426; railways, canals, gas and water works, &c., for £280,291; houses, shops, &c., beyond the parliamentary burgh, but within the city or ancient royalty, for £66,352; and railways and canals in the same area, for £24,412, making the total already given. At the same period there were, in all, 119,421 dwelling-houses within the city and royal burgh; and of these 106,014 were occupied, and 13,407 unoccupied. Turning to what are called the vital statistics, it will be found that during the year 1880, there were 18,892 births, 4,332 marriages, and 13,285 deaths. The birth-rate for the year was 36·90 per thousand of the population; the marriage-rate, 8·48; and the death-rate, 26·7. The infantile mortality was at the rate of 47·24 per cent. of the whole recorded mortality of the city.

Passing to matters relating to the harbour, some interesting statistics regarding it may be given. The harbour, from Stockwell Bridge to Govan Ferry, is about two and a half miles long; while there are about six miles of quay-wall. Of this extensive quayage, four miles are on the north side of the Clyde, and that figure includes the Queen's Dock; while on the south side, inclusive of Kingston Dock, there is a quayage to the extent of fully one and three quarter miles. The water area of the harbour is 140 acres, and the depth of water at high tide 24 feet 6 inches. For 1880, the total revenue of the Clyde Navigation Trust was £223,709, 0s. 8d.; and the customs revenue collected at Glasgow in the same year amounted to £954,620, 15s. 5d. There were then on the shipping register 570 sailing vessels, with an aggregate of 367,216 tons; and 637 steamships, of 409,564 tons, making a gross total of 1,207 vessels and 776,780 tons. Of the 16,810 arrivals, representing a total of 2,944,051 tons, 1,862 were sailing vessels, and 14,948 steam vessels, the tonnage being 643,573 and 2,350,478 tons respectively. The tonnage of goods inward and outward was 2,653,088 tons. There is now shipping communication between Glasgow and almost every country in the world, and its importance as a port is yearly becoming greater. Within the past few years new trade has been brought to it in a variety of forms, perhaps the most notable being the importation of grain and dead meat from America. In 1877, only 14 vessels, carrying 7,197 tons of grain cargo, arrived in the harbour; but in 1880, 68 vessels arrived with fully 70,000 tons of grain. In the year 1880, also, 12,992 head of American cattle and 13,977 American sheep, were brought to the Clyde, and there seems to be every prospect of both these trades increasing. There were 320,924 tons of raw and beet-root sugar imported into the Clyde in that year; while duty was levied on 5,493,056 lbs. tea and about 3,000,000 lbs. tobacco in the same

period. For some years, the stream of emigration has been on the increase, and, in 1880, 29,109 persons left Glasgow for the United States and the Colonies, against 19,766 in 1874. Returning to the shipbuilding industries, it falls to be stated that the amount of new tonnage launched in 1880, was 248,656 tons; and that at the close of the year there were 314,711 tons on the stocks or under contract. In the ten months of this year, however, the total tonnage of the whole of 1880 has been exceeded by about 10,000 tons, for there were launched during that period 180 vessels of an aggregate measurement of 258,889 tons, being within 3,541 of the total return for 1874, hitherto considered the most prosperous year for Clyde shipbuilding.

Having now dealt with what are generally considered the most important statistics of Glasgow, it will be specially interesting to view the city from an ecclesiastical standpoint. There are no fewer than thirty-one distinct denominations having churches or meeting-places in Glasgow. In 1880, there were in Glasgow and its immediate suburbs three hundred and thirty-one churches and meeting-places for public worship, served by three hundred and sixty-seven ordained ministers or preachers. Taken in detail, the following is the list:—Church of Scotland, seventy-eight churches and seventy-six ministers; Free Church, seventy-eight churches and eighty-five ministers; U.P. Church, sixty-four churches and sixty-six ministers; Scottish Episcopal Church, eleven churches and twelve clergymen; English Church, two churches and two clergymen; Roman Catholic Church, eighteen churches and fifty-three clergymen; fourteen Congregational Churches and thirteen ministers; ten Evangelical Union Churches and eleven ministers; Baptists, ten churches and eleven ministers; Millenarian Baptists, two churches; seven Wesleyan Methodist Chapels and seven ministers; Catholic Apostolic Church, one church and one minister; one Christian Israelite meeting-place and one preacher; one Church of the Future and one minister; one Independent Chapel and one minister; one Free Gospel Church and one minister; two Free Presbyterian Churches and two ministers; one meeting-place for the Deaf and Dumb and one preacher; one Glassite meeting-place and two preachers; one Jewish Synagogue and two priests; three Primitive Methodist Chapels and three ministers; one New Jerusalem, or Swedenborgian, Church and one minister; one Old Scotch Independent Chapel and one minister; one Society of Friends meeting-place and two preachers; five Plymouth Brethren meeting-places; three Strict Plymouth Brethren meeting-places; two Seamen's Chapels and three preachers; two Unitarian Churches and two ministers; three United Original Seceder Churches and three ministers; one Original Reformed Presbyterian Church; two Churches of Christ and five preachers;

and one The Brethren Meeting-place and one preacher—three hundred and thirty-one churches and meeting-places, and three hundred and sixty-seven ministers and preachers. The city parish churches, it should be stated, belong to the corporation; and in this connection an omission may be supplied by stating that the present Ramshorn Church was built in 1824, in place of the church erected on the same site a century previous.

Educationally, Glasgow occupies a foremost position among the cities of the United Kingdom. The professoriate of the university had, since last mentioned in these pages, received some important additions, five chairs having been endowed—Conveyancing, English Language and Literature, and Divinity and Biblical Criticism, in 1861; and Clinical Surgery and Clinical Medicine in 1874. There are now in the four faculties of the university twenty-seven distinct chairs, and an equal number of occupants; together with five lecturerships, and thirteen professorial assistantships, held by fifteen gentlemen. For session 1880-81, the number of matriculated students in the several faculties was 2,304. As a medical school the University of Glasgow now holds a high place, and the vicinity of such a well equipped hospital as the Western Infirmary, containing 350 beds, gives every scope of efficient clinical instruction. In close connection with the university is the Association for the Higher Education of Women, and by its relationship to this and similar associations, it is now, what it has always been, but in a much more extended area, the most influential educational factor in the west of Scotland. Next in rank comes the High School, the old Grammar School with a new name, and the probable descendant of the Seminary of Canons Regular, which probably dates its origin with the institution of the Roman Catholic clergy in the city in the twelfth century. This school has now removed from its old premises in John Street, and continues to flourish in Elmbank Street; and in connection with it there are ten departments, with a teaching staff of twelve gentlemen. Anderson's College, in George Street, has nineteen chairs, with professors and lecturers occupying important positions in their several departments of learning; and, in addition, there are six evening lecturers on useful branches of education. In the city there are also the Free Church College; the Normal Institution, in connection with the Church of Scotland; the Normal Seminary, in connection with the Free Church; the School of Arts, the Mechanics Institution, the Veterinary College, the Agricultural College, a large number of schools under the Glasgow School Board, and numerous private academies and schools. Notable features of the educational facilities afforded in Glasgow have been the recent institution of technical schools, and the multiplication of evening classes for the benefit of the

working youth of the city. Hutcheson's foundation has now been arranged on a broader basis, and gives greatly increased benefit to the community; while many other educational endowments of a kindred nature have been similarly extended, with the result that their benefits are more generally utilised and appreciated than was probably ever dreamt of by their founders.

In respect of public and charitable institutions, again, Glasgow perhaps stands unequalled in comparison to any city of a similar size in the world. The Royal and the Western Infirmaries, both dependent on public subscriptions, pursue their double course as alleviators of distress and teachers of medical and surgical science, with a remarkable measure of success, and they are fully worthy of the esteem in which they are held. In their position as the administrators of charitable bequests and mortifications, and in the relief granted by them to their decayed members and decayed members' dependants, the Merchants' and Trades' Houses confer incalculable benefits on the community. For almost every special ailment which can attack humanity there are institutions in Glasgow; together with numerous endowments for the free education of children of the poorer classes. About thirty mortifications and bequests are also in operation for the benefit of particular sections of the community. Scientific, professional, artistic, musical, friendly, and charitable societies are numerous, all overtaking valuable work. The Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association, and the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Society, both located in the Christian Institute in Bothwell Street, fulfil a distinct and important mission. The care of the poor of the city and suburbs is undertaken by three parochial boards—the City Parish, the Barony Parish, and the Govan Combination Parish, which latter includes the parish of Gorbals —who each, within their own bounds, levy assessments upon householders. Poorhouse and asylum accommodation is extensive and of the most approved description. The Town's Hospital in Parliamentary Road, under the City Parochial Board; Barnhill Poorhouse and Lenzie Asylum, under the Barony Board; and the Merryflats Poorhouse and Asylum, under the Govan Board, are all superior institutions. The Glasgow Royal Asylum for Lunatics, instituted in 1814, and removed to Gartnavel in 1843, is one of the finest places of the kind in the kingdom.

A word is now necessary upon the municipal government of Glasgow. The various epochs in relation to that government in the city have been fully described in their chronological order in the preceding pages, and what now remains to be done is to state briefly what duties the town councillors of Glasgow are at the present time called upon to perform. In the first place, as "the Corporation of the City of Glasgow," they have to administer, to a large extent, the financial affairs of the ten city churches,

and conduct the business connected with the property of the city. For the year ended, 31st May, 1881, the corporation revenue was £25,562, 12s. 2d., and the expenditure £18,871, 7s. 0d., leaving a surplus of £6,691, 5s. 2d. At the close of the same period the debts of the corporation amounted to £896,032, 19s. 1d., and the assets to £1,298,249, 13s. 9d.; showing a surplus of free assets amounting to £402,216, 14s. 8d.; but if to this sum be added £58,115 of the tramways' sinking fund, the free assets,or "common good," mount up to £460,331, 14s. 8d. Under special statutes, however, the corporation have to impose assessments for a variety of purposes. The assessment levied by them under the Municipal Buildings Act during the year 1880-81, amounted to £11,514, 14s. 7d.; for registration of births, deaths and marriages, £4,318, 0s. 6d.; for registration of voters, £2,159, 0s. 3d.; under the Lands Valuation Act, £1,439, 6s. 10d.; and under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, £719, 13s. 5d.—making a total of £20,150, 15s. 7d. They have also the titular management of the Glasgow Corporation Tramways, which are leased, as already explained, to the Glasgow Tramways Company (Limited); and by a committee conduct the affairs of the Mitchell Library. For the three years since the passing of the Municipal Buildings Act, they have levied an assessment amounting in the aggregate to £34,977, 18s. 9d.; and including rents, &c., their total receipts under this head amount to £38,880, 0s. 10d. On the other hand, their disbursements have been £53,454, 2s. 11d., showing an excess of disbursements over receipts of £14,574, 2s. 1d. For the site of the proposed municipal buildings in George Square the sum of £164,535, 10s. 4d. was paid, and if to this be added expenses and compensation, the total, after deducting the sum realised from the sale of old building material, is £172,872, 14s. 9d. To that sum there falls to be added credit accounts at two banks, and these bring up the total assets to £175,725, 10s. 8d. The debts of the corporation under this Act amount to £190,299, 12s. 9d., these being principally on account of money borrowed, showing a balance of debts over assets of £14,574, 2s. 1d. The lord provost, magistrates, and town council are Commissioners under the Glasgow Corporation Water Works Act, 1855; and as such their revenue for the year ended 28th May, 1880, was £140,897, 10s. For the year 1879-80, the average daily supply of water to the city and suburbs from the Loch Katrine and Gorbals Works was 37,296,401 gallons. Again, the Town Council acts as Trustees on Gas Supply, having for the year 1879-80, a revenue of £341,274, and a capital, at the balance, of £1,024,839. As Market Commissioners, the magistrates and council had, for the year 1879-80, a total revenue of £31,991, 18s. 0d., and an expenditure of £14,360, 7s. 4d., leaving a surplus of £17,631, 10s.

8d.; while the net stock amounts to £51,494, 8s. 1d. The Town Council also acts as Trustees on Public Parks and Galleries. This Trust has now under its care four parks—the Green, acquired very early in the history of the city; the West-End or Kelvingrove Park, acquired about 1854; the south-side or Queen's Park, acquired about ten years later; and the north-east, or Alexandra Park, acquired in 1870. Those parks first-named have been considerably added to since they were first acquired. The trustees have also the administration of the Museum in Kelvingrove Park, in which there is constantly a handsome exhibition of the industrial products of the district, free at all times to the public; and the Corporation Galleries in Sauchiehall Street, in several rooms of which are an excellent collection of pictures, the property of the corporation, while the Trust have had in the other rooms for some years past, and intend continuing in the future, winter exhibitions of various kinds, such as would be interesting to, and have an educative influence on, the inhabitants of the city. The ordinary income of this Trust for the year ended 31st May, 1880, was £22,109, 7s. 7d., and the ordinary expenditure for the same period was £21,544, 14s. 0d., leaving a surplus of £564, 13s. 7d.; but as there was an extraordinary expenditure of £5,441, 1s. 10d., the deficiency on the year amounted to £4,876, 8s. 3d. As Improvement Trustees the Town Council had a revenue for the year ended 31st May, 1880, of £72,852, 3s. 6d., while the expenditure was £61,525, 12s. 0d., showing a balance of £11,326, 11s. 6d. The assets of the Trust at the same time amounted to £1,446,240, 10s. 6d., and the debts to £1,421,762, 15s. 11d., leaving net stock to the amount of £24,477, 14s. 7d. The Lord Provost, magistrates, and council are also the police authority of the city; and in this capacity they control the statute-labour, watching and lighting, health, street improvements, and public baths and wash-houses departments. Under their management are a central police office and seven district police offices, sanitary office, central and district fire-brigades, &c. The chief constable, Mr. Alexander M'Call, has under him seven superintendents, and upwards of a thousand other officers and men; while the superintendent of the fire brigade, Mr. James Bryson, has 117 firemen in the brigade, and the most improved steam fire-extinguishing apparatus. Besides this, the corporation is represented in the Clyde Lighthouses Trust, the Clyde Navigation Trust, the Bridges Trust, and a variety of other public bodies. To some extent different from the corporation under any of the capacities mentioned, the Dean of Guild Court has such an important duty to perform in connection with the government of the city in one respect, that it may be mentioned under the heading of municipal bodies. The Dean of Guild, as

has been previously stated, is elected by the Merchants' House, and is *ex-officio* a member of the Town Council. Twice a month he holds a court, with representatives from the Merchants' and Trades' Houses. To this court must be submitted all plans of new buildings or alterations on existing ones, and unless these are approved by the court the work cannot be undertaken.

In Glasgow the county courts meet for a wide district of Lanarkshire. These courts are held in the County Buildings, Wilson Street. There is a sheriff-principal, Mr. Francis W. Clark, advocate, and five sheriffs-substitute. The sheriff is commissary and judge-admiral. In these buildings, also, a justice of the peace court is held. The justices have periodical licensing courts; and the licenses granted at these courts, and at the city magistrates licensing courts, come before a joint-committee of magistrates and justices for confirmation.

There are also in the city, the Property and Income Tax and Inland Revenue Offices in Queen Street; and the General Post-Office and Telegraph Office in George Square; while nearly every foreign state has a consular agency in Glasgow. Within the city there are five railway termini, besides several sub-stations; three canals; and from it carriers to all parts of the West of Scotland daily proceed. There are five theatres, several music halls, and a variety of other places of amusement.

The commercial institutions are numerous, the most prominent of them being the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, which takes a supervising care over local trade, and performs a most important duty to the community. No fewer than seven banking companies—Bank of Scotland, British Linen Company's Bank, Clydesdale Bank, Commercial Bank of Scotland, National Bank of Scotland, Royal Bank, and the Union Bank—carry on business in Glasgow, the Clydesdale and Union Banks having their head offices in the city; and these corporations have something like seventy-nine places of business in the city and suburbs. The National Security Savings Bank has five offices in different parts of Glasgow; and, as indicating the position of the working classes, it is worthy of note that this institution had, in 1880, 107,484 depositors, with £3,209,915, 1s. 2d. at their credit. The Penny Savings Bank Association had under their cognisance 208 Savings Banks in operation in and around Glasgow. The Royal Exchange, in Queen Street, the Stock Exchange, in Buchanan Street, and the Corn Exchange, in Hope Street, must also be mentioned among the centres of commercial activity in Glasgow.

The garrison of the city is now resident in the Garrioch Barracks, near Maryhill. The old barracks in Gallowgate had become unsuitable in every respect, and a few years ago the Government had more extensive and better equipped barracks

built at Garrioch. In these there are now troops of all arms. There are seven rifle volunteer regiments, one corps of artillery volunteers, and one corps of engineer volunteers, representing an aggregate of over 10,000 men.

Having referred, with as much detail as is possible under the circumstances, to Glasgow as it at present exists, all that is now necessary is to speak in general terms of its appearance—its architectural, commercial, industrial, and social appearance. Perhaps no city in the kingdom is better or more regularly laid out. The long lines of regular streets, the freestone buildings in all styles of architecture—some of these buildings grand and imposing—have a most favourable impression upon the stranger. It is not too much to say, however, that the most magnificent buildings in the city are the property of private companies or persons, with which the Government and municipal buildings show to a disadvantage. There is some hope that there may be some change in the near future, and that by the erection of the new Town Hall and municipal offices in George Square the public character of the community will in this respect be redeemed. George Square will then present an exceedingly fine appearance—the Merchants' House and Bank of Scotland to the west; the splendid range of hotel buildings to the north; the municipal offices to the east; and the General Post Office and warehouses to the south. In the older portions of the city quite a transformation has been effected of late years, by the combined operations of the Improvement Trust and the City Union Railway. Dens have given place to comfortable dwelling-houses or open-air spaces; a great improvement has taken place in the appearance of the localities operated upon; and, what is more to the purpose, the death-rate has been considerably reduced. Commercially, again, Glasgow is advancing with rapid strides. The places of business, which, at the beginning of the century, only required a few streets in the vicinity of the Cross, have now spread over a greatly extended area; the resident population is being driven to the outskirts of the city; and what were once dwelling-houses have now been turned into gigantic warehouses. Indeed, it would seem as if the ancient royalty of Glasgow, after the manner of London, would soon be almost entirely devoted to business purposes, and that what were once the suburbs would become the residential portion of the city. Matters are at present tending in that direction. Outside this commercial area are the public works and textile factories—the latter principally in the east end, and the former, in which are included engineering works, foundries, &c., in the north, north-east, and south, while in the west are the great shipbuilding yards. In all these directions there is an immense working-

class population, whose labour and skill have contributed in an immeasurable degree to elevate Glasgow to the high position it now occupies among the industrial communities of the world. These remarks bring on the consideration of the social condition of the city. Poverty would seem to be an inevitable concomitant of great wealth; every centre of population appears to have, by some unexplained law of nature, its rich west-end and its poor east-end; and in these respects Glasgow is no exception to the general rule. In the western districts of the city may be seen the palatial mansions of merchant and industrial princes; in the eastern the overcrowded tenements of the labourer, the mechanic, or the struggling tradesman. While such is the case, it is nevertheless true that a community of interests is recognised between the two classes; and that when want and distress overtake the latter, the former are always ready to stretch forth a helping hand. Perhaps no better illustration of that fact could be found than in the dull times consequent upon the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, when both classes suffered severely, but when the suffering bore heaviest on the poor, who in their hour of need were aided by their crippled, though still wealthy, fellow-citizens.

Glasgow has now reached the proud position of being the second city in the empire. To that dignity it has advanced with remarkable rapidity, and there appears to be no relaxation of the energy which has accomplished that result. To the higher dignity of first in the empire, it may not hope to aspire. Its citizens, however, may retain for it the honour it now possesses, and by leaving all competitors far behind show that they, as did their forefathers, have acted on the lesson conveyed in the time-honoured motto of the city,

"LET GLASGOW FLOURISH."

APPENDIX.

PRELATES OF THE SEE OF GLASGOW.

Circa A.D. 543.—St. Kentigern or Mungo, founder of the See.

Roman Catholic.

The see was re-founded by David, Prince of Cumbria, who had, in 1115, ordered an Inquisition concerning the lands belonging to the Church of Glasgow, and who had it constituted a diocese according to the canons of the Church of Rome.

Bishops.

1115-47.—John Achaius.
1147-64.—Herbert.
1164-74.—Ingram Newbigging.
1175-99.—Joceline.
1199. —Hugh de Roxburgh, *elect.*
1200-02.—William Malvoisin.
1202-07.—Florentius, *elect.*
1207-32.—Walter.
1233-58.—William de Bondington.
1260. —Nicholas Moffat, *elect.*
1260-68.—John de Cheyam.
1268-70.—Nicholas Moffat, *elect.*
1270. —William Wishart, *elect.*
1273-1316.—Robert Wishart.
1317. —Stephen de Dundimore, *elect.*
1319-25.—John Wishart.
1325-35.—John Lindsay.
1335-67.—William Rae.
1368-87.—Walter Wardlaw, Cardinal.
1389-1408.—Matthew Glendinning.
1408-25.—William Lauder.
1426-46.—John Cameron.
1446-47.—James Bruce, *elect.*
1447-54.—William Turnbull.
1455-73.—Andrew Muirhead.
1474-83.—John Laing.
1483. —George Carmichael, *elect.*

Archbishops.

In 1488 the diocese was erected to the dignity of an archbishopric, during the episcopate of Robert Blackadder.

1484-1508.—Robert Blackadder.
1508-24.—James Beaton.
1524-47.—Gavin Dunbar.
1548-51.—Alexander Gordon, *elect.*
1551-60.—James Beaton.

James Beaton, nephew of the cardinal of that name, who was Dunbar's predecessor in the see of Glasgow, was driven from his post by the Reformation in 1560.

Protestant Archbishops.

After the Roman Catholic clergy had been driven from the country, there was a certain indefiniteness in the mode of government of the reformed church. Prelacy had not been legally abolished, and as James Beaton was, in the eyes

of the law, still entitled to the temporalities of his see, four Protestants in succession were appointed "Tulchan" archbishops in order to divert the revenues from him, while they had the spiritual oversight of their clergy. These temporalities were restored to Beaton by James VI. in 1588, and he held them until 1603.

1571-72.—John Porterfield, *Tulchan.*
1572-81.—James Boyd, *Tulchan.*
1581-85.—Robert Montgomery, *Tulchan.*
1585-87.—William Erskine (a layman), *Tulchan.*
1588-1603.—James Beaton (late Roman Catholic Archbishop).
1603-15.—John Spottiswoode, first prelate under the Protestant Episcopacy.
1615-32.—James Law.
1633-38.—Patrick Lindsay.

Episcopacy was abolished by the General Assembly held in Glasgow in 1638. For twenty-three years there were no Archbishops of Glasgow, but the Restoration, in 1660, brought with it the re-establishment of Episcopacy.

1661-63.—Andrew Fairfoul.
1664-69.—Alexander Burnet (deposed).
1670-74.—Robert Leighton.
1674-79.—Alexander Burnet (restored).
1679-84.—Arthur Ross.
1684-87.—Alexander Cairncross.
1687-88.—John Paterson.

In 1688, at the Revolution, Episcopacy was finally abolished in Scotland, so far, at least, as State recognition was concerned.

PROVOSTS OF GLASGOW.

The early Provosts of Glasgow were nominated by the Archbishops of Glasgow, under the charters of Barony and Regality granted in their favour by the Crown. The first name on the subjoined list is that of a person who held the provostship when Glasgow was a burgh of barony, to which dignity it had been erected in the reign of King William the Lion.

1268.—Richard de Dunidovis.

Glasgow made a Burgh of Regality on the 20th April, 1450.

1472.—John Stuart of Minto.
1480.—Sir Thomas Stewart of Minto.
1507.—Allan Stewart.
1513.—Sir John Stewart of Minto.
1528.—Sir Robert Stewart of Minto.
1538.—Archibald Dunbar of Baldoon.
1541.—Lord Belhaven.
1543.—John Stewart of Minto.
1545.—Andrew Hamilton of Middop.
1553.—Andrew Hamilton of Cockney.
1560.—Robert Lindsay of Dunrod.
1569.—Sir John Stewart of Minto.
1574.—Lord Boyd.
1577.—Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill.
1578.—Earl of Lennox.
1580.—Sir Matthew Stewart of Minto.
1583.—Earl of Montrose.
1584.—Lord Kilsyth.
1586.—Sir Matthew Stewart of Minto.
1600.—Sir George Elphinston of Blythswood.

Letter of Guildry agreed upon in 1604, and signed in 1605.

1605.—Sir George Elphinston.
1607.—Sir John Houston of Houston.
1609.—James Inglis.
1613.—James Stuart.
1614.—James Hamilton.
1617.—James Stuart.
1619.—James Inglis.
1621.—James Hamilton.
1623.—Gabriel Cunningham.
1625.—James Inglis.
1627.—James Hamilton.
1628.—John Hamilton.
1629.—Gabriel Cunningham.
1633.—William Stewart.
1634.—Patrick Bell.
1636.—Colin Campbell.

Glasgow made a Royal Burgh in 1636.

1637.—James Stewart.
1638.—Patrick Bell.
1639.—Gabriel Cunningham.
1640.—James Stewart.
1642.—William Stewart.
1643.—James Bell.
1645.—George Porterfield.
1647.—James Stewart.
1648. { Colin Campbell, Senior. / George Porterfield.
1649.—George Porterfield.
1650.—John Graham.
1651.—George Porterfield.
1652.—Daniel Wallace.
1655.—John Anderson, Senior.
1657.—John Anderson, Junior.
1658.—John Bell.
1660.—Colin Campbell.
1662.—John Bell.
1664.—William Anderson.
1667.—John Anderson, Senior.
1668.—William Anderson.
1669.—James Campbell.
1670.—William Anderson.
1674.—John Bell.
1676.—James Campbell.
1678.—John Bell.
1681.—Sir John Bell.
1682.—John Barns.
1684.—John Johnston.
1686.—John Barns.
1687.—Walter Gibson.
1689.—John Anderson.

Free election of magistrates granted the Town Council in June, 1690.

1691.—James Peadie.
1693.—William Napier.
1695.—John Anderson.
1697.—James Peadie.
1699.—John Anderson.
1701.—Hugh Montgomerie.
1703.—John Anderson.
1705.—John Aird, Junior.
1707.—Robert Rodger.
1709.—John Aird.
1711.—Robert Rodger.
1713.—John Aird.
1715.—John Bowman.
1717.—John Aird.
1719.—John Bowman.
1721.—John Aird.
1723.—Charles Miller.
1725.—John Stark.
1727.—James Peadie.
1728.—John Stirling.
1730.—Peter Murdoch.
1732.—Hugh Rodger.
1734.—Andrew Ramsay.
1736.—John Coulter.
1738.—Andrew Aiton.
1740.—Andrew Buchanan.
1742.—Laurence Dinwiddie.
1744.—Andrew Cochran.
1746.—John Murdoch, Junior.
1748.—Andrew Cochran.
1750.—John Murdoch, Junior.
1752.—John Brown.
1754.—George Murdoch.
1756.—Robert Christie.
1758.—John Murdoch, Junior.
1760.—Andrew Cochran.
1762.—Archibald Ingram.
1764.—John Bowman.
1766.—George Murdoch.
1768.—James Buchanan.
1770.—Colin Dunlop.
1772.—Arthur Connell.
1774.—James Buchanan.
1776.—Robert Donald.
1778.—William French.
1780.—Hugh Wylie.
1782.—Patrick Colquhoun.
1784.—John C. Campbell.
1786.—John Riddell.
1788.—J. Campbell, Junior.
1790.—James M'Dowall.
1792.—Gilbert Hamilton.
1794.—John Dunlop.
1796.—James M'Dowall.
1798.—Laurence Craigie.
1800.—John Hamilton.
1802.—Laurence Craigie.
1804.—John Hamilton.
1806.—James M'Kenzie.
1808.—James Black.
1810.—John Hamilton.
1812.—Kirkman Finlay.
1814.—Henry Monteith.
1816.—James Black.
1818.—Henry Monteith.
1820.—John Thos. Alston.
1822.—James Smith.
1824.—Mungo N. Campbell.
1826.—William Hamilton.
1828.—Alexander Garden.
1830.—Robert Dalglish.
1832.—James Ewing.

Municipal Reform Act passed in 1833.

1833.—Robert Graham.
1834.—William Mills.
1837.—Henry Dunlop.
1840.—James Campbell.
1843.—James Lumsden.
1846.—Alexander Hastie.

1848.—James Anderson.
1851.—Robert Stewart.
1854.—Andrew Orr.
1857.—Andrew Galbraith.
1860.—Peter Clouston.
1863.—John Blackie.
1866.—James Lumsden.
1869.—William Rae Arthur.
1871.—James Watson.
1874.—James Bain.
1877.—William Collins.
1880.—John Ure.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATIVES OF GLASGOW.

Prior to the Union between England and Scotland, the burgh of Glasgow was represented in the Scottish Parliaments and Conventions of Estates by a person elected by the Town Council of the city, who was always a member of that body, and who frequently occupied the position of provost. The first time Glasgow is mentioned in the authentic records as being represented in the Scottish Parliament is under the date of 1546.

Members of the Scottish Parliament.

1546.—Andrew Hamilton of Middop, Provost.
1560.—Robert Lindsay of Dunrod, Provost.
1567.—William Maxwell.
1569.—John Stewart of Minto, Provost.
James Fleming.
1571.—Matthew Stewart, Younger of Minto.
James Fleming.
1572.—Matthew Stewart, Younger of Minto.
1578.—Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill, Ex-Provost.
1579.—George Elphinston of Blythswood, Bailie.
1581.—Matthew Stewart of Minto.
1583.—John Grahame, Younger.
1584.—George Elphinston.
1585.—Robert Rowat.
1586.—Archibald Hiegat.
1592.—William Cuninghame.
1593.—Robert Chyrnside.
James Stewart.
1594.—Robert Chirnside.
1594.—Sir Matthew Stewart of Minto, Provost.
1594.—Robert Rowan.
1596.—James Bell.
1598.—John Ros.
1600.—James Forrett.
1604.—James Forrett.
1605.—James Forrett,
1607.—James Forrett.
1608.—James Inglis, Provost.
1612.—James Inglis.
James Bell.
1617.—James Inglis.
1617.—James Hamilton, Ex-Provost.
James Stewart, Provost.
1621.—James Inglis.
1625.—Patrick Bell.
1628.—Gabriel Cuningham, Provost.
1630.—Gabriel Cuningham, Provost.
1639.—Patrick Bell, Provost.
1640.—Gabriel Cuningham, Provost.
1643.—James Bell, Provost.
1644.—James Bell, Provost.
1645.—Colin Campbell.
1646.—George Porterfield, Provost.
1648.—George Porterfield, Provost.
John Graham.
1661.—John Bell, Ex-Provost.
1665.—William Anderson of Newton, Provost.
1667.—William Anderson of Newton, Provost.
1669.—William Anderson of Newton, Provost.
1678.—James Campbell, Provost.
1681.—John Bell, Provost.
1685.—John Johnston of Claughrie, Provost.
1689.—John Anderson of Dowhill, Provost.
1703.—Hugh Montgomerie of Busby, Provost.

Members of the British Parliament since the Union.

By the Union of England and Scotland, accomplished on the 7th May, 1707, Glasgow was deprived of its independent member of Parliament, and it was one

of a group—Rutherglen, Renfrew, Dumbarton, and Glasgow—which returned one member. The mode of election under this system has been fully explained and exemplified at page 420 of this work.

1707.—Sir John Johnston, Knight.
1708.—Robert Rodger, Lord Provost.
1710.—Thomas Smith, Dean of Guild.
1713.—Thomas Smith, Dean of Guild.
1715.—Daniel Campbell of Shawfield.
1722.—Daniel Campbell of Shawfield.
1727.—Daniel Campbell of Shawfield.
1734.—Col. John Campbell of Croombank.
1741.—Neil Buchanan, Merchant.
1747.—Lieut.-Col. John Campbell of Mamore.
1754.—Lieut.-Col. John Campbell of Mamore.
1761.—Lord Frederick Campbell, Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland.
1768.—Lord Frederick Campbell, Lord Clerk Register.
1774.—Lord Frederick Campbell, Lord Clerk Register.
1780.—John Craufurd of Auchenames.
1784.—Ilay Campbell of Succoth, Lord Advocate.
1790.—John Craufurd of Auchenames, in room of Ilay Campbell, who had become Lord President of the Court of Session.
1790.—William M'Dowall of Gartland.
1796.—William M'Dowall of Gartland.
1802.—Boyd Alexander of Southbar.
1806.—Archibald Campbell of Blythswood.
1807.—Archibald Campbell of Blythswood.
1809.—Alexander Houston of Clerkington.
1812.—Kirkman Finlay, Lord Provost of Glasgow.
1818.—Alexander Houston of Clerkington.
1820.—Archibald Campbell of Blythswood.
1826.—Archibald Campbell of Blythswood.
1830.—Archibald Campbell of Blythswood.
1831.—John Dixon, Advocate.

Members of the Imperial Parliament since the Passing of the Great Reform Bill.

By the passing of the Great Reform Bill of 1832, Glasgow was restored to its ancient right of independent representation in Parliament, and, in consideration of its importance, it had the privilege granted it of returning two members.

1832.—James Ewing, Lord Provost.
James Oswald of Shieldhall.
1835.—James Oswald.
Colin Dunlop of Tollcross.
1836.—Lord William Bentinck, in room of Dunlop (Chiltern Hundreds).
1837.—John Dennistoun of Golfhill, in room of Oswald (Chiltern Hundreds).
1837.—Lord William Bentinck.
John Dennistoun.
1839.—James Oswald, in room of Bentinck (Chiltern Hundreds).
1841.—James Oswald.
John Dennistoun.
1847.—John M'Gregor.
Alexander Hastie.
1852.—Alexander Hastie.
John M'Gregor.
1857.—Walter Buchanan, in room of M'Gregor, Manor of Northstead.
1857.—Walter Buchanan.
Robert Dalglish.
1859.—Walter Buchanan.
Robert Dalglish.
1865.—William Graham.
Robert Dalglish.

Under the Reform Act of 1868, Glasgow was granted three members of Parliament.

1868.—Robert Dalglish.
William Graham.
George Anderson.
1874.—Charles Cameron.
George Anderson.
Alexander Whitelaw.
1879.—Charles Tennant, in room of Whitelaw, deceased.
1880.—George Anderson.
Charles Cameron, LL.D.
Robert Tweedie Middleton.

DEANS OF GUILD OF GLASGOW.

The office of Dean of Guild was created by the Letter of Guildry of Glasgow, signed in 1605. *Ex-officio*, the Dean is a member of the Town Council.

1605.—Matthew Turnbull.
1606.—Matthew Turnbull.
1607.—Archibald Faulds.
1608.—William Sommer.
1609.—George Master.
1610.—James Bell.
1611.—James Bell.
1612.—William Weems.
1613.—James Bell.
1614.—James Bell.
1615.—John Lawson.
1616.—John Lawson.
1617.—John Rowat.
1618.—Colin Campbell.
1619.—Colin Campbell.
1620.—John Rowat.
1621.—John Rowat.
1622.—Colin Campbell.
1623.—Matthew Turnbull.
1624.—Matthew Turnbull.
1625.—Patrick Bell.
1626.—Matthew Turnbull.
1627.—Colin Campbell.
1628.—Colin Campbell.
1629.—Patrick Bell.
1630.—Patrick Bell.
1631.—John Barns.
1632.—John Barns.
1633.—Henry Glen.
1634.—Henry Glen.
1635.—John Barns.
1636.—John Barns.
1637.—James Hamilton.
1638.—James Hamilton.
1639.—Walter Stirling.
1640.—Walter Stirling.
1641.—James Bell.
1642.—John Barns.
1643.—John Barns.
1644.—Henry Glen.
1645.—Henry Glen.
1646.—Andrew Cunninghame.
1647.—James Hamilton.
1648.—William Dunlop.
1649.—William Dunlop.
1650.—John Graham.
1651.—William Dunlop.
1652.—William Dunlop.
1653.—James Hamilton.
1654.—James Hamilton.
1655.—James Hamilton.
1656.—John Bell.
1657.—John Bell.
1658.—James Campbell.
1659.—James Campbell.
1660.—James Barns.
1661.—Frederick Hamilton.
1662.—Frederick Hamilton.
1663.—John Barns.
1664.—John Barns.
1665.—Frederick Hamilton.
1666.—James Pollock.
1667.—John Walkingshaw.
1668.—John Walkingshaw.
1669.—John Anderson.
1670.—Frederick Hamilton.
1671.—Robert Rae.
1672.—John Walkingshaw.
1673.—John Walkingshaw.
1674.—John Caldwell.
1675.—Frederick Hamilton.
1676.—Frederick Hamilton.
1677.—Frederick Hamilton.
1678.—Ninian Anderson.
1679.—Robert Campbell.
1680.—Robert Campbell.
1681.—Robert Campbell.
1682.—Hugh Nisbet.
1683.—Hugh Nisbet.
1684.—John Fleming.
1685.—Robert Cross.
1686.—George Johnston.
1687.—Robert Campbell.
1688.—Robert Campbell.
1689.—William Napier.
1690.—William Napier.
1691.—James Peadie.
1692.—John Leckie.
1693.—John Leckie.
1694.—John Cross.
1695.—John Cross.
1696.—John Aird.
1697.—John Aird.
1698.—Robert Rodger.
1699.—Robert Rodger.
1700.—John Aird.
1701.—John Aird.
1702.—Robert Zuill.
1703.—Robert Zuill.
1704.—John Aird.
1705.—John Aird.
1706.—John Bowman.
1707.—John Bowman.
1708.—Thomas Peter.
1709.—Thomas Peter.
1710.—Thomas Smith.
1711.—Thomas Smith.
1712.—Robert Zuill.
1713.—Robert Zuill.
1714.—Thomas Smith.
1715.—Thomas Smith.
1716.—Adam Montgomery.

1717.—Adam Montgomery.
1718.—Thomas Thomson.
1719.—Thomas Thomson.
1720.—James Peadie.
1721.—James Peadie.
1722.—Gilbert Buchanan.
1723.—Gilbert Buchanan.
1724.—John Stark.
1725.—John Stark.
1726.—James Peadie.
1727.—James Peadie.
1728.—Hugh Rodger.
1729.—Andrew Buchanan.
1730.—Andrew Buchanan.
1731.—William Cunningham.
1732.—William Cunningham.
1733.—Andrew Ramsay.
1734.—Andrew Ramsay.
1735.—Arthur Tran.
1736.—Arthur Tran.
1737.—John Gartshore.
1738.—John Gartshore.
1739.—James Robertson.
1740.—James Robertson.
1741.—George Bogle.
1742.—George Bogle.
1743.—Matthew Bogle.
1744.—Matthew Bogle.
1745.—George Bogle.
1746.—George Bogle.
1747.—John Brown.
1748.—John Brown.
1749.—George Bogle.
1750.—George Bogle.
1751.—George Murdoch.
1752.—George Murdoch.
1753.—Robert Christie.
1754.—Robert Christie.
1755.—John Bowman.
1756.—John Bowman.
1757.—Archibald Ingram.
1758.—Archibald Ingram.
1759.—Colin Dunlop.
1760.—Colin Dunlop.
1761.—Archibald Ingram.
1762 —Archibald Ingram.
1763.—George Brown.
1764.—George Brown.
1765.—Arthur Connell.
1766.—Arthur Connell.
1767.—John Campbell.
1768.—John Campbell.
1769.—Archibald Smellie.
1770.—Archibald Smellie.
1771.—George Brown.
1772.—George Brown.
1773.—James Buchanan.
1774.—James Buchanan.
1775.—John Campbell.
1776.—John Campbell.
1777.—Hugh Wylie.
1778.—Hugh Wylie.
1779.—Alexander M'Caul.
1780.—Alexander M'Caul.
1781.—John Campbell.
1782.—John Campbell.
1783.—James M'Grigor.
1784.—James M'Grigor.
1785.—Alexander Brown.
1786.—Alexander Brown.
1787.—William Coats.
1788.—William Coats.
1789.—Alexander Low.
1790.—Alexander Low.
1791.—Gilbert Hamilton.
1792.—Gilbert Hamilton.
1793.—John Dunlop.
1794.—John Dunlop.
1795.—John Laurie.
1796.—John Laurie.
1797.—Robert Findlay.
1798.—Robert Findlay.
1799.—Archibald Smith.
1800.—Archibald Smith.
1801.—John Laurie.
1802.—John Laurie.
1803.—Robert Carrick.
1804.—Robert Carrick.
1805.—John Laurie.
1806.—John Laurie.
1807.—James Black.
1808.—James Black.
1809.—John Hamilton.
1810.—John Hamilton.
1811.—Robert M'Nair.
1812.—Daniel Mackenzie.
1813.—Daniel Mackenzie.
1814.—John Guthrie.
1815.—John Guthrie.
1816.—James Ewing.
1817.—James Ewing.
1818.—Henry Monteith.
1819.—Robert Findlay.
1820.—Robert Findlay.
1821.—William Smith.
1822.—William Smith.
1823.—Mungo N. Campbell.
1824.—Mungo N. Campbell.
1825.—Robert Dalglish.
1826.—Robert Dalglish.
1827.—Alexander Garden.
1828.—Alexander Garden.
1829.—Stewart Smith.
1830.—Stewart Smith.
1831.—James Ewing.
1832.—James Ewing.
1833.—James Hutchison.
1834.—James Hutchison.
1835.—James Martin.
1836.—James Martin.
1837.—William Brown.
1838.—William Brown.
1839.—James Browne.
1840.—James Browne.
1841.—William Gray.
1842.—William Gray.

1843.—Hugh Cogan.
1844.—Hugh Cogan.
1845.—John Leadbetter.
1846.—John Leadbetter.
1847.—James Bogle.
1848.—James Bogle.
1849.—Andrew Galbraith.
1850.—Andrew Galbraith.
1851.—William Connal.
1852.—William Connal.
1853.—James Hannan.
1854.—James Hannan.
1855.—Robert Baird.
—William Connal.
—William Brown.
1856.—John Jamieson.
1857.—John Jamieson.
1858.—Thomas Buchanan.
1859.—Thomas Buchanan.
1860.—James Lumsden.
1861.—James Lumsden.
1862.—Alexander Ronaldson.
1863.—Alexander Ronaldson.
1864.—Archibald Orr Ewing.
1865.—Archibald Orr Ewing.
1866.—John Ramsay.
1867.—John Ramsay.
—Archibald Orr Ewing.
1868.—William M'Ewen.
1869.—William M'Ewen.
1870.—Alexander Ewing.
1871.—Alexander Ewing.
1872.—Patrick Playfair.
1873.—Patrick Playfair.
1874.—James King.
1875.—James King.
1876.—Sir James Watson.
1877.—Sir James Watson.
1878.—Patrick Playfair.
1879.—James Buchanan Mirrlees.
1880.—James Buchanan Mirrlees.
1881.—Alexander Stephen.

CONVENERS OF THE TRADES' HOUSE OF GLASGOW.

The office of Deacon-Convener was, like that of Dean of Guild, called into existence by the Letter of Guildry of 1605. There had, however, been conveners of the various crafts or trades long prior to that time. In virtue of his office the Deacon-Convener has always been a member of the Town Council.

1605.—Duncan Sempill.
—John Braidwood.
1606.—John Braidwood.
1607.—Ninian Anderson.
1608.—Ninian Anderson.
1609.—Thomas Morrison.
1610.—Thomas Morrison.
1611.—Ninian Anderson.
1612.—Thomas Morrison.
1613.—Patrick Maxwell.
1614.—Patrick Maxwell.
1615.—James Fisher.
1616.—James Fisher.
1617.—Patrick Maxwell.
1618.—Patrick Maxwell.
1619.—John Braidwood.
1620.—Thomas Morrison.
1621.—John Peadie.
1622.—Walter Douglas.
1623.—John Peadie.
1624.—David Shearer.
1625.—William Neilson.
1626.—Ninian Anderson.
1627.—Ninian Anderson.
1628.—William Neilson.
1629.—William Neilson.
1630.—J. Anderson.
1631.—J. Anderson.
1632.—Ninian Anderson.
1633.—Ninian Anderson.
1634.—Gavin Nisbet.
1635.—Ninian Gilhazie.
1636.—Ninian Gilhazie.
1637.—Richard Allan.
1638.—Richard Allan.
1639.—Ninian Gilhazie.
1640.—Ninian Gilhazie.
1641.—William Neilson.
1642.—William Neilson.
1643.—Menasses Lyle.
1644.—Menasses Lyle.
1645.—Ninian Gilhazie.
1646.—Menasses Lyle.
1647.—Thomas Scott.
—Menasses Lyle.
1648.—W. Lightbody.
1649.—W. Lightbody.
1650.—Peter Johnston.
1651.—W. Lightbody.
1652.—Menasses Lyle.
1653.—Menasses Lyle.
1654.—Menasses Lyle.
1655.—Walter Neilson.
1656.—Walter Neilson.
1657.—Menasses Lyle.
1658.—Patrick Bryce.
1659.—John Buchanan.
1660.—Menasses Lyle.
1661.—Menasses Lyle.
1662.—John Miller.
1663.—John Miller.
1664.—Walter Neilson.

1665.—Walter Neilson.
1666.—John Miller.
1667.—John Miller.
1668.—Menasses Lyle.
1669.—William Wallace.
1670.—William Wallace.
1671.—James Ferrie.
1672.—Patrick Bryce.
1673.—Patrick Bryce.
1674.—William Wallace.
1675.—James Ferrie.
1676.—James Ferrie.
1677.—William Watson.
1678.—William Watson.
1679.—James Ferrie.
1680.—James Ferrie.
1681.—Alexander Ross.
1682.—Robert Telfer.
1683.—John Wallace.
1684.—John Smith.
1685.—John Smith.
1686.—John Wallace.
1687.—John Wallace.
1688.—John Wardrop.
1689.—John Gilchrist.
1690.—John Gilchrist.
1691.—John Wardrop.
1692.—Simon Tennant.
1693.—Simon Tennant.
1694.—George Nish.
1695.—George Nish.
1696.—Simon Tennant.
1697.—Simon Tennant.
1698.—John Wardrop.
1699.—John Wardrop.
1700.—Simon Tennant.
1701.—Simon Tennant.
1702.—Thomas Hamilton.
1703.—Thomas Hamilton.
1704.—George Robertson.
1705.—George Robertson.
1706.—George Buchanan.
1707.—George Buchanan.
1708.—John Brown.
1709.—John Brown.
1710.—Matthew Gilmour.
1711.—Matthew Gilmour.
1712.—John Graham.
1713.—John Graham.
1714.—Stephen Crawford.
1715.—Stephen Crawford.
1716.—Matthew Gilmour.
1717.—Matthew Gilmour.
1718.—John Armour.
1719.—John Armour.
1720.—Matthew Gilmour.
1721.—Matthew Gilmour.
1722.—James Mitchell.
1723.—James Mitchell.
1724.—John Armour.
1725.—John Armour.
1726.—James Mitchell.
1727.—Robert Reid.
1728.—Robert Reid.
1729.—John Clarke.
1730.—John Clarke.
1731.—John Craig.
1732.—John Craig.
1733.—Walter Lang.
1734.—Robert Robertson.
1735.—James Drew.
1736.—James Drew.
1737.—Thomas Wodrop.
1738.—Thomas Wodrop.
1739.—Andrew Armour.
1740.—Andrew Armour.
1741.—Robert Mackie.
1742.—Robert Mackie.
1743.—Thomas Scott.
1744.—Thomas Scott.
1745.—Matthew Gilmour.
1746.—Matthew Gilmour.
1747.—John Hamilton.
1748.—John Hamilton.
1749.—Robert Finlay.
1750.—Robert Finlay.
1751.—James Buchanan.
1752.—James Buchanan.
1753.—James Clarke.
1754.—James Clarke.
1755.—George Nisbet.
1756.—George Nisbet.
1757.—J. Wotherford.
1758.—J. Wotherford.
1759.—Daniel Munro.
1760.—Daniel Munro.
1761.—Duncan Niven.
1762.—Duncan Niven.
1763.—James Clarke.
1764.—James Clarke.
1765.—Francis Crawfurd.
1766.—John Jamieson.
1767.—George Buchanan.
1768.—George Buchanan.
1769.—Walter Lang.
1770.—Walter Lang.
1771.—William Craig.
1772.—William Craig.
1773.—William Ewing.
1774.—William Ewing.
1775.—John Craig.
1776.—John Craig.
1777.—Duncan Niven.
1778.—Duncan Niven.
1779.—John Jamieson.
1780.—John Jamieson.
1781.—R. Auchincloss.
1782.—R. Auchincloss.
1783.—Robert Mann.
1784.—Robert Mann.
1785.—Ninian Glen.
1786.—Ninian Glen.
1787.—John Tennent.
1788.—John Tennent.
1789.—John M'Aslan.
1790.—John M'Aslan.

1791.—James M'Lehose.
1792.—James M'Lehose.
1793.—W. Auchincloss.
1794.—W. Auchincloss.
1795.—Robert Robertson.
1796.—Robert Robertson.
1797.—Robert Waddell.
1798.—Robert Waddell.
1799.—Archibald Newbigging.
1800.—Archibald Newbigging.
1801.—John Morrison.
1802.—John Morrison.
1803.—George Lyon.
1804.—George Lyon.
1805.—Robert Austin.
1806.—Robert Austin.
1807.—William Brand.
1808.—William Brand.
1809.—James Cleland.
1810.—James Cleland.
1811.—Basil Ronald.
1812.—Basil Ronald.
1813.—Walter Ferguson.
1814.—Walter Ferguson.
1815.—Robert Ferrie.
1816.—Robert Ferrie.
1817.—John Graham.
1818.—John Graham.
1819.—Robert Hood.
1820.—Robert Hood.
1821.—James Hunter.
1822.—James Hunter.
1823.—William M'Tyer.
1824.—William M'Tyer.
1825.—William Rodger.
1826.—William Rodger.
1827.—William M'Lean.
1828.—William M'Lean.
1829.—John Alston.
1830.—John Alston.
1831.—Archibald M'Lellan.
1832.—Archibald M'Lellan.
1833.—James Graham.
1834.—Archibald M'Lellan.
1835.—James Graham.
1836.—Thomas Neilson.
1837.—Thomas Neilson.
1838.—John Neil.
1839.—John Neil.
1840.—George Dick.
1841.—George Dick.
1842.—Andrew Fowler.
1843.—Andrew Fowler.
1844.—Thomas Brownlie.
1845.—Thomas Brownlie.
1846.—John M'Callum.
1847.—John Stewart.
1848.—John Stewart.
1849.—William York.
1850.—William York.
1851.—David Yuile.
1852.—David Yuile.
1853.—James Craig.
1854.—James Craig.
1855.—James Wilson.
1856.—James Wilson.
1857.—John Morrison.
1858.—John Morrison.
1859.—Adam M'Lellan.
1860.—Adam M'Lellan.
1861.—Anthony Inglis.
1862.—Anthony Inglis.
1863.—James Graham.
1864.—James Graham.
1865.—Thomas Blyth.
1866.—Thomas Blyth.
1867.—Walter Bannerman.
1868.—Walter Bannerman.
1869.—Thomas Warren.
1870.—Thomas Warren.
1871.—James Neilson.
1872.—James Neilson.
1873.—William Smith.
1874.—William Smith.
1875.—Archibald Gilchrist.
1876.—Archibald Gilchrist.
1877.—R. A. Bogue.
1878.—R. A. Bogue.
1879.—Andrew M'Onie.
1880.—Andrew M'Onie.
1881.—Thomas Reid.

THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

The University of Glasgow was established under a bull, of date 7th January, 1450-51, issued by Pope Nicholas V. The chief officials are the Chancellor, the Rector, the Dean of Faculties, and the Principal; and to these there may now be added the Member of Parliament.

Chancellors.

The Chancellor is the head of the University. He is elected by the General Council, of which he is President, and he holds office for life.

1642.—James Hamilton, Marquis of Hamilton.
1660.—William Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn.
1661.—Andrew Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow.
1664.—Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow.
1670.—Alexander Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow.
1674.—Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow.
1679.—Arthur Ross, Archbishop of Glasgow.
1684.—Alexander Cairncross, Archbishop of Glasgow.
1687.—John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow.
1691.—John Carmichael, Earl of Hyndford.
1715.—James Graham, Duke of Montrose.
1743.—William Graham, Duke of Montrose.
1781.—James Graham, Duke of Montrose.
1837.—James Graham, Duke of Montrose.
1875.—Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., M.P.
1878.—Walter Francis, Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.G.

Rectors.

The Rector is, by courtesy, designated the "Lord Rector." His term of office is of three years' duration, and in virtue of his position he is president of the University Court.

1451.—David Cadzow, Canon of Glasgow.
1453.—Thomas Cameron, Canon of Glasgow, and Prebendary of Govan.
1456.—William Heryss.
1460.—David Cadzow.
1467.—Patrick Leche, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Bothwell.
1468.—Duncan Bunche, Canon of Glasgow, and Vicar of Dundonald.
1469.—William Arthurly, A.M., Vicar of Kilbirnie, and Prebendary of Bothwell.
1470.—Thomas de Lutherdale, Doctor of Decrees, Licentiate of Laws, Canon of the Collegiate Church of Abernethy.
1471.—William Glendinwyne, Canon of Glasgow, and Prebendary of Cardross.
1472.—William Lennox, Canon of Glasgow.
1473.—William Semple, Canon of Glasgow, and Prebendary of Aldroxburgh (Teviotdale).
1474.—William de Elphinston, A.M., Licentiate in Decrees, Official-General of Glasgow, and Rector of Kirkmichael Glass.
1475.—William Glendinwyne, Subdean of Dunblane, and Canon of Aberdeen.
1476.—Thomas Montgomery, Canon of Glasgow, and Rector of Eaglesham.
1478.—William Carmichael, Vicar of Symington.
1480.—Thomas Forsyth, Canon, and first Prebendary of Glasgow.
1481.—Patrick Leche, Canon of Glasgow, and Prebendary of Eddleston.
1482.—John Brown, Canon, and second Prebendary of Glasgow.
1483.—William Carmichael, Vicar of Symington.
1484.—Nicholas Ross, Canon of Glasgow, and Prebendary of Renfrew.
1485.—Patrick Elphinstone, Canon of Glasgow, and Prebendary of Erskine.
1486.—John Stewart, Rector of Kirkinner, Diocese of Galloway.
1488.—Thomas de Murhede, Canon of Glasgow, and Prebendary of Stobo.
1489.—David Cunningham, Archdeacon of Argyle, and Provost of the Collegiate Church of Hamilton.
1490.—John Goldsmit, Bachelor in Decrees, Vicar of Cathcart and Eastwood.
1491.—John Doby, Rector of Kirkpatrick Fleming, and Principal Regent of the Pedagogy of Glasgow.
1492.—Nicholas Ross, Canon of Glasgow, and Rector of Renfrew.
1493.—Thomas Forsith, First Prebendary of Glasgow.
—David Cunningham, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Hamilton.
1495.—George Montgomery, Prebendary of Eaglesham, and Vicar of Stewarton.

1497.—John Goldsmyth, Bachelor in Decrees, Canon of Glasgow, and Vicar of Eastwood and Cathcart.
1498.—Patrick Elphinston, Canon of Glasgow, and Prebendary of Erskine.
—Thomas Murhede, Canon of Glasgow, and Prebendary of Stobo.
1500.—Alexander Inglis, Canon of Glasgow.
1501.—Thomas Forsith, A.M., Canon of Ross.
1505.—Patrick Elphinston, Canon of Glasgow.
1509.—Martin Reid, Chancellor of Glasgow.
—George Montgomery, Rector of Eaglesham.
1512.—James Stewart, Canon of Glasgow, and Rector of Cardross.
1513.—Patrick Graham, Canon of Glasgow, and Rector of Killearn.
1517.—Adam Colquhoun, Canon of Glasgow, and Rector of Stobo and Biggar.
1519.—Robert Maxwell, Canon of Glasgow, and Chancellor of Moray.
1521.—James Stewart, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Dumbarton.
1524.—Adam Colquhoun, Canon, Vicar, and Official-General of Glasgow, and Rector of Stobo and Biggar.
1526.—John Reid, Vicar of Mearns, and Prebendary of Bothwell.
1527.—Thomas Campbell, Canon of Glasgow.
1528.—Adam Colquhoun.
1533.—James Houston, Subdean of Glasgow.
1542.—John Ballantine, Precentor to the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow.
1545.—Election postponed on account of the pest.
1546.—Walter Beaton, Canon of Glasgow, and Archdeacon of the Diocese of St. Andrews.
1552.—John Stevenson, Precentor of the Church of Glasgow, and Privy Councillor to Queen Mary.
1553.—John Colquhoun, Canon of Glasgow, and Rector of Stobo.
1555.—Archibald Beaton, Precentor of Aberdeen.
1557.—John Balfour, Treasurer of Glasgow.
1565.—Andrew Hay, Parson of Renfrew, and Superintendent of the West.
1581.—Robert Douglas, LL.D., a parson.
1587.—Archibald Crawford of Jordanhill.
1592.—John Blackburn, Master of the Grammar School.
1593.—David Wemyss, Minister of the High Church.
1594.—John Blackburn.
1595.—David Wemyss.
1599.—John Hay, Parson of Renfrew.
1602.—John Bell, Minister of the Tron Church.
1603.—John Hay.
1612.—John Bell.
1613.—John Hay.
1614.—John Bell.
1615.—John Hay.
1618.—Robert Scott.
1620.—James Hamilton, Commissary.
1621.—Robert Scott.
1627.—John Bell.
1629.—Robert Wilkie, Minister of the Blackfriars Church.
1630.—James Boyle of Kelburn, Commissary of Glasgow.
1632.—Robert Wilkie.
1634.—Zacharias Boyd, Minister of the Barony Parish.
1636.—John Maxwell, Minister of the High Church.
1637.—James Boyle.
1638.—Robert Wilkie.
1640.—John Hay, Parson of Renfrew.
1643.—Archibald Fleming, Commissary of Glasgow.
1645.—Zacharias Boyd.
1646.—James Robertson of Bedlay.
1648.—Robert Ramsay.
1650.—Thomas Lockhart, Commissary.
1655.—George Maxwell of Nether Pollok.
1660.—Ralph Rogers, Minister of the High Church.
1666.—James Ramsay, a Clergyman.
1670.—Archibald Fleming.
1674.—William Cummin, Commissary of Glasgow.
1677.—Dr. Brisbane.
1682.—Richard Waddell.
1686.—Archibald Inglis, Commissary of Glasgow.
1690.—David Boyle of Kelburn.
1691.—Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollok, a Lord of Session.
1719.—Graham of Gorthy.
1721.—Robert Dundas of Arniston, His Majesty's Advocate.
1723.—John Hamilton of Aitkenhead.
1725.—Montgomerie of Hartfield.
1726.—George Martin of Rosse.
1727.—John Hamilton of Aitkenhead.
1728.—George Martin.

1729.—Francis Dunlop of Dunlop.
1731.—John Orr of Barrowfield.
1733.—Colin Campbell of Blythswood.
1735.—John Orr.
1737.—George Bogle of Daldowie.
1739.—John Graham of Dugalston.
1741.—John Orr.
1743.—George Bogle.
1745.—Sir John Maxwell of Pollok.
1747.—George Bogle.
1749.—Sir John Maxwell.
1751.—Sir John Graham.
1753.—Colin Campbell of Blythswood.
1755.—Sir John Maxwell.
1757.—George Bogle.
1759.—John Graham.
1760.—James Hay, Earl of Erroll.
1762.—Thomas Miller of Barskimming.
1764.—Baron William Mure of Caldwell.
1766.—Dunbar Douglas, Earl Selkirk.
1768.—Sir Adam Fergusson of Kilkeran.
1770.—Lord Chief Baron Ord.
1772.—Lord Frederick Campbell.
1773.—Charles Cathcart, Lord Cathcart.
1775.—Lord Chief Baron Montgomerie.
1777.—Andrew Stewart of Torrance.
1779.—Campbell B. Cochran, Earl of Dundonald.
1781.—Right Hon. Henry Dundas.
1783.—Right Hon. Edmund Burke.
1785.—Robert Graham of Gartmore.
1787.—Adam Smith, LL.D.
1789.—Walter Campbell of Shawfield.
1791.—Thomas Kennedy of Dunure.
1793.—William Mure of Caldwell.
1795.—William M'Dowall of Garthland.
1797.—George Oswald of Auchincruive.
1799.—Right Hon. Sir Ilay Campbell, Lord President of Session.
1801.—William Craig, a Lord of Session.
1803.—Lord Chief Baron Dundas.
1805.—Henry Glassford of Dugalston.
1807.—Archibald Colquhoun of Killermont.
1809.—Archibald Campbell of Blythswood.
1811.—Lord Archibald Hamilton.
1813.—Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch.
1815.—David Boyle, Lord Justice-Clerk.
1817.—George Boyle, Earl of Glasgow.
1819.—Kirkman Finlay, M.P.
1820.—Francis Jeffrey, Advocate.
1822.—Sir James Mackintosh, M.P.
1824.—Henry Brougham, M.P.
1826.—Thomas Campbell, LL.D.
1829.—Henry Petty, Marquis of Lansdowne.
1831.—Henry Cockburn, Solicitor-General.
1834.—Lord Stanley, M.P.
1836.—Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P.
1838.—Sir J. G. R. Graham, Bart., M.P.
1840.—John Campbell, Marquis of Breadalbane.
1842.—Right Hon. Fox Maule, M.P.
1844.—Andrew Rutherford.
1846.—Lord John Russell.
1847.—Colonel Mure of Caldwell.
1848.—Thomas Babington Macaulay.
1850.—Archibald Alison, Sheriff of Lanarkshire.
1852.—Earl of Eglinton.
1854.—Duke of Argyll.
1856.—Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton.
1859.—Earl of Elgin.
1862.—Viscount Palmerston.
1865.—John Inglis, Lord Justice General.
1868.—Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby).
1871.—Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, M.P. (late Earl of Beaconsfield).
1877.—Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P.
1880.—Right Hon. John Bright, M.P.

Deans of Faculties.

1800.—James Couper, D.D.
1802.—Archibald Campbell of Succoth.
1804.—Gavin Gibb, D.D.
1806.—Duncan Macfarlan, D.D.
1808.—Gavin Gibb, D.D.
1810.—Duncan Macfarlan, D.D.
1812.—Gavin Gibb, D.D.
1814.—Stevenson Macgill, D.D.
1815.—Archibald Campbell, M.P.
1817.—Sir John Connel.
1819.—Archibald Campbell, M.P.
1821.—Sir John Connel.
1823.—Archibald Campbell, M.P.
1825.—Sir John Connel.
1827.—Archibald Campbell, M.P.
1829.—Sir John Connel.
1831.—Archibald Campbell.
1833.—Sir A. Campbell, Bart.
1835.—Archibald Campbell.
1837.—Sir A. Campbell, Bart.
1839.—Kirkman Finlay.
1841.—Lord Dunfermline.
1843.—Sir T. Makdougall Brisbane, Bart.
1845.—A. Maconochie, Lord Meadowbank.

1847.—Earl of Eglinton.
1849.—Colonel Mure of Caldwell, M.P.
1851.—W. Lockhart, M.P.
1853.—Colonel Mure.
1854.—W. Lockhart.
1857.—William Stirling of Keir, M.P.
1860.—James Moncrieff, Lord Advocate.
1863.—Sir A. I. Campbell of Succoth.
1865.—Henry Glassford Bell.
1868.—Sir James Fergusson, Bart.
1869.—Sir Thomas E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.
1872.—Archibald Orr Ewing, M.P.
1876.—Alexander B. M'Grigor, LL.D.
1879.—James King of Levernholm.

Principals.

From the time of the foundation of the University until after the Reformation, the office of Principal was in the presentation of the prelates of Glasgow, but it subsequently became vested in the Crown.

1574.—Andrew Melvil.
1580.—Thomas Smeaton.
1582.—Patrick Sharpe.
1615.—Robert Boyd.
1622.—John Cameron, D.D.
1626.—John Strang, D.D.
1650.—Robert Ramsay.
1653.—Patrick Gillespie.
1661.—Robert Baillie, D.D.
1662.—Edward Wright.
1684.—James Fall.
1690.—William Dunlop.
1701.—John Stirling.
1728.—Neil Campbell.
1761.—William Leechman, D.D.
1786.—Archibald Davidson, D.D.
1803.—William Taylor, D.D.
1823.—Duncan Macfarlan, D.D.
1858.—Thomas Barclay, D.D.
1873.—John Caird, D.D.

Members of Parliament for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen.

Under the Scotch Reform Act of 1868, the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen were granted the privilege of jointly returning a member to Parliament.

1868.—Right Hon. James Moncrieff, LL.D., Lord Advocate.
1869.—Right Hon. E. S. Gordon, LL.D. Dean of Faculty of Advocates.
1876.—Right Hon. William Watson, LL.D., Lord Advocate.
1880.—James Alexander Campbell, LL.D.

POPULATION OF GLASGOW.

The first figures quoted are merely approximate, but the others are more or less official. They relate only to the population within the parliamentary boundaries. The population of the city and suburbs will be found, under each decade of the present century, in the body of this work.

1300,	about	1,500	
1450,	,,	2,000	
1560,		4,500	
1600,		7,000	
1610,		7,644	
1660,		14,678	
1688,		11,948	
1708,		12,766	
1712,		13,832	
1740,		17,043	
1743,		18,366	
1757,		23,546	
1763,		28,300	
1780,		42,832	
1785,		45,889	
1791,		66,578	
1801,		77,385	
1811,		100,749	
1821,		147,043	
1831,		202,426	
1841,		255,650	
1851,		329,096	
1861,		395,503	
1871,		477,732	
1881,		510,816	

RENTAL OF GLASGOW.

The rental of Glasgow is only to be had occasionally previous to 1855-56, when the Lands Valuation Act came into force.

1712,	£7,840	1861,	£1,625,148
1803,	81,484	1865,	1,778,728
1805,	152,738	1871,	2,055,388
1815,	240,000	1875,	2,720,688
1819,	270,646	1880,	3,400,517
1856,	1,362,168		

REVENUE OF CITY IMPROVEMENT TRUST.

The Act was obtained in 1866, and a tax of 6d. per £ was levied for the first financial year ending in 1867; from then until 1872, the rate was 4d. per £; until 1874 it was 3d. per £; and since 1874 it has been 2d. per £.

1867,	£37,891	1874,	£17,867
1868,	27,039	1875,	19,098
1869,	27,991	1876,	20,262
1870,	31,390	1877,	21,472
1871,	30,867	1878,	22,402
1872,	24,199	1879,	22,287
1873,	25,382	1880,	22,251

REVENUE OF THE CLYDE TRUST.

The first figure, though small, is shown to be still smaller by the fact that it represents the returns for the eighteen years from 1752 to 1770. The rapid increase since then indicates the extraordinary progression of Glasgow as a shipping port, aided, no doubt, by the enterprise and forethought of the Clyde Trustees themselves.

1770,	£147 0 10	1840,	£46,536 14 0
1780,	1,515 8 4	1850,	64,243 14 11
1790,	2,239 0 4	1860,	97,983 18 1
1800,	3,319 16 1	1870,	164,093 2 10
1810,	6,677 7 6	1875,	196,326 18 10
1820,	6,328 18 10	1880,	223,709 0 8
1830,	20,296 18 6		

SHIPPING OF GLASGOW.

The following is a list of the tonnage of shipping owned in, or on the register at, Glasgow at various periods from 1597 until 1880.

1597,	tons 296	1820,	tons 6,131
1656,	957	1825,	31,089
1692,	1,182	1830,	39,432
1811,	2,620	1835,	59,151

1840,	tons 87,707	1865,	tons 329,752
1846,	134,603	1871,	433,016
1851,	145,684	1875,	582,191
1861,	218,684	1880,	776,780

SHIPBUILDING ON THE CLYDE.

For the undernoted returns the author is indebted to the tables prepared by Mr. W. West Watson, the City Chamberlain, published in his annual statistical reports. A similar acknowledgment applies to much in the other statistical tables in this appendix. By way of preface to this table, it will be well to state that, for the seven years closing with 1852, the total tonnage launched on the Clyde was 147,604 tons, giving an average of fully 21,000 tons a year.

1859,	tons 35,709	1870,	tons 180,401
1860,	47,833	1871,	196,229
1861,	66,801	1872,	230,347
1862,	69,967	1873,	232,926
1863,	123,262	1874,	262,430
1864,	178,505	1875,	211,482
1865,	153,932	1876,	174,824
1866,	124,513	1877,	169,383
1867,	108,024	1878,	211,989
1868,	169,571	1879,	157,605
1869,	192,310	1880,	248,656

CUSTOMS REVENUE AT GLASGOW.

The following table shows the Customs Duties collected at Glasgow in the decennial years from 1801 to 1861, and for every year from 1863.

1801,	£427 17 7¾	1869,	£1,185,753 19 10
1811,	3,124 2 4¼	1870,	963,534 10 7
1821,	16,147 17 7	1871,	999,572 9 7
1831,	68,741 5 9	1872,	1,033,181 10 6
1841,	526,100 0 11	1873,	1,056,301 5 9
1851,	675,044 15 10	1874,	972,792 9 9
1861,	924,445 10 0	1875,	960,854 8 10
1863,	983,990 10 3	1876,	1,022,825 14 7
1864,	967,263 16 11	1877,	1,016,112 1 9
1865,	788,956 17 9	1878,	945,860 1 5
1866,	933,057 9 5	1879,	954,620 15 5
1867,	1,202,097 4 9	1880,	969,339 7 4
1868,	1,352,246 12 5		

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