*Church and Community in Later Medieval Glasgow: An Introductory Essay**

by John Nelson MINER**

Later medieval Glasgow has not yet found its place in urban history, mainly because most writers have concentrated on the modern, industrial period and those historians who have devoted attention to the pre-industrial city have failed to reach any consensus as to the extent of its modest expansion in the period circa *1450 to 1550 or the reasons behind it. In this study, the specific point is made that it is the ecclesiastical structure of Glasgow that will best serve towards an appreciation of the total urban community. This central point has not so far been developed even in the use of the published sources, which have to be looked at afresh in the above context.*

L'histoire urbaine ne s'est pas jusqu'à maintenant penchée sur la situation de Glasgow au bas moyen âge; en effet, la plupart des travaux s'intéressent avant tout au Glasgow industriel et les historiens qui ont étudié la ville préindustrielle n'ont pu s'entendre sur l'ampleur et les raisons de sa modeste expansion entre 1450 et 1550 environ. Nous affirmons ici que ce sont les structures ecclésiastiques présentes à Glasgow qui autorisent l'évaluation la plus juste de la collectivité urbaine dans son ensemble. Cette dimension primordiale n'a pas même été dégagée du matériel contenu dans les sources imprimées, qu'il faut réexaminer en conséquence.

Modern Glasgow reveals as little of its medieval past to the visitor as it does to its own inhabitants. The city on the Clyde seems to be so much a product of the industrial revolution that it requires considerable effort to reconstruct any part of it which belongs to that formative period of development extending from the War of Independence to the age of Adam Smith. A recent case in point is J. R. Kellett's succinct account of Glasgow's history where he is content to begin the story in the eighteenth century. His reasons are cogent enough, for between the Union of 1707 and the first stages of industrial change in the 1780s the city's population had trebled, from 13,000 to 40,000. This growth was not, however, set in motion initially by industry, but by waterborne commerce and, in its later stages,

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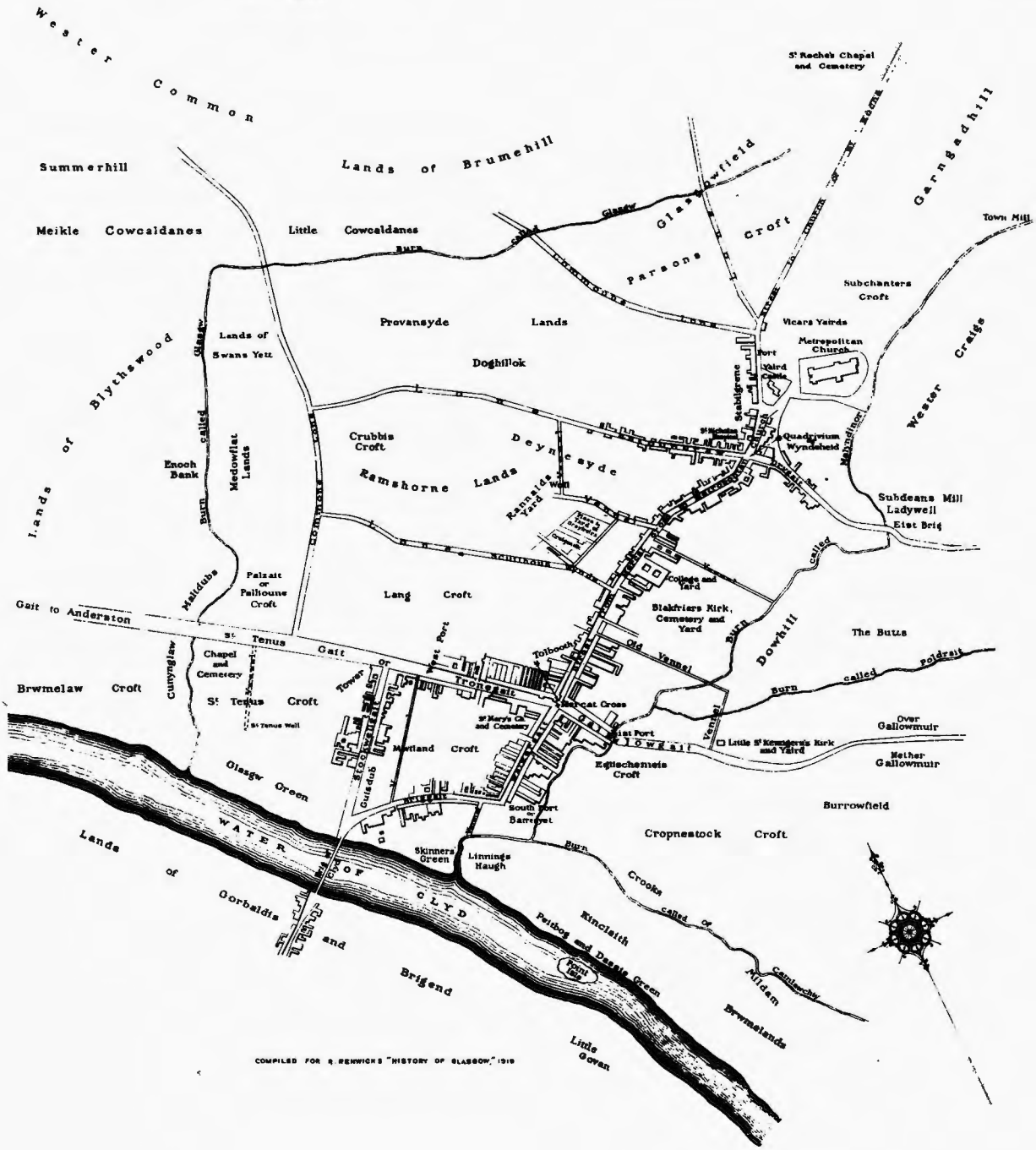
Sketch Plan of THE CITY OF GLASGOW about 1560.



by "the great Atlantic trade importing raw materials, sugar and tobacco from the colonies and re-exporting them to England and to Europe".[1]

Nevertheless, the heart of modern Glasgow is, at least geographically, very close to the old medieval town. George Square and the nearby densely crowded Argyle Street shopping centre are barely a quarter of a mile west of the fifteenth-century site. On a map of the modern city the medieval town runs from the vicinity of the present Royal Infirmary along Castle Street, High Street and the Saltmarket. This thoroughfare, something less than a mile altogether, was the main artery of the pre-Reformation settlement. As a glance at the Sketch Plan of The City of Glasgow about 1560[2] will show, this was essentially the north-south axis. That of the east-west axis consisted of the built-up area extending from St Thenew's Gait — the present Enoch Square — to about a hundred yards or so of the Gallowgait east of the Cross. This area would have comprised, in all, close to one-half of a square mile.

The pre-Reformation town, therefore, included only a small part of the present one whose population has for a long time exceeded that of any other urban centre in Scotland and which even today is still the third city of the United Kingdom, surpassed only by London and Birmingham. Glasgow may be compared with a few of those other large modern cities — Munich, Stockholm and Madrid come to mind — in which industrial and/or commercial expansion has all but obliterated the traces of their medieval development. In this connection a comparison of the mid-sixteenth-century map with the contemporary town records reveals that the elongated form of the medieval settlement reflects a basic fact, namely, that the mercantile community in the southern part was linked to the ecclesiastical one in the northern section. This is the most graphic feature of medieval Glasgow, similar to the way in which a merchant community in the southern part of Aberdeen and centred on the river Dee was linked with the much older ecclesiastical community around St Machar's Cathedral on the Don river, the distance between them comprising about twice the distance of the corresponding stretch in Glasgow.

Unlike the visual impact of the older settlement upon the visitor to Aberdeen, the elongated shape of medieval Glasgow conceals from the passer-by anything resembling a total unit with a distinct and recognizable character of its own. The consequence is that for most people the physical aspects of the medieval quarter have been reduced through ages of extensive change to two "survivals". These are the cathedral of St Mungo and the nearby residence on Castle Street called Provand's Lordship. Together with the university, dating from 1451, these constitute all that is visible from Glasgow's pre-Reformation past. With the transfer of the university in the last century to Gilmorehill,[3] however, efforts to re-

[1] J. R. KELLETT, *Glasgow: A Concise History* (London: Blond Educational, 1967), p. 7.

[2] From Robert RENWICK, John LINDSAY and G. EYRE-TODD, *History of Glasgow*, 2 vols (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co., 1921-1931), I: *Pre-Reformation Period:* 362.

[3] In Kelvingrove Park, more than two miles west of the cathedral.

construct the fifteenth-century community have been considerably hampered.

Although, quite understandably, historical writing has tended to concentrate on the more modern developments in the city, several writers over the past two centuries have drawn attention to a particular kind of development which took place in the century preceding the Reformation. That this chapter in Glasgow's history continues to remain virtually unknown to most students of urban history appears to be due in no small part to the fact that the same writers have experienced difficulty not only in assessing the extent of this development but even more in trying to account for it. The result has been, therefore, that while Glasgow's later medieval past can be viewed within the context of Scotland's national development in the fifteenth century, it has not so far been related to any broader urban experience either within the British Isles or on the Continent. To achieve this large aim is beyond the scope of the present study, but it should, at least, be worth the effort to explore the reasons why fifteenth-century Glasgow has not thus far gained the attention of urban historians, and to suggest a line of inquiry which may be fruitful to this end.

It has already been mentioned that the very geography of the pre-Reformation settlement reveals two smaller communities — one ecclesiastical, the other commercial — joined together in some kind of larger enterprise. That the initiative came from the ecclesiastical community is evident from the charter of confirmation. In 1225 King Alexander II wrote to the bishop of Glasgow as follows:

> We have granted, and by this our charter confirmed, to God and Saint Kentigern, and to Walter bishop of Glasgow, and to all the bishops his successors, to have a burgh at Glasgow, with a market on Thursday, as well and honourably, fully and quietly, and with all our liberties and customs, as any of our burghs in our whole land most fully, well, and honourably, hath. Wherefore we will and straitly command that all the burgesses who shall be abiding in the aforesaid burgh shall rightly have our firm peace throughout our whole land in going and returning.[4]

Alexander states that it was his father, King William — a contemporary of John of *Magna Carta* fame — who had originally granted the charter, but nothing is known of this earliest recognition of Glasgow's commerce.[5] The *Third Statistical Account of Scotland* includes what is to date the most succinct description of early Glasgow and the reader will learn there that Bishop Jocelin (1175-99) is credited with the foundation, not only of Glasgow's cathedral church, but of its commercial life as well. The settlement, it is true, is described as "a mere village", with its houses clustered round the cathedral and mainly occupied by the clergy and their dependents. Its trade and industry were as yet insignificant but it was Jocelin's charter, obtained from William the Lion between 1175 and 1178,

[4] James D. MARWICK and Robert RENWICK, eds, *Charters and Other Documents relating to the City of Glasgow, A.D. 1175-1649*, 2 vols (Glasgow: Scottish Burgh Society, 1894-1897 and 1906), I: part *ii*, p. 11.

[5] Ibid.

which testifies to the development of Glasgow as a burgh, "held of the bishop, with the right to have a weekly market".[6]

The history of Glasgow over the succeeding two centuries does not go very far beyond the sketchy outline provided above. The extant documents are few and pertain for the most part to confirmation or extension of the privileges included in Jocelin's charter, primarily within the context of Glasgow's struggle with its commercial rival of Dumbarton, a royal burgh some fifteen miles to the west. Moreover, the city's role in Scotland's wider development is marginal at best. The building of the new cathedral under Bishop Bondington in the middle of the thirteenth century and the city's involvement in the War of Independence early in the fourteenth appear to be the main landmarks in a generally uneventful stretch of Glasgow's history.[7]

The picture changes quite remarkably in the fifteenth century. Within the space of little more than a single generation four developments in particular helped to move the community closer to the centre of national interests. Early in 1450 King James II conferred on Glasgow the grant of regality, that is, he invested the bishop, William Turnbull, with a considerable degree of royal jurisdiction, including the administration of justice — the four pleas of the Crown excepted — as well as the power to appoint a provost, baillies and other city officials.[8] This new status was soon followed by the establishment, in 1451, of a university, again the result of the close co-operation of James and the bishop.[9] In 1492 Glasgow was raised to the rank of an archbishopric;[10] and in the closing years of the century the first archbishop, Robert Blackadder, completed the building of the cathedral.[11]

The net result of these developments was that Glasgow now had one of the three universities in the kingdom — a generation after the establishment of that at St Andrews and a generation earlier than the one at Aberdeen; the second metropolitan see, again after that of the ancient foundation of St Andrews; and a cathedral exceeded in size only by that of St Andrews itself.

Before attempting the analysis of the wider significance which is to be attached to these and related developments, it should prove useful to make at least a brief historiographical survey of Glasgow beginning with those writers who were nearly contemporary with the developments mentioned above. In this connection, virtually nothing can be learned about an earlier Glasgow from the account of Edward I's well-known foray into Scotland in 1295, or from Froissart's description of the country around the middle of

[6] J. CUNNISON and J. B. S. GILFILLAN, eds. *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, Glasgow* (Glasgow: Collins, 1958), pp. 82-83.

[7] Ibid., and RENWICK and LINDSAY, *Glasgow*, I: 102-10. By far the greater number of urban documents relate to Glasgow's later history, *ca.* 1450 to the modern period.

[8] Ibid., pp. 207-8.

[9] Ibid., pp. 213-24, *passim.*

[10] Ibid., pp. 265-66.

[11] Ibid., pp. 280-81.

the following century. In neither case is Glasgow even mentioned.[12] Nor do we fare any better in noting the observations of sixteenth-century writers. All we learn from the writings of Don Pedro de Ayala, Trevisano, Jean de Beaugé and Estienne Perlin is that Scottish cities are relatively small by continental standards, and that among these St Andrews, Edinburgh and Aberdeen are considered the most populous and most favoured.[13] On this showing, Glasgow is not reckoned in the top half dozen cities.

There remain, nonetheless, four distinct references to Glasgow. In his military survey of Scotland for King Henry V early in the fifteenth century, John Hardyng describes Glasgow as "a goodly city and university" in the midst of a fertile countryside "replenished well with all commodity", so well endowed with corn and cattle, in fact, that he proposes that all three of the king's armies should meet in Glasgow and avail themselves of the abundant supplies. When, in his two separate accounts of the approaches to Glasgow, one from Stirling in the north-east, the other from Ayr in the south-west, Hardyng singles out St Mungo's Shrine, the university and the river Clyde, he delineates, as it were, the three main ingredients in the city's fifteenth-century development.[14]

Writing a century or so later Hector Boece emphasizes the rich endowments attached to St Mungo's Cathedral, as well as the presence of a "general university" where there is provision for the "study of all liberal sciences". Glasgow is "the principal town of Clydesdale" and "the archbishop's seat".[15] In 1578 Bishop John Leslie echoed Boece's favourable description of Glasgow but with an elaboration of the rich natural resources which had impressed Hardyng:

> Surely Glasgow is the most renowned market in all the west, honourable and celebrated ... It is so frequent, and of such renown, that it sends to the Eastern countries very fat kye, herring likewise and salmon, ox-hides, wool and skins; butter, likewise, than which there is none better, and cheese. But, on the other hand, to the West (where there is a people very numerous in respect of the commodity of the sea coast), by other merchandise, all kind of corn to them sends.[16]

This perception of Glasgow as situated in the midst of relative plenty is endorsed by the well-known scholastic theologian and historical writer, John Major, who expands, as well, on the ecclesiastical side of the city by remarking that the church of Glasgow was second to none in Scotland "for its beauty, the multitude of its canons, and the wealth of its endow-

[12] P. HUME BROWN, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1891), pp. 1-10, *passim*.

[13] Ibid., pp. 39-54, 33-79, *passim*.

[14] Ibid., pp. 16-17, 21-23. Hardyng was still working at his chronicle until 1464 and this explains his reference to the university which, of course, did not exist on his first trip to Scotland. Cf. Sir Leslie STEPHEN and Sir Sidney LEE, *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VIII (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921-22): 1246-48.

[15] P. HUME BROWN, *Scotland Before 1700 from Contemporary Documents* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1893), p. 80.

[16] Ibid., p. 120. The text has been Anglicized.

ments''.[17] What evidently engages Major's attention is the wealth of the cathedral endowments, for he elsewhere observes that the cathedral ''possesses prebends many and fat'', even though ''such revenues are enjoyed in absentia''.[18] Major, then, is at one with Hardyng and Leslie with regard to Glasgow's natural and human resources, while Boece's remarks, though not as informative, are in substantial agreement with the assessment of all three.

The one note of discrepancy concerns the university. Whereas Leslie speaks of ''an Academy not obscure nor infrequent nor of a small number, in respect both of Philosophy and Grammar and political study'',[19] Major states that the university of Glasgow is ''poorly endowed'' and ''not rich in scholars''. Although this negative impression may derive, in part, from Major's reservations concerning the need for three separate universities in Scotland,[20] it points to one of the main sources of disagreement among historians of Glasgow right to the present day.

A second group of writers includes those identified with the early modern history of Great Britain, beginning in the last decades of the eighteenth century. The pre-Reformation city had by now become an object of antiquarian interest, and both the scope and limitations of this approach may be observed in the work of John Gibson, published in 1777.[21] Although he is one of the first writers to resort to original sources — the Papal bull for the erection of the university and Bishop Turnbull's privileges to the same are included in an appendix, for instance[22] — much of the book is given over to the historical identification of existing streets and buildings. Gibson's history, in fact, will be the progenitor of many similar accounts of Glasgow within the next hundred years or more, in which the interest in the physical remains of the city's medieval past may be compared with the interest in Greek and Roman ruins associated with the Renaissance. The comparison need not be taken far, however, since the Scottish works, by and large, stop short of any attempt to penetrate to the thought and outlook of the civilization which produced them.

Much of Andrew Brown's work twenty years later is in the same vein, but two features deserve special mention.[23] First of all, he credits Bishop John Cameron (1426-46) with being ''the founder of the city on a plan''. This involved the laying out of the High Street intersected by the east-west axis of Drygate and Rottenrow, with the addition of an area called Limmerfield.[24] The second feature of his account is the view that

[17] John MAJOR, *A History of Greater Britain,* ed.: Archibald CONSTABLE (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1892), p. 86.

[18] Ibid., p. 28.

[19] HUME BROWN, *Scotland Before 1700,* p. 120.

[20] MAJOR, *History,* pp. 28-29.

[21] John GIBSON, *The History of Glasgow, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time* (Glasgow: Chapman & Duncan, 1777).

[22] Ibid., pp. 376-88.

[23] Andrew BROWN, *History of Glasgow,* 2 vols (Edinburgh: W. Creech & P. Hill, 1795-97), vol. II.

[24] Ibid., p. 45.

the Reformation had brought the university "almost to desolation". By contrast, the early institution had been well-endowed. He credits Bishop Turnbull and his successors, as well as the reigning monarchs from James II to Queen Mary, with bestowing upon the university "lands and revenues" and endowing it with "many privileges and immunities".[25]

James Cleland's history of Glasgow, published in 1816, was followed a few years later by his statistical survey of the same city.[26] In the first of these publications he continued the quest for the historical identification of Glasgow's buildings and institutions, a venture which included a conscious effort to sort out the evidence of the city's growth. In this latter connection, the early university is seen to have "contributed more than all that had previously been done towards the enlargement of the Town".[27] In the later work Cleland attempted to estimate the population of Glasgow in 1560, the first such attempt we know of to assess the size of the city in medieval or early modern times. His approximate figure is 4,500, based on the Confession of Faith, an early form of civic and religious census taken in 1581 on behalf of the newly-established Presbyterian church.[28]

A third group of writers belongs to the generations preceding and following World War I. In 1881 George MacGregor published a history of Glasgow[29] in which the university is given the lion's share of the credit for the "considerable improvement" the author sees in the late fifteenth century.[30] There is, moreover, no apparent conflict in the author's mind between the fact of this urban expansion and the continued dominance of the ecclesiastical community in urban affairs.[31]

With Sir James Marwick we reach that period in which for the first time there is a systematic attempt to place the study of Glasgow's past on a more scientific footing. From the 1860s to the eve of World War I, Marwick and his fellow-workers succeeded in establishing Scottish municipal history, especially that of Edinburgh and Glasgow, on a firm documentary basis through their numerous contributions to the Scottish Burgh Records Society, founded in 1863.

An editorial colleague of Marwick's, Robert Renwick, published his history of Glasgow in 1908.[32] Renwick saw his task as providing a more accurate and complete picture of the city's medieval ecclesiastical buildings than had hitherto obtained because "recent investigations have enlarged our knowledge of most of the pre-Reformation churches and

[25] Ibid., pp. 68-69.

[26] James CLELAND, *Annals of Glasgow*, 2 vols (Glasgow: J. Hedderwick, 1816); and *Statistical and Population Tables relative to the City of Glasgow*, 3rd ed. (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1828).

[27] CLELAND, *Annals*, I: 6.

[28] CLELAND, *Statistical Tables*, p. 1.

[29] George MACGREGOR, *The History of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1881).

[30] Ibid., p. 56.

[31] Ibid., pp. 55-56.

[32] Robert RENWICK, *Glasgow Memorials* (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1908). The final volume of the Scottish Burghs Record Society appeared in 1910.

chapels".[33] He identifies the chapels of St Tenew, St Thomas Becket, the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was superseded by the collegiate church of St Mary and St Anne, and St Kentigern, as well as the church and cemetery of St Roche.[34]

In the year following the appearance of Renwick's book, James Coutts published a history of the university.[35] Although a specialized institutional study, Coutts' book includes some estimates of a broader nature. For one thing, he expresses a sober view of Glasgow's constitutional development, stating that there was no provost until as late as 1450 and that, even then, he was still the nominee of the bishop "as both provost and baillies long continued to be".[36] As for the university, even "in the most prosperous years before the Reformation", the student population averaged only forty to one hundred.[37] On the other hand, Coutts questions the contemporary notion of Glasgow's size. If the estimate of 4,500 for 1560 is to be accepted, the figure of some 2,000 for 1450 is too low, "seeing that in the interval the city was four times ravaged by the plague".[38]

Coutts' modest estimate of the university's student population is echoed in the work of James Primrose, published in 1913.[39] The author provides a rather full picture of the buildings and institutions of the later medieval city, but he does not attribute any growth in the community to the presence of the university. On the contrary, "the students were so few and the endowments so scanty that it was permanently on the verge of extinction".[40]

The first volume of Robert Renwick's projected two-volume history of Glasgow, which is devoted to the pre-Reformation period, appeared in 1921, the year after the author's death.[41] Although this work was the fruit of close to half a century of writing and research, it can be singled out not so much for what it says as for the generally positive tone it adopts. The broad context, rather than specific evidence, suggests Glasgow's progress. Speaking of foreign trade in the second half of the fifteenth century, for example, Renwick observes that although the shipping on the east coast was still in advance of that of any other region, "some share of shipping activity was manifesting itself in the Clyde estuary before the end of James the Third's reign." He then goes on to say that in spite of its inland position and the "incommodious state" of the Clyde for a stretch of some miles, "Glasgow was not content to confine its seaward enterprise to traffic in salmon and herrings, but was ready to compete with its neighbours for a share of foreign trade".[42]

[33] Ibid., pp. 226-27.
[34] Ibid., pp. 228-39, *passim*.
[35] James COUTTS, *A History of the University of Glasgow, From its Foundation in 1451 to 1909* (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1909).
[36] Ibid., p. 2.
[37] Ibid., p. 41. The pre-Reformation university is discussed pp. 23-48, *passim*.
[38] Ibid., p. 3.
[39] James PRIMROSE, *Mediaeval Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1913).
[40] Ibid., pp. 94-97.
[41] RENWICK and LINDSAY, *Glasgow:* I.
[42] Ibid.: 244-45.

In the same way, Renwick answers those who, by insisting on Glasgow's dependence on its bishop as overlord, have reduced the city to "an ordinary burgh of barony". For example, in the holding of its own courts, its admission of burgesses and the conduct of its civic administration, all was in accordance "with the ordinary procedure of a royal burgh".[43]

It may fairly be said that David Murray's volumes on the burghs of early Scotland rank among the more incisive and informative studies of the country's urban development.[44] Of Glasgow in 1560 he contends that the city had few industries and "little or no trade". The city on the Clyde was "apart from its cathedral establishment and its university ... largely an agricultural community".[45] Industry was confined mainly to tanning, an activity which was carried on extensively and which required large quantities of oak bark depending on "available woodland".[46]

Within its limits, however, Murray views the pre-Reformation city as quite densely populated. For instance, at the period of the Reformation "the long line from the archbishop's castle to the foot of the Saltmarket ... was built pretty nearly continuously on each side".[47] The university is central to this expansion. Unlike Coutts, Murray thinks in terms of the total urban population which was in varying degrees dependent on that institution; his estimate for *circa* 1450 is no fewer than 1,500 persons.[48]

As for post-World War II historians, C. A. Oakley sees little development worthy of the name all the way from the twelfth century to the late eighteenth when Glasgow was on its way to becoming the "Second City of the Empire. Another hundred years saw it the Sixth City of Europe."[49] By contrast, he observes that in 1600 "the population was only 5,000 and Glasgow ranked eleventh in size among Scottish towns".[50]

J. M. Reid makes the point that little in the town's site foreshadowed any "inevitable" growth into a great city: "It began as the seat of a bishopric which might, quite as easily, have been planted elsewhere."[51] In Scotland "only one of the other medieval sees [Aberdeen] has become a large modern town", but the northern city grew out of the old trading burgh rather than out of the little bishop's city which lay beside it. "The

[43] Ibid.: *xxix*.

[44] David MURRAY, *Early Burgh Organization in Scotland*, 2 vols (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co., 1924), vol. I treats of Glasgow.

[45] Ibid., I: 51.

[46] Ibid.: 56, n. 1.

[47] Ibid.: 54.

[48] Ibid.: 51. His estimates of the population of Edinburgh and Aberdeen are respectively, 9,000 (maximum) and about 3,000 (p. 51, n. 2). William Croft DICKINSON, ed., *Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1957), pp. *xlvi-xlvii*, remarks that "the population of the mediaeval Scottish burgh was small; and it long remained small", and estimates Aberdeen's at the Reformation as around 4,000; Colin PLATT, *The English Mediaeval Town* (London: Granada Publishing, 1979), p. 19: "a quite substantial country town might muster three or four thousand at most".

[49] C. A. OAKLEY, *The Second City* (London and Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1946), p. *v*.

[50] Ibid., p. 5.

[51] J. M. REID, *Glasgow* (London: Batsford, 1956), p. 9.

rest of the old episcopal seats are either country towns or villages."[52] Although in the fourteenth century the diocese of Glasgow had been second only to St Andrews in both wealth and size, the older see had been far more important.[53] Reid thinks, however, that the west country benefited from the strong interest shown in Glasgow's welfare by the new kings. Robert Bruce's grandson, the High Steward who became the leader of the national forces and, in the end, the first Stewart king, had been "the most powerful lord in the neighbourhood of Glasgow".[54] James IV was an honorary canon of the cathedral; in his reign the see of Glasgow "reached the height of its glory".[55]

In an effort at comparative history, Reid thinks that Glasgow was certainly "a modest York", and that it was far better fitted to be an ecclesiastical capital than to grow into a great industrial city.[56] As one final point, Reid sees a connection between the one surviving house of the fifteenth century — Provand's Lordship — and the fact that Glasgow was becoming "an increasingly pleasant and prosperous place". For example, the oldest part of the building was intended to house the clergy of the nearby hospital of St Nicholas, such a provision indicating one proof that Glasgow was becoming "a better provided, more comfortable town".[57]

More recently, Maurice Lindsay has argued that the city's very location was a fortunate one:

> Medieval Glasgow, protected from the marauding Noresemen by its position up-river and the sandy shallows of the Clyde, developed around the cathedral its criss-cross pattern of streets ... To the south-west, there were buildings connected with the cathedral: the palace or castle of the bishops, and later archbishops, with its great hall built by Bishop John Cameron between 1426 and 1446, added to by Archbishop James Beaton early in the sixteenth century and by Gavin Dunbar about 1540; and in the surrounding streets the prebendary manses of the cathedral canons".[58]

In regard to the residences of these canons, Lindsay makes the point that they all had "orchards and gardens", which he links up with the relative abundance of land in and around Glasgow. He compares "Edinburgh's cramped-up towering tenements" with Glasgow's houses, many of which were "single-storeyed thatched cottages" while others had "wooden upper storeys".[59]

With few exceptions, the foregoing examples in the historiographical survey support the view that Glasgow experienced some kind of development and expansion in the later fifteenth century and beyond. What is still in doubt is its extent as well as the underlying cause. Several of the historians discussed above have tried to identify this growth with either

[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., p. 37.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid., p. 38.
[57] Ibid., pp. 38-39.
[58] Maurice LINDSAY, *Portrait of Glasgow* (London: Hale, 1972), pp. 24-25.
[59] Ibid., p. 25.

the commercial section of the urban community or with the newer academic one, while still others have been disposed to regard both communities as mutually beneficial to each other.

With particular regard to Glasgow's commercial development, two works by Harry Lumsden trace the organization of the city's craftsmen to medieval times.[60] In the first study, the hammermen are shown to be the chief corporation in Glasgow.[61] In the later work, Lumsden was able to identify seven Glasgow crafts which succeeded in attaining their incorporation before the Reformation, all of them, in fact, in the single generation between 1516 and 1558.[62] It might be supposed that the attainment of legal recognition would encourage the demand for a correspondingly strong representation on town councils, but Lumsden found that such a movement on the part of the leading trades — whether in Aberdeen, Edinburgh or Glasgow — did not materialize until the end of the sixteenth century at the earliest.[63]

Whether the above developments imply nothing more than that constitutional growth lagged considerably behind a degree of economic expansion still awaits further study. In a broader sense Lumsden views Glasgow's crafts within the ecclesiastical complexion of the city. As he remarks, "seven of the Glasgow crafts were nurtured in the lap of the Church".[64] This is exemplified for him by the way in which the members of the craft of skinners and furriers exercised their corporate devotion to St Christopher, their patron saint. He notes, for instance, that until the Reformation, the revenues of the chaplainry maintained at the altar of St Christopher, which was located on the south side of the cathedral nave, "were augmented" by the contributions from the craftsmen of the two trades united "in charity together". These additional revenues were given in charge to their chaplain who, as both a priest and a notary, served as the craftsmen's own clerk.[65]

In concluding this historiographical sketch, it should prove useful to note the summary of Glasgow's early history by the editors of the third and most recent statistical account of Scotland.[66] In recognizing the foundation of the university and the elevation of the see to an archbishopric as the two "major events" of fifteenth-century Glasgow, they accept the notion of a rivalry between Glasgow and St Andrews as the main factor in these developments.[67] The university of itself, however, poses something of a contradiction, since it is characterized for the first century of its existence by its "paucity of students" and its very necessity called into question.

[60] Harry LUMSDEN and P. Henderson AITKEN, *History of the Hammermen of Glasgow* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1912); Harry LUMSDEN, *History of the Skinners, Furriers and Glovers of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1937).

[61] LUMSDEN and AITKEN, *Hammermen*, p. 6.

[62] LUMSDEN, *Skinners, Furriers and Glovers*, pp. 5-7, *passim*.

[63] LUMSDEN and AITKEN, *Hammermen*, pp. 4-5.

[64] LUMSDEN, *Skinners, Furriers and Glovers*, p. 7.

[65] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[66] CUNNISON and GILFILLAN, *Third Statistical Account*, pp. 82-83.

[67] Ibid., p. 83.

Over against this, the same institution is credited with doing much "to enhance the prestige and to encourage the growth of the city". Although they do not furnish a wholly satisfactory explanation of this apparent inconsistency, it is worth noting that the editors think of all three fifteenth-century universities in "a small and poor country like Scotland" as institutions primarily designed for "the training of an educated clergy for service in the local see".[68]

As for commerce and industry, the same writers speak of the city as beginning to expand "in a modest way". The curing and exporting of salmon is cited as Glasgow's chief foreign trade even as late as the Union of 1707.[69] A connection is inferred between this "gradual development" and the ability of merchants and craftsmen to exercise "an increasing influence in the burgh's affairs". Since no details are forthcoming, however, and the first date given for any movement in this direction is 1569, this line of inquiry is left somewhat vague.[70] Finally, the editors, quite understandably, lament the loss of so many documentary sources, especially the *Red Book of Glasgow,* which, taken off to France in the summer of 1560, was apparently lost forever in the aftermath of the French Revolution.[71]

A comparison can now be made of Glasgow's physical appearance in the mid-fifteenth century with that of a century later. In 1450 the city possessed the following institutional buildings: St Mungo's Cathedral, together with the episcopal palace and its recently constructed great hall; a convent of Friars Preachers; the grammar school; the tolbooth; the chapels of St Mary, of St Thomas and of St Tenew; and St Ninian's Hospital.

By 1550 the provision for church services and spiritual ministry in general had evidently increased. While one, and possibly two, of the chapels existing earlier had disappeared — St Mary's by the Tolbooth and that of St Thomas the Martyr close by St Tenew's — others had been added. These included the church of St Roche, in the northern section, well beyond the cathedral; a chapel in Gallowgate dedicated to St Kentigern; and a new chapel in St Ninian's Hospital at the south end of Glasgow Bridge. Perhaps most impressive of all were the convent of the Franciscan Observants, constructed in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and the collegiate church of St Mary and St Anne, built near the city's cross in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, a foundation providing for a provost, nine prebendaries (increased to eleven shortly before 1550) and three choristers.

There were now three hospitals instead of one. In addition to St Ninian's for lepers, there was that of St Nicholas for twelve poor men, located not far from the archbishop's palace, and Blackadder's Hospital for the accommodation of casual poor and indigent persons near the Stablegreen.

[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid., p. 85.
[70] Ibid., p. 86.
[71] Ibid., p. 87.

Finally, there were the educational services. The principal gain in this respect was the gift by Lord Hamilton of his town house in the High Street to the College of Arts in 1460, embodying at least in part what had been implied in the original grant of a *studium generale* by Pope Nicholas V in 1451.[72] As for the pre-university services, while undoubtedly the demands made upon these had increased, there was still only the one grammar school in Glasgow, mentioned for the first time in 1458 but presumably in existence long before that date. With the gift from the cathedral chanter, Simon Dalgleish, in 1461, this school now had its own separate house across from the university site.[73]

There was, then, visual proof of Glasgow's expansion in the century before the Reformation. What this meant in terms of population, nevertheless, is difficult to assess. As noted above, Cleland's estimate of 4,500 has enjoyed a long life,[74] but it can no longer be accepted. It may be conceded on his behalf that the 2,250 "signatures" could have included children as well as adults who were unable to write. His second assumption, however, that almost as many refused their assent to the newly-established religion as those who subscribed to it, cannot easily be maintained.

First of all, the very terms of the royal charge to "proceed against the refusers according to our laws and order of the kirk" would seem to restrict, if not entirely rule out, the area of debate and compromise envisaged by Cleland. This is so especially in view of the fact that the commissioners and ministers responsible for implementing "the same confessioun of their parochiners" were under threat of forfeiture of part of their own stipends for any laxity in this regard.[75] In addition, there is the recently published report of the Jesuit missionary, Robert Abercrombie, of his six weeks' visit to Scotland in 1580, shortly before the "Second Confessioun of Faith". The atmosphere of tension and secrecy which Abercrombie experienced, and which caused even many of the clergy to dissemble and in some instances compromise their principles, was not one which would have permitted a large number of Glasgow residents to challenge either the king or the new ministers of religion.[76] For these reasons, it appears more probable that an estimate of some 2,000 to 2,500 would come close to Glasgow's population in 1550, the choice of the higher or

[72] RENWICK and LINDSAY, *Glasgow*, I: 282-89, *passim*, 346, but the most recent and succinct description is found in the various references to Glasgow by Ian B. COWAN and David E. EASSON, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman, 1976), pp. 118, 131, 179-80, 197, 207-8, 221-22, 232.

[73] John DURKAN and James KIRK, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977), p. 76.

[74] "Historians of Glasgow have usually acquiesced in the estimate that at the time of the Reformation the population of the city was about 4,500." RENWICK and LINDSAY, *Glasgow*, I: 292.

[75] David CALDERWOOD, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed.: Thomas THOMSON, 8 vols (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842-1849), III: 502.

[76] Rev. William James ANDERSON, "Narratives of the Scottish Reformation, I. Report of Father Robert Abercrombie, S.J., in the year 1580", *Innes Review*, VII (Spring 1956): 30-33.

lower figure depending mainly on the effect upon the city's ecclesiastical community of the political and economic developments related to the Reformation.

To return to the question of the city's expansion near the end of the later medieval period, we have seen that the weight of opinion has favoured either a commercial or an academic basis for such development, with a few writers suggesting the interplay of both elements. It is very clear, however, that the available evidence would rule out the first of these and leave the second, the academic element, as at least questionable. Before considering a third factor, it may be helpful to note some of John Durkan's conclusions in the most recent and thorough study of the university. He makes the point, for instance, that the Glasgow of 1451 was not in a position to make any permanent grant to the university.[77] An annual grant of £20 was paid out of the customs of the city's Tron but even part of this was later diverted into the hands of the archbishop.[78] On the other hand, the town did not, initially, control any benefices "as did some university towns elsewhere in Europe", and Durkan thinks that a great opportunity was lost in this regard at the founding of the new collegiate church of St Mary and St Anne "to strengthen the bonds between town and gown".[79] His conclusion in this respect holds out little encouragement for those who seek to identify the early university with the wider urban development:

> While it is possible that some of the university's revenues have, in the absence of documentation, escaped notice, there can be little doubt that, in this first century of existence, the university's story is one of realistic withdrawal and contraction from Turnbull's project rather than of imaginative expansion of it.[80]

The third and final element to be considered is one which has so frequently been taken for granted that it has not been properly analysed. This is the church itself, comprising not only the more "clerical" side of diocesan administration and ministry, but also the social and educational institutions still dependent on the church for both their inspiration and maintenance. While the majority of the city's historians have recognized the essentially ecclesiastical nature of Glasgow, so far relatively little has been done to examine the more important consequences of this.

The published source material is a case in point. Although the printed collections of Marwick and his successors have been utilized in behalf of either the academic or the commercial importance of pre-Reformation Glasgow, there has been no concern to marshal them in illustration of the more ecclesiastical aspects of the community. This is what the present study hopes at least to suggest as a more fruitful line of inquiry.

In 1501, for instance, when the cathedral chancellor, Martin Wan, donated a bed to St Nicholas Hospital for a poor man who was "a native of the parish of Glasgow", he also willed, constituted and ordained that the

[77] DURKAN and KIRK, *University of Glasgow*, p. 22.
[78] Ibid., p. 30.
[79] Ibid., pp. 22, 30.
[80] Ibid., p. 31.

patrons would be "the provost, baillies, and council of the city of Glasgow".[81] In a second instance, from 1514, the provost of Glasgow, John Shaw, founded a chaplainry in the cathedral at the altar of St Christopher. The candidate for the chaplainry was to be the son of a Glasgow burgess, "meet and learned" for the office. Shaw ordained that on his death the patronage would devolve upon the provost, baillies and community and upon the two latter groups should the provost be absent. If the appointment were delayed beyond a month it would revert to the bishop *pleno iure* "for that time only".[82] These two examples, chosen from among several, recall Bishop Turnbull's charter to the university half a century earlier, in which the regulation of rents in the "inns and houses of our city" were to be determined by an equal number of university members and Glasgow citizens for the purpose.[83] In other words, the social, spiritual and educational life of the city represented the co-operative efforts of the total community frankly recognized as primarily an ecclesiastical one.

The foundation of the collegiate church of St Mary and St Anne — commonly referred to as Our Lady College — brings this kind of co-operation to the fore.[84] First of all, there is a notarial instrument dated 29 April 1525, which records the consent of Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and that of the dean and chapter of the cathedral. Cuthbert Simson, the clerk of both the chapter and the diocese, is requested by the founder, James Houston, sub-dean of the cathedral, to provide him with "a public instrument, ... with the seals, as well as the round seal of the most reverend father as the common seal of the foresaid dean and chapter".[85]

Secondly, there is an instrument with regard to the chaplainries of the new church. Although Houston states his intention to have the "entire disposal, appointment and presentation" of the same during his own lifetime, he constitutes "the baillies, community and burgesses of the city and burgh of Glasgow, undoubted and irrevocable patrons of seven chaplainries". To complement this, Glasgow's provost, Robert Stewart of Minto, requests a public instrument in the name of "the baillies, community, and burgh of the said city". This transaction was carried out in the cathedral chapter house on 1 May 1529.[86]

Thirdly, we have from 4 May of the same year a charter stating that, at a meeting held in the city tolbooth, Robert Stewart of Minto, the provost, together with George Burell and James Wilson, baillies, and the councillors and community of Glasgow, gave Master James Houston and eight chaplains of his own choosing "in pure and perpetual alms ... all and whole those sixteen acres of land of our Moor, lying on the east side of the said city commonly called the Gallow Mure".[87]

[81] MARWICK and RENWICK, *Charters*, I: part *ii*, pp. 92-96.
[82] Ibid., pp. 101-5.
[83] Ibid., pp. 39-42.
[84] Joseph ROBERTSON, ed., *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine, 1549* and *Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum de Glasgu, 1244-1559* (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1846).
[85] MARWICK and RENWICK, *Charters*, II: 494-97.
[86] MARWICK and RENWICK, *Charters*, I: part *ii*, pp. 107-9.
[87] Ibid., pp. 109-12.

Finally, on 15 May 1529 there is the confirmation of the charter by Gavin Dunbar, the archbishop, reciting the wish of the city's provost, baillies and community to have their grant of common moor confirmed and approved by him, "their immediate lord superior and ordinary in things spiritual and temporal". Such confirmation is also the prerogative of the dean and chapter of the cathedral, "lawfully assembled for that effect in their general Whitsunday council", the one condition being the retention of a traditional right of access to the city for their tenants on the adjacent lands of Burrowfield, as well as freedom for travellers to make use of the same as a public way.[88]

An earlier instance of lay and clerical co-operation in the interests of a more comfortable and attractive Glasgow was the foundation of a perpetual chaplainry in the church of the Friars Preachers in 1487 by a cathedral canon, William Stewart, prebendary of Killern and rector of Glassford parish. Stewart not only provided for the details of the usual masses and the participation of the different groups of friars, but held himself responsible for the building of an extension to the friars' residence on the south side of the cloister between the church and their dormitory. This was to consist of "five or six vaults beneath ... and above, two halls, two kitchens, and four chambers". Corresponding to these constructions on the ground floor would be houses above them "well roofed with tiles, and sufficiently furnished in wood and boards". The walls were to match the height of the church and were to be built on the outside "with well hewn stones, to wit, ashler stones". Stewart then assigned to the friars a series of annual rents drawn upon a number of properties which he specified throughout the city in order to assure "more certain maintenance of the said chaplainry".[89]

To ensure that the chaplainry "do in no wise fall to decay through default or neglect of the foresaid friars", Stewart went on to constitute as conservators of the same "the lord rector of the university of Glasgow ... and the regents in the college of Arts ... and the provost and baillies of the said city of Glasgow". While all of the above arrangements were transacted in a provincial chapter of the Dominicans held in Edinburgh on 15 June, provision was made in the following month to have an instrument drawn up in Glasgow attested not only by the canon's personal seal but by "the common seal of the said city of Glasgow" in the presence of witnesses representing the civic community.[90]

Although the above examples may not exactly parallel the kind of lay and clerical co-operation noted by Jacques Paquet in his study of urban life in north-western Europe,[91] they do reveal a common interest in the ability of the church of Glasgow to generate some degree of financial

[88] Ibid., pp. 113-17.
[89] Ibid., pp. 72-76.
[90] Ibid., pp. 76-78.
[91] Jacques PAQUET, "La collaboration du clergé à l'administration des villes de Bruxelles et d'Anvers aux XIVe et XVe siècles", *Le Moyen Âge*, LVI (1950): 357-72; "Bourgeois et universitaires à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Le Moyen Âge*, LXVII (1961): 325-40.

investment. This in turn implies a relative degree of wealth in the church itself which would make the city and surrounding countryside increasingly competitive on the wider national scene.

If we first glance at the cathedral revenues we see what John Major meant by "prebends many and fat". Early in the fifteenth century we find that the prebends of Ancrum and Renfrew, for instance, valued at £15 and £24 respectively, are at the low end of the scale, while Stobo and Glasgow Primo at the other end possess the respective values of £80 and £60. The low range compares favourably with the revenue of a number of the parishes themselves, including, for instance, those of Kirkintilloch, Glassford and Kilpatrick in the diocese of Glasgow, and Haddington and Culas in the diocese of St Andrews.[92] Some notion of the comparative value of the prebends of Stobo and Glasgow Primo can be had from the fact that in the same period the Abbey of Deer and the collegiate church of Bothwell are valued at £100 each and the perpetual vicarage of St Giles, Edinburgh, at £80.[93]

As regards the major offices of the cathedral chapter, if we except those of St Andrews and Aberdeen, we notice the great disparity between Glasgow and the other churches. The chancellorship at Glasgow, valued at £50, may be compared with that of Dunblane, listed at £30 (with annexes); Glasgow's treasureship at £70 is more than twice the value of Dunkeld's at £30.[94] The office of dean at Glasgow, valued at £60, is in a different range altogether from the same office at Caithness and Dunblane where it is listed at £30 (with annexes) and £20 respectively.[95] Perhaps most striking of all is the near £100 attending the archdeaconry of Teviotdale as compared with £40 for the equivalent office in the diocese of Galloway and £30 in that of Moray.[96]

While it is difficult to equate the offices and prebends of a secular cathedral like that of Glasgow with that of a regular chapter as at St Andrews, there seems to be no doubt at all that "St Andrews priory ... not only took precedence over other religious houses but had the largest revenues of any."[97] With respect to the total financial assessment in 1561, for example, it proved to be much the wealthiest of the Scottish cathedrals.[98] Glasgow compares favourably with Elgin and Aberdeen, but whereas the former had virtually ceased to grow by the fifteenth century, the only meaningful comparison can be had with Aberdeen.[99] By 1560, it is true, Aberdeen's assessment exceeded that of Glasgow, but in the number

[92] Annie I. DUNLOP and Ian B. COWAN, eds, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1428-32* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1970), pp. 3, 7, 25, 44, 95, 134, 231, 248.

[93] Ibid., pp. 19-20, 60, 86.

[94] Ibid., pp. 16, 97; 76, 188.

[95] Ibid., pp. 39, 48, 50.

[96] Ibid., pp. 104, 129, 253.

[97] Mark DILWORTH, OSB, "The Augustinian Chapter of St Andrews", *Innes Review*, XXXV (Spring 1974): 25.

[98] COWAN and EASSON, *Religious Houses*, pp. 201-2, 211.

[99] Ibid., pp. 201-2, 206, *passim*.

of their respective capitular prebends and the estimated value of their dignitarial and other major offices, this difference is largely offset. The chapter at Aberdeen comprised thirty canons by 1445, Glasgow thirty-two by 1460.[100] The deanship in both churches is listed early in the fifteenth century at £60, but the treasureship at Glasgow is worth more than double the same office in Aberdeen, while Glasgow's archdeaconry of Teviotdale is three times the worth of Aberdeen's, exceeded only by that of the archdeaconry of St Andrews.[101]

What is here proposed, in other words, is that the particular development which nearly all writers have noted in pre-Reformation Glasgow be traced to ecclesiastical sources; that it was the church, in fine, which was, as it were, the field of investment, and in which other sectors of the urban community — the commercial and the academic, for instance — were necessarily involved. This approach would at once clarify the oft-repeated statement that Glasgow ranked eleventh in taxable income among Scottish cities and towns, since an assessment of this kind would be directed at the commercial part of the community, in Glasgow's case the part of secondary importance.[102]

If, in fact, it is the church which makes most of the above material intelligible, several lines of recent research begin to make collective sense. Durkan's biography of Bishop Turnbull, for instance — a pioneering effort in this regard — marshals support for the thesis that Glasgow was being promoted around 1450 as a centre of royal authority precisely because James II linked the recovery of monarchy directly to the support of the church.[103] Since the king's financial and material resources were weak, "there was all the more willingness to have the support of a strong papacy."[104] Viewed from this aspect, Scotland's west country was to have its own role in the formulation of a national policy. Turnbull's Glasgow was not, then, so much a rival of Kennedy's St Andrews as a complement of that bishop's policy "to secure the royal authority against the encroachments of the nobles".[105]

Implicit in this view is a more positive interpretation of fifteenth-century Scotland than has generally obtained. As James J. Robertson has recently observed, his own analysis of Scotland "emerging in the fifteenth century from archaic law into the beginnings of legal maturity" is a departure from "established opinion".[106] What is of special relevance here is Robertson's emphasis on the increasing commercialism of the Scottish

[100] Ibid., pp. 202-3, 207-9, *passim*.

[101] DUNLOP and COWAN, *Scottish Supplications*, pp. 3, 48; 185, 188; 149, 164, 171.

[102] RENWICK and LINDSAY, *Glasgow*, I: 364-65, 395, n. 1. I wish to thank Mr David Howie, a Ph.D. candidate in Scottish Counter-Reformation history at the University of Guelph, whose research in the Scottish Record Office helps to confirm the importance of this distinction for Glasgow.

[103] John DURKAN, *William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow* (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1951), pp. 19-27, *passim*.

[104] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

[105] Ibid., p. 19; cf. also pp. 21-22.

[106] James R. ROBERTSON, "The Development of the Law", in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed.: Jennifer M. BROWN (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), p. 140.

people in the fifteenth century, reflected, for instance, in the development of parliamentary procedures and in the office of the notary public. Both of these he sees as basically dependent on the canon law of the church: the first, in a particular way, through the process of arbitration;[107] the second, in as much as it was based "on the notarial practice of the church".[108] He even wonders whether it might not be true that the proliferation of collegiate churches in later medieval Scotland was not, in turn, the "canonical and juridical concept of the *collegium*" — the uniting of the daily life of the commercial community with its corporate expression of public worship.[109] What Robertson is suggesting, is that we should be examining an institutional and formative link between the legal profession and the church through the universities. As he remarks, all three universities — St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen — were founded in the fifteenth century and "the influence of their teaching of law on the emergence of a legal profession has not been examined."[110] In other words, it is not only a question of ecclesiastical influence at work in the area of general legal development, but of whether the church was not at the root of the legal profession as a profession.[111]

Additional support for this more positive view of fifteenth-century Scotland comes from Bruce Webster's description of the development of record-keeping by government agents. The comparative scarcity of constitutional and legal sources in medieval Scotland is attributed to the decentralized nature of governing "a country of regions", in which the main source of strength was frequently a local loyalty, and where the structure of the land itself "severely limited royal authority".[112]

As he notes, however, the period from 1460 on reveals more sources of every kind. Not only do government records become much more extensive, but increasing departmentalization encouraged the keeping of separate records. Even apart from official government records, far more business was now being conducted in writing, "and far more of the writing survives". Webster does not hesitate to sum up the entire process as Scotland's "bureaucratic revolution", a late re-creation of what happened in England "at the end of the twelfth century".[113]

In light of the foregoing and in consideration of the essentially agricultural character of Glasgow, it appears safe enough to assume that the one resource capable of uniting all parts of the city in a common enterprise was the land itself. The suggestion that the church of Glasgow could well be the chief beneficiary of this inheritance implies, for our purpose,

[107] Ibid., p. 145.
[108] Ibid., p. 151.
[109] Ibid., p. 150.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid., pp. 150-52.
[112] Bruce WEBSTER, *Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603: The Sources of History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 231.
[113] Ibid., p. 203; a suggestive interpretation which requires considerable amplification.

not so much a struggle between lay and clerical authorities for the control and ownership of such property, but, rather, the ability of the clerical community to administer the land and its revenues in the interests of the city as a whole.

This question of the importance of real estate in the history of the pre-Reformation city may well involve, on closer inspection, the practice of feu-farming which Robertson identified as another of the characteristic features of Scotland's growing commercialism.[114] As Ranald Nicholson expresses it, "the principles of feudalism were retained but were modified to accommodate the growing influence of money in all aspects of life including politics".[115] His own definition of the process is "a heritable grant of land in return for a fixed and perpetual money rent".[116]

Feu-ferm tenure became "the most prominent form of landholding in Scotland, and a form peculiar to Scotland alone".[117] Nicholson explains that feuing became increasingly attractive, especially by the mid-fifteenth century, when the holder of a feu was now free from some of the traditional feudal obligations without suffering any detriment to the heritability and security of his tenure. All that was required of him and his heirs was an annual payment of "a fixed and unalterable feu-duty in cash".[118] Feu-farming was not regarded, however, as in any way a second-rate kind of feudal tenure. On the contrary, to judge from examples in James IV's reign, the feuar apparently possessed the same rights as other feudal tenants without being burdened with the "feudal casualties" of wardship or relief.[119]

Nicholson also points out that, whereas it was the church which had led the way in experiments in this form of landholding in the fourteenth century, there are grounds for thinking that it was James II's financial stringency which had motivated the king to enlist the support of parliament in 1458 for its public adoption. Although, on the one hand, feuing involved the permanent alienation of land and was accordingly discouraged in some conservative quarters, it constituted a secure form of tenure able to promote agricultural improvement.[120]

In regard to this "modernisation of feudalism", the same author also observes that the process was not affected by the development of "an open market in land". In fact, the land which was now the object of frequent sale and purchase came to its new holders "with all the feudal characteristics that it had formerly possessed". The money fief, intended to provide

[114] ROBERTSON, "The Development of the Law", p. 149: "By the process of feu farming ... land was becoming the subject of commerce".

[115] Ranald NICHOLSON, "Feudal Developments in Late Medieval Scotland", *Juridical Review*, XVIII, N.S. (1973): 3.

[116] Ranald NICHOLSON, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1974), p. 6.

[117] Ibid., p. 381.

[118] Ibid.

[119] NICHOLSON, "Feudal Developments", p. 3.

[120] NICHOLSON, *Later Middle Ages*, pp. 381-82.

"military and political services", was now being replaced by the older landed fief, which, as a feu, was designed to provide services in "the form of money". Whereas a money fief did not give the possessor any jurisdiction over persons, that is, no "command of resources", apart from the pension itself, the feu permitted the beneficiary "to exercise all the rights that were inherent in a feudal grant of land". As Nicholson remarks, land itself had evidently been restored as the principal basis for reward and service.[121] Feuing, in brief, was perceived as an instrument of "policy" — a term, Nicholson says, which had come to sum up "the current notions of social and economic progress".[122]

In Nicholson's view, the practice of feuing was to have "harmful consequences" for burghs and the church, as "feuing provided ecclesiastics with a ready opportunity to practise nepotism or to curry the favours of the powerful." He cites instances from Dunkeld and St Andrews, pertaining to the bishop of the former see, St Salvator's College and the Earl of Argyll to illustrate his contention.[123] He also notes that all freeholders, whether spiritual or temporal, were permitted by act of parliament to feu their lands "if this did not diminish their rental".[124]

Whether beneficial or not to the community, feu-farming appears to have been a common practice in Glasgow. Some examples concern the burgh alone while others involve both the church and the burgh. An example of the latter was the sale of three roods of "champaign" land in Deanside by a Glasgow citizen, John Inglis, to the sub-dean of the cathedral, Roland Blackadder, who paid Inglis a "certain sum of money ... in his pressing need". This resulted in the three roods being held in feu and heritage forever by Blackadder, his heirs and assignees, for each year's payment "of the annual rents and burdens previously due and wont" from the said land. The various steps in the above transaction help to clarify the aim of such a procedure. First, there is the resignation of land by Inglis, followed by the acceptance of it by a John Graham, bailie of the sub-dean's lands. Blackadder then resigns the fee of the same three roods in favour of a Sir William Gartshore, chaplain, "in the name of the church". The next step is an instrument of sasine given to Gartshore to be applied to "any particular church, service, or altar", and this "at the pleasure of the said sub-dean". The final step is the reservation in favour of Blackadder himself of the "frank tenement" of the said three roods for his lifetime, that is, personal exemption from any future payment.[125]

It is one of the suggestions made in this paper that a study of Glasgow along the lines mentioned above would show that land — and an increasing

[121] NICHOLSON, "Feudal Developments", pp. 20-21.
[122] Ibid., p. 7.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid., p. 6.
[125] Joseph BAIN and Charles ROGERS, eds, *Liber Protocollorum M. Cuthbertis Simonis Notarii Publici et Scribae Capituli Glasguensis, 1499-1513*, 2 vols (London: Grampian Club, 1875), II: 364-65. Cf. Durkan's example concerning the Pedagogy in DURKAN and KIRK, *University of Glasgow*, pp. 22-23.

traffic in land — was at the centre of the city's pre-Reformation development, and that it was the church of Glasgow which was central to the entire process. The research of Norman Shead in this connection is a case in point. He is able to state that when grants of land were resumed in the fifteenth century within the diocese of Glasgow after a virtual dearth in the fourteenth, these were nearly all "within towns", and that the majority of the holdings were within Glasgow itself.[126] He notes, however, that whereas the benefactions of the "lesser landowners" predominated in the first three-quarters of the fifteenth century — those of the magnates having ceased by 1430 and those of the kings being intermittent at best — from the mid-1470s the benefactors were almost exclusively" clerics, especially members of the cathedral chapter.[127] Shead views this development in a negative light, as "a symptom of the ills affecting the Scottish Church in general". By this he means that, whatever degree of goodwill the lay community still retained, it was no longer expressed in "frequent benefactions", with the result that an increasing amount of the Church's revenue was being directed towards "multiplying chaplaincies and obit services".[128]

This view of decline in the midst of seeming progress may be compared with Ian Cowan's analysis of the multiplication of collegiate churches in later medieval Scotland. Cowan interprets this development as mainly positive, since he regards such foundations as not only sources of pride for the burgesses in question, but thinks that the participation of the latter in the devotions associated with them could be further promoted by their own foundation of altars, either as individuals or in the form of guilds. All this Cowan sees as illustrating to the full "the integral part still played by the church in the life of a medieval burgh".[129] At the same time he questions the overall contribution of the colleges "to the parochial services available". Seeing little to recommend in the subsequent employment of vicar pensioners by appropriated parish churches, Cowan claims, in fact, that "the erection of a collegiate church could vitiate service over quite a considerable area."[130]

Cowan's interpretation can be tested against Glasgow's new college of Our Lady. The college provost was to have the manse, glebe and all the "fruits, oblations and emoluments" of the vicarage of Dalry, the patronage of which was vested in the abbot and convent of the Benedictine monastery of Kilwinning. From this total a sum of £10 and six acres of land were to be set apart "for the support of a vicar residing at Dalry". Similarly, with respect to the first prebend, that of the archpriest who was to exercise jurisdiction in the absence of the provost, his salary was to be one-half of the revenue from the perpetual vicarage of Maybole along with an acre of land in St Anne's croft in the common moor of Glasgow. The patronage of

[126] Norman F. SHEAD, "Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow", *Innes Review*, XXI (Spring 1970): 8.
[127] Ibid., p. 15.
[128] Ibid., p. 16.
[129] Ian B. COWAN, "Church and Society", in *Scottish Society*, ed.: BROWN, p. 118.
[130] Ibid., pp. 117-18.

the prebend belonged to the prioress and convent of the Cistercian nunnery of North Berwick, and from the above salary had to be subtracted an annual sum of £10, together with a manse, toft and croft for the vicar serving the cure so that he could reside at Maybole.[131]

Although we have no way to state with precision how the parishes of Dalry and Maybole fared under this arrangement, it can safely be asserted that parochial services did not suffer from the erection of the remaining prebends. With the partial exception of the twelfth prebend, these were in the patronage of the bailies and city council. The third prebendary, for instance, drew his benefice from the rent of a house in Walcargate Street (now the Saltmarket); that of the fourth was also endowed with the rents of lands and houses in both town and suburbs, while that of the fifth prebend drew from the rents of "divers tenements within the burgh" as well as two acres of land in the common moor. That of the sixth prebend, named after St Roche, was to derive his income not only from houses within the burgh but from lands belonging to the church of St Roche, in the moor of Glasgow. This prebendary was bound to offer mass three times a week in the above-named church, along with "other offices used and wont" for the soul of the founder, Thomas Murehead, prebendary of Stobo. The seventh prebend, dedicated to St Kentigern, was endowed with an acre of land in common moor and a house beside the tolbooth on the west side of the High Street. The eighth prebendary's salary was to come from rents of grounds and houses in both Glasgow and Rutherglen. The ninth prebend likewise derived from city property, while the tenth and eleventh, the foundations of the chaplain at St Christopher's altar in the cathedral, Sir Martin Reid, were "endowed with the rents of tenements within the city or its territory". Finally, the twelfth prebend, that of the Three Choristers, was to obtain its revenue from two acres of land in the Mylhill and several tenements within the burgh of Glasgow, the income to be shared among the three incumbents, one of whom was to be selected by the bailies and council, the other two by the college provost.[132]

As for the services provided by the college, it is clear that the commercial section of the city now had access to a more complete ministry than had hitherto obtained. The prebendaries had to be ordained priests, or at least deacons, and were to reside at the college. They were to participate in the daily celebration of matins, high mass and evensong, while on Sundays and feast days they were enjoined to recite matins, vespers and compline as well as assist at the celebration of high mass. The college would be the scene of four masses daily, including one before matins, another between six and seven a.m., as well as a mass of Requiem for the founder after matins. The high mass was to be accompanied with the organ and Gregorian chant, while a fourth mass was scheduled to begin immediately after the elevation of the host at the high mass.[133]

[131] ROBERTSON, *Liber Collegii*, p. *xv*.
[132] Ibid., pp. *xvii-xx*.
[133] Ibid., pp. *xxviii-xxix*.

In remarking on the wealth of Glasgow cathedral's endowments, John Major had added the comment that such revenues in Scotland "are enjoyed *in absentia* just as they would be *in praesentia*". One particular instance of this practice was already at hand in Glasgow. In 1506 Archbishop Robert Blackadder found it necessary to publish a synodal statute on this score enjoining the beneficed clergy of the diocese to reside in their own benefices, or "in the city of Glasgow within the college thereof, for the sake of study". The sanction consisted of a progressive penalty leading from fines to eventual deprivation of the benefice at the end of six months' violation of the statute.[134]

In the following year, the archbishop devised a plan evidently designed to encourage such residence. This involved the annexation of several vicarages — Cadder, Stobo, Linton and Kilbirnie — together with the rectory of Garvald and the vicarage of Girvan, "for the advantage of the clergy, and for cherishing varied and superior learning and the society of learned men therein".[135] So, while Our Lady College, as a collegiate church, was not likely to reduce services very much, if at all, in the countryside, and was designed to augment them in Glasgow itself, the above example shows that the archbishop's designs in the interests of both his clergy and the university itself, involved the annexation of rural benefices.

It might be thought that any drain on the ecclesiastical resources of the diocese by the needs of the university would be compensated for by that institution's specific contribution to the total welfare. In this connection it may be helpful to note that Glasgow's university was founded within twenty years of a supplication made to Rome by the faculty and students of St Andrews University. In 1432 they asserted that in their *studium* "few if any betake themselves to the faculty of civil law". The result is, they claim, that since there is no other university in the kingdom, "there are found few experts in civil law by whom justice can be ministered in civil business."[136] In light of the new emphasis by mid-century on the part of the Scottish monarchy to foster an improved administration of justice and a more central role for parliament in the government of the kingdom, the proposed connection between the university teaching of law and the genesis of a legal profession cannot be underestimated.

John Durkan has recently summarized all that is known at the moment of the teaching of law at Glasgow. His findings reveal that canon law, although subject to periodic withdrawals of support, managed to stay alive until 1522, when the readership, established in 1463, by the university rector, David Cadzow, on the provision of a cathedral chaplainry, was diverted to the teaching of arts.[137] Civil law, on the other hand, appears to

[134] BAIN and ROGERS, *Liber Protocollorum M. Cuthberti Simonis*, II: 340-41.

[135] Ibid., p. 345. The wider context is explained in DURKAN and KIRK, *University of Glasgow*, pp. 29-30.

[136] DUNLOP and COWAN, *Scottish Supplications*, pp. 210-11.

[137] DURKAN and KIRK, *University of Glasgow*, pp. 128-32, *passim*.

have been virtually abandoned within the first quarter-century or so of the university's existence, quite certainly after the death of Bishop de Durisdeer in 1473.[138]

When, therefore, parliament passed the "Education Act" of 1496, enjoining upon barons and wealthy freeholders the obligation to send their eldest sons and heirs to grammar school and university, whatever hope might have attached to the pursuit of civil law at the newly-founded university of Aberdeen, there could be none at least at Glasgow. Since compliance with the statute, however, could be satisfied with three years of university arts as well as law,[139] it should prove useful to make a brief inspection of Glasgow's arts faculty for the first half-century or more of its existence.

The graduation lists in arts are virtually continuous from 1451 to 1500, those of the next nine years either unrecorded or intermittent owing to visitations of the plague, and all but at an end after 1509, with no graduations recorded between that date and 1535.[140] Only two or three of the more obvious deductions are material to the present study and these include the following. The total number of degrees awarded between 1451 and 1509 appears to be about 450, divided between some 234 BAs and 216 MAs, which works out to an average of eight to nine degrees a year. For the recorded years after 1535, 27 BAs and 14 MAs were awarded, representing a marked difference in the ratio of the two degrees but not in the average annual total.[141]

In view of the legislation encouraging the baronial class to patronize the universities, special interest attaches to the number of students of that rank who graduated at Glasgow. Between the university's foundation and 1495 a total of seven did so, an average, that is, of one every six years. Beginning in 1497 — the year after the "Education Act" — five candidates were awarded the MA degree within the next four years, and within the recorded four-year span after the plague there was one additional MA and three BAs.[142] The inference could be made, then, that at least in one important respect, Glasgow's faculty of arts was central to national policy for a few years around the turn of the century.

A recent study of later medieval Cambridge may help to throw some light on the size of the student body served by Glasgow's arts faculty.[143]

[138] Ibid., p. 131.

[139] NICHOLSON, *Later Middle Ages*, p. 590.

[140] Cosmo INNES, ed., *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis, Vol. II: Annales Collegii Facultatis Artium in Universitate Glasguensi* (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1854), pp. 178-286.

[141] Ibid. COUTTS, *History of the University*, pp. 42-43, was well aware of the difficulties relating to the interpretations of these lists.

[142] INNES, *Munimenta Glasguensis, II*, pp. 282-86.

[143] T. H. ASTON, G. D. DUNCAN, T. A. R. EVANS, "The Medieval Alumni of the University of Cambridge", *Past and Present*, 86 (February 1980): 9-86. I wish to thank Damian Leader, currently a Ph.D. candidate and junior associate of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, who is preparing a thesis on later medieval Cambridge and Oxford, for directing my attention to this computer-based study.

Although comparisons between these two quite different institutions need not be drawn too far, it appears safe enough to adopt a similar procedure for calculating the number of degree-oriented students at Glasgow. This results in an average annual body of around twenty-one.[144] As the Cambridge study tends to show, however, "a very large proportion of students (very possibly more than half) never took a degree".[145] This could mean for Glasgow, therefore, in the neighbourhood of forty to fifty persons distributed throughout the various stages of the BA and MA programmes in any given term.

It is worth noting that the number awarded the master's degree at Glasgow is close to ninety-two percent of those awarded the bachelor's degree, in marked contrast to the corresponding figure for Cambridge which is estimated at about seventy percent. This, in itself, could argue a lower "wastage rate" at Glasgow than at the English institution, and consequently a smaller percentage of Glasgow students outside the regular degree programmes than suggested above.[146] The difference could well be offset, however, by a relatively higher percentage of persons at Glasgow who were likely forced to break off their studies at various stages in the face of inadequate funding.

In the last analysis, nevertheless, the university comprised a select group of people. This was less true of the grammar school, a ubiquitous institution throughout later medieval Europe for the learning of oral and written Latin. Glasgow's own grammar school was, perhaps, a better indicator of the city's social change than most other institutions, responding, as it would, to any noticeable increase in literacy as well as the more specialized clerical training associated with notarial and other legal instruments.

Although no particular significance need be attached to the fact that the few extant references to Glasgow's grammar school all derive from the period of development in question, the references themselves are informative. They reveal, first of all, that throughout the century preceding the Reformation, a single school continued to satisfy the needs of what must have been an expanding student body. The well known case of the attempt in 1494, by the priest, David Dunn, to pursue "the teaching and instructing of scholars in grammar, and youths in the elements of learning, within the said city and university of Glasgow" without express permission from the cathedral chancellor might, in itself, be understood as a plea for

[144] Ibid., pp. 23-24, and n. 42. The authors' multiplier of 4 for both the BA and MA degrees at Cambridge has been reduced to 3 and 2 respectively for Glasgow to make some allowance for the shorter length of time at Glasgow: cf. DURKAN and KIRK, *University of Glasgow*, p. 87. The statutory requirement for a Glasgow BA degree is only one and one-half years, but since the prescribed reading programme is not that different from the norm, a multiplier of 3 for the BA seems reasonable; likewise, 2 appears to be reasonable for the MA since most BAs apparently took that length of time — or close to it — for the higher degree: cf. INNES, *Munimenta Glasguensis, II*: pp. 20-42, *passim*, and examples on pp. 197-203, 214-15, 220-22, 264-66.

[145] ASTON et al., "Medieval Alumni", p. 27.

[146] Ibid., p. 25.

an extension of educational services.[147] In this instance, nonetheless, the motive appears rather to have been an attempt "to improve the standard of university Latin".[148] Likewise, the provisions in 1506 for instruction in grammar for the cathedral choristers,[149] and those of a generation later for similar instruction for the choristers of the city's collegiate church,[150] clearly imply the existence of one and the same grammar school.

Of equal interest is the fact that neither the city council nor the university succeeded in gaining control of the school. It may be even be questioned whether they attempted to do so. When the chancellor, in 1508, appointed the chaplain of St Ninian's altar, John Reid, as master of the grammar school, Sir John Stewart of Minto, the city provost, asserted the corresponding right of the burgesses to admit Reid to the jurisdiction over the school buildings.[151] Whereas David Dunn's challenge to the chancellor's prerogatives was turned aside by the judgement of the archbishop, the stand of the provost did not go beyond what was acknowledged as of right by both parties. In neither instance did the church concede anything of what it considered its rightful and ultimate control of education within the city and the diocese.

It is, perhaps, significant that we do not hear of the city council expressing a desire to have a separate grammar school under its own jurisdiction. The opportunity, if there was any, came with the foundation of Our Lady College, a provision not uncommon in the establishment of collegiate churches.[152] Nor do we know of any attempt to provide instruction at the grammar school level in subjects like writing and accounting, as opposed to the traditional Latin programme designed primarily for advancement in the clerical state.[153] In short, the history of Glasgow's grammar school, meagre though it is, serves to confirm the central position of this study. This is that pre-Reformation Glasgow continued to remain — within the traditional rights of the cathedral chapter — a single-parish city under the jurisdiction of its pastor, the bishop of the diocese. Both the city council and the university were constituent parts of this parish. In the period under review, they had little option but to function within that framework. Accepting this, they appear, for the most part, to have been content to look out for their own interests by identifying and maintaining their own specific roles within that ecclesiastical and episcopal community.

In his recent work on later medieval Scotland, Ranald Nicholson begins his chapter on the country's advancement in the fifteenth century by

[147] MARWICK and RENWICK, *Charters*. I: part *ii*, pp. 89-92.
[148] DURKAN and KIRK, *University of Glasgow*, p. 174.
[149] BAIN and ROGERS, *Liber Protocollorum*, II: 346-47.
[150] ROBERTSON, *Liber Collegii*, pp. *xx-xxi*.
[151] BAIN and ROGERS, *Liber Protocollorum*, II: 427.
[152] Nicholas ORME, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973), pp. 184-90.
[153] A. F. LEACH, "Some Results of Research in the History of Education in England; with Suggestions for its Continuance and Extension", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, VI (1914): 453; W. A. PANTIN, H. E. SALTER and H. G. RICHARDSON, eds, *Formularies which bear on the History of Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, new series, V (Oxford: 1942), II: 329-450; John Nelson MINER, FSC, "Schools and Literacy in Later Medieval England", *British Journal of Educational Studies*, XI (1962): 25-27.

quoting Pedro de Ayala's remark from 1498: "There is as great a difference between the Scotland of old time and the Scotland of today as there is between bad and good."[154] The extent to which Glasgow shared in this nation-wide progress and the special role of the church in the overall development of the city itself have constituted the twofold aim of this paper. While the study has not thus been carried out in a void, it is evident, nonetheless, that some kind of comparative approach would help to illuminate the more distinctive features of Glasgow's later medieval experience.

In this connection, there are a few available studies which are suggestive. Among these may be mentioned David Herlihy's work on Pistoia, a city which, like Glasgow, was primarily an agricultural centre.[155] Pistoia, however, presents a problem of scale, for even in its decline it still possessed in the fifteenth century close to thirty parishes as well as more than 200 hospital beds, a level of services, in fact, which discourages too close a comparison. Nearer home, there are publications on smaller places, such as Birmingham and Manchester.[156] The former town, identified as mainly a merchant community from the later thirteenth century, consisted, like Glasgow, of a single parish. The latter, with the status of a "market town", had two parishes and was considered as both an ecclesiastical and administrative centre. Some basis for comparison with Glasgow might derive from the fact of the earlier of the two churches attaining the rank of a collegiate institution early in the fifteenth century. Later medieval Manchester, however, like Birmingham, was essentially manorial in character, leaving little room for any direct participation of the church in the government of the urban community, something of a reminder, perhaps, of the recent observation of Ian Adams that Scotland's urban history is "so different from that of England".[157]

In conclusion, therefore, it may be asserted that while Glasgow's pre-Reformation development is not likely to have been *sui generis,* neither is it clear at this stage where one should seek for a basis of comparison. An ecclesiastical and educational centre, mainly if not entirely, an agricultural community, consisting of some 2,000 to 2,500 persons — this is later medieval Glasgow. The suggestion of the present study is that future research in the interests of a deeper understanding of this chapter in the city's history will stand to gain if it focuses on the ecclesiastical side of the urban community.

[154] NICHOLSON, *Later Middle Ages,* p. 576.

[155] David HERLIHY, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: The Social History of an Italian Town, 1200-1430* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967), with a discussion of "Civic Christianity" in the fifteenth century, pp. 240-68.

[156] Asa BRIGGS and Conrad GILL, *The History of Birmingham,* 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), I: 1-47; W. B. STEPHENS, ed., *Victoria History of the County of Warwick: The City of Birmingham* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Arthur REDFORD, *The History of Local Government in Manchester,* 3 vols (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.), I: 3-25; F. A. BRUTON, *A Short History of Manchester and Salford,* 2nd ed. (Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1927), especially pp. 74-81 concerning the collegiate church.

[157] Ian H. ADAMS, *The Making of Urban Scotland* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), p. 11.