

SCOTTISH PEWTER-WARE
AND PEWTERERS

L. Ingleby Wood

**SCOTTISH PEWTER-WARE
AND PEWTERERS**

Circular stamp containing several lines of ancient script, likely cuneiform or hieroglyphic, arranged in a circular pattern.

NT 16

Rectangular stamp containing multiple lines of ancient script, arranged in a grid-like pattern. The script is dense and appears to be a form of cuneiform or hieroglyphic.

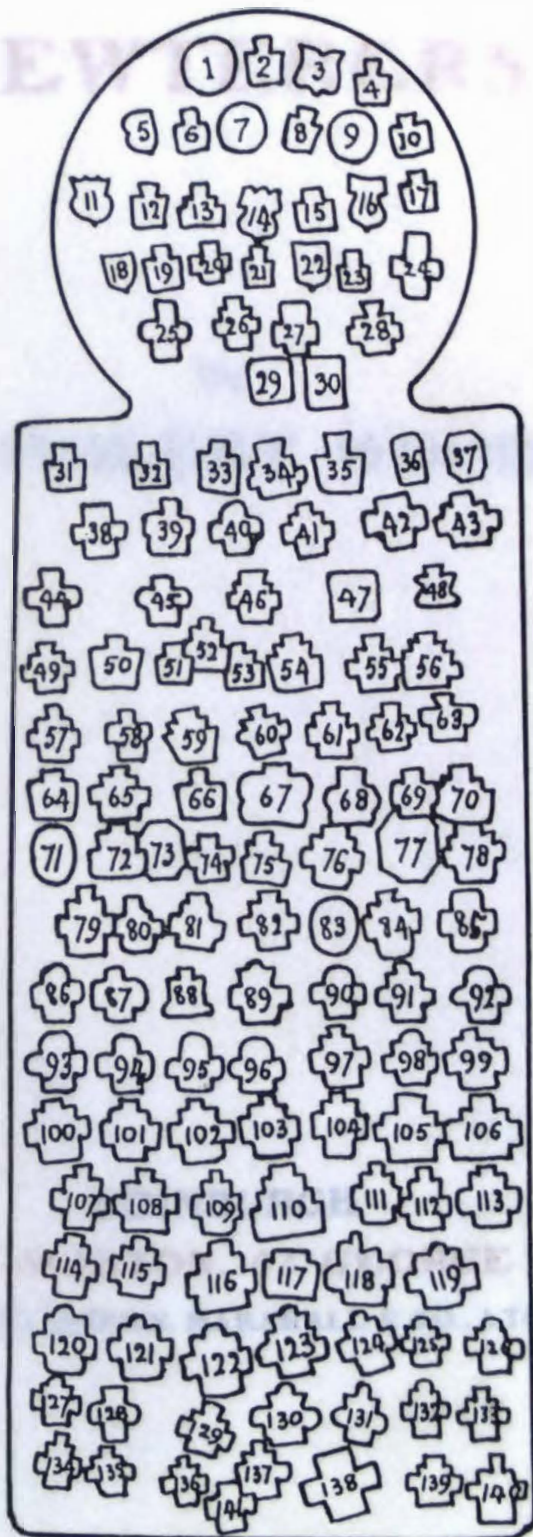
Touch plate of the Edinburgh Pewterers Craft.

FRONTISPIECE.

See Chapter XV. and Appendix A.

With permission of "The Connoisseur."

Note.—The reproduction is about half the actual size of the original plate.



KEY TO FRONTISPIECE.

**SCOTTISH
PEWTER-WARE AND
PEWTERERS**

By

L. INGLEBY WOOD

EDINBURGH

GEORGE A. MORTON, 42 GEORGE STREET

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & CO., LTD.

PREFACE

THE increasing interest manifested during recent years in the history and craft of Pewter-making, and the development of a taste for collecting examples of what is unfortunately a lost art, has induced me to essay this work. This book deals more particularly with Scottish Pewter-ware, and the history connected with the craft of the Pewterer in Scotland.

Unfortunately, the materials for a connected history of the Industry and Art of Pewter-making in Scotland are but fragmentary. The Records of the various Incorporations of Hammermen, to which bodies the Pewterers belonged, and which are probably the most important sources of information, are, in many cases, altogether missing, or existing in a more or less fragmentary and unsatisfactory condition.

While it is thus frequently impossible to speak on some points with certainty, it is yet possible, with the materials available, to construct either by inference or from extraneous sources, a fairly connected and reliable account.

In order to understand the general conditions under which the Pewterers as a craft lived and worked, it has been considered necessary to include to some extent the general history of the various hammermen bodies, even at the risk of encroaching upon ground already traversed by some other writers, but this has been done as briefly as consistent with clearness.

This work is primarily designed rather for the collector than for the ordinary reader; and although the more purely historical chapters may possess an interest for the general reader, apart from the special subject, the other portions of the book presuppose a certain technical knowledge upon the subject of Pewter-ware, such as a collector would naturally possess.

I am only too conscious of the shortcomings of this work, but can at least plead that I have honestly endeavoured, at the sacrifice of much time and labour, to piece together a work which may both be of some value to collectors and of some real historical interest.

I have to express my grateful thanks to many correspondents and collectors throughout the country for information upon various points, or for kind permission to inspect their collections, as well as to the office-bearers of the various Hammermen Incorporations, and to those gentlemen who have the records of these bodies in their keeping, and who have given me every facility to inspect such records. For permission to obtain many of the photographs which illustrate this work, I have to thank those at the head of the various museums, who have shown me every courtesy, and given me every facility for obtaining the same.

I am further indebted to the proprietors of "*The Connoisseur*" for the permission kindly granted by them for the use of the photographs of the exterior view of the Mary Magdalene Chapel, interior view of the same, the Pirley Pig, the large quaigh, beggars' badges, the Stonehaven chalice, and the Frontispiece, which served to illustrate my articles in that magazine, and also for the list of Edinburgh Pewterers which was contained in my article of February 1903, which list appears here, however, considerably extended.

I also take the opportunity to express my indebtedness to Mr Walter Churcher for his great courtesy in permitting me to reproduce a number of photographs of his collection, besides furnishing me with information upon various points; to Mr A. H. Millar for the facilities he has obtained for me to inspect various records in connection with the historical portion of this book, and to my friend, Mr R. D. Melville, Advocate, for the great assistance he has afforded me in reading the proofs, and for many valuable suggestions.

I must here acknowledge the assistance I have derived from the following works:—

"Old Scottish Communion Plate," Rev. THOMAS BURNS.

"Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh," BURGHI RECORD SOCIETY.

"Charters and Documents relating to the City of Glasgow," SIR JAMES MARWICK, LL.D., F.R.S.E.

"Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh," Mr JAMES COLSTON.

"An Historical Account of the Blue Blanket," Mr ALEXANDER PENNECUIK.

"The Perth Hammermen," COLIN A. HUNT.

"Burgh Laws of Dundee," ALEXANDER J. WARDEN, F.S.A.Scot.

PREFACE

vii

"Merchant and Craft Guilds and the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades,"
EBENEZER BAIN.

"An Account of the Hammermen of St Andrews," D. HAY
FLEMING, LL.D.

"Scottish Gypsies under the Stuarts," DAVID MACRITCHIE.

"Scottish Dictionary," Rev. JOHN JAMIESON,
and various papers read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,
and published in their transactions.

In conclusion I have only to say that the book must not be taken as an attempt to treat of the history and art of Pewter-making as a whole, but is merely a humble effort to fill up a chapter, albeit an interesting one, in the history of the art. If I should be so fortunate, through the medium of this work, as to create an interest in this bye-way of history, or to render some assistance to those whose interest has already taken practical form, I shall feel that my labours are well rewarded.

L. INGLEBY WOOD.

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| CHAPTER I | |
| INTRODUCTORY | 1 |
| CHAPTER II | |
| THE HAMMERMEN INCORPORATIONS | 12 |
| CHAPTER III | |
| THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF EDINBURGH | 23 |
| CHAPTER IV | |
| THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF THE CANONGATE | 35 |
| CHAPTER V | |
| THE INCORPORATION OF THE HAMMERMEN OF PERTH | 42 |
| CHAPTER VI | |
| THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF DUNDEE | 52 |
| CHAPTER VII | |
| THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF ABERDEEN | 62 |
| CHAPTER VIII | |
| THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF ST ANDREWS | 70 |
| CHAPTER IX | |
| THE INCORPORATIONS OF HAMMERMEN OF GLASGOW AND STIRLING | 79 |
| CHAPTER X | |
| PART I | |
| SCOTTISH CHURCH VESSELS BEFORE AND AFTER THE REFORMATION | 87 |

CONTENTS

CHAPTER X (*continued*)

PART II

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| SCOTTISH CHURCH VESSELS BEFORE AND AFTER THE REFORMATION | 100 |

CHAPTER XI

| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| COMMUNION TOKENS | 106 |
|----------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XII

| | |
|---------------------------|-----|
| BEGGARS' BADGES | 115 |
|---------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XIII

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| TAVERN AND OTHER MEASURES | 122 |
|-------------------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XIV

| | |
|--|-----|
| SOME MISCELLANEOUS PIECES—DOMESTIC AND OTHERWISE | 137 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER XV

| | |
|---|-----|
| TOUCHES AND OTHER MARKS TO BE FOUND UPON SCOTTISH PEWTER-WARE | 145 |
|---|-----|

APPENDICES

| | |
|---|-----|
| APPENDIX A—TOUCHES AND MARKS TO BE FOUND UPON SCOTTISH PEWTER-WARE | 161 |
| APPENDIX B—FREEMEN PEWTERERS AND APPRENTICES | 175 |
| APPENDIX C—LIST OF SCOTTISH PEWTER PIECES IN THE PRINCIPAL MUSEUMS OF SCOTLAND | 194 |
| APPENDIX D—LIST OF PEWTER PLATE BELONGING TO THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND | 205 |
| GENERAL INDEX | 215 |
| INDEX TO CRAFTSMEN WHOSE TOUCHES ARE KNOWN | 222 |
| INDEX TO EPISCOPAL CONGREGATIONS IN SCOTLAND POSSESSING PEWTER CHURCH PLATE | 223 |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE

Frontispiece—TOUCH-PLATE OF THE EDINBURGH PEWTERERS' CRAFT.

- I. EXTERIOR VIEW OF MARY MAGDALENE CHAPEL IN THE COWGATE, EDINBURGH.
- II. INTERIOR VIEW OF MARY MAGDALENE CHAPEL IN THE COWGATE, EDINBURGH.
- III. ANOTHER EXTERIOR VIEW OF MARY MAGDALENE CHAPEL.
- IV. BOTTLE-SHAPED MEASURE.
LARGE QUAIGH.
SMALL QUAIGH.
- V. ALMS DISH, HADDINGTON.
SMALL PLATE, sixteenth century.
LARGE PLATE AT SLAINS CASTLE, sixteenth century.
- VI. TUMBLER TYPE OF CHALICE.
SUPPOSED CHALICE from Stonehaven.
DRUMLITHIE GROUP OF EPISCOPAL PEWTER.
- VII. GROUP OF SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH PEWTER VESSELS.
- VIII. PATEN, THREE STEMMED CHALICES AND FLAGON. SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL.
FLAGON CHALICE, LAVER AND ALMS PLATE. "
LOVING CUP type of CHALICE, etc. "
- IX. COVERED CHALICE AND PATEN, late eighteenth century. SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL.
- X. FLAGON, last half of eighteenth century, and LAVER, middle of eighteenth century,
Scottish make.
- XI. FLAGON, latter half of seventeenth century, English make.
- XII. FLAGON, flat-lidded type, early eighteenth century, and PLATE, English make.
FLAGON, flat-lidded type, last half of eighteenth century.
- XIII. FLAGON, flat-lidded type, no spout, early eighteenth century.
- XIV. BREAD PLATE, first half of eighteenth century.
COMMUNION CUP, short-stemmed type, latter half of seventeenth century.
- XV. FOUR COMMUNION CUPS, stemmed type, first half of eighteenth century, dated
1740. SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN.
FOUR COMMUNION CUPS, short-stemmed type, latter half of eighteenth century,
SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN.
- XVI. FOUR COMMUNION CUPS, stemmed type, and FLAGONS, flat-lidded, dated 1799.
- XVII. LAVER, seventeenth century.

- PLATE
- XVIII. LAYER OR SMALL FLAGON, first half of eighteenth century, English type, though of Scottish make.
BASIN, latter half of eighteenth century.
- XIX. TWO-HANDLED LOVING CUP, late seventeenth century.
- XX. SHALLOW BOWL, middle seventeenth century.
- XXI. THREE ONE-GALLON AND TWO HALF-GALLON STANDARD MEASURES made for the Burgh of Stirling.
- XXII. CHOPIN MEASURE, "TAPPIT-HEN" type, middle seventeenth century.
- XXIII. MUTCHKIN MEASURE, POT-BELLIED type, early eighteenth century.
TWO SCOTTISH GILLS, latter half of eighteenth century.
- XXIV. "TAPPIT-HEN" AND NORMANDY FLAGON compared.
SET OF "TAPPIT-HEN" type of MEASURES, crested.
TWO SETS OF "TAPPIT-HEN" type of MEASURES, crested and uncrested.
- XXV. BALUSTER type of MEASURES, English make, 1740 to 1826 period.
SET OF BALUSTER type of MEASURES, English.
- XXVI. THREE HALF-MUTCHKIN MEASURES, Baluster type, Scottish, 1700 to 1826.
SET OF DOMED-TOP IMPERIAL MEASURES, early nineteenth century, Scottish.
- XXVII. GROUP OF VARIOUS MEASURES, Scottish and English, and one old Flemish.
- XXVIII. TWO-EARED PORRINGER OR BOWL, seventeenth century, English.
TWO TUMBLER-SHAPED ALE CUPS, half-pint imperial capacity, early nineteenth century.
- XXIX. SCOTTISH COMMUNION TOKENS. Church of Scotland.
- XXX. SCOTTISH COMMUNION TOKENS, various.
- XXXI. BEGGARS' BADGES.
- XXXII. PEWTER BADGE OF THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF EDINBURGH.
THE PIRLEY FIG.
- XXXIII. PEWTER SNUFF MULL and HORN SNUFF MULLS WITH PEWTER MOUNTINGS.
- XXXIV. PUNCH-BOWL AND RUMMER LADLES, eighteenth century.
- XXXV. FIGURE FROM FOUNTAIN AT LINLITHGOW.
BOWL, latter half of seventeenth century, Scottish make.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE art of pewter-making and casting of wares in the metal does not seem to have made its appearance in Scotland much before the end of the fifteenth century, though by that date the London Company of Pewterers had been established for over a century and a half.

Prior to the year 1493, when the pewterers first became one of the crafts of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh, the art and mystery of pewter-making must have been in the hands of a few isolated workers, and in all probability the majority of the pewter vessels used in Scotland at, and before, that date were imported from France, Flanders, and Holland, and in smaller quantities, owing to the disturbed relations between the two countries, from England.

But wherever the Scottish people obtained their pewter-ware from, it is probable that before the middle of the fifteenth century, and for some time after, it was regarded as a luxury, which could only be afforded by the nobles and a few of the comparatively wealthy burgesses, the poorer burgesses and lower classes having to content themselves with eating and drinking-vessels of treen (wood), leather, and horn. Even in the reign of Mary Queen of Scots pewter-ware was more or less of a luxury, and in a list of exports from Scotland at that period, mention is made of leathern drinking-vessels, and a special trade seems to have been done in these articles. This fact is significant as showing that, at that time, drinking-vessels made of pewter had not entirely supplanted those of leather, but there is evidence that before this period pewter stoups or measures were by no means uncommon.

A list of pewter articles owned by a burgess's wife, of a little before the period in question, one Margaret Whitehead by name, and wife of John Liddel, and consisting of seventeen pewter dishes, and salt-cellars, five candlesticks, one basin, a laver (water jug), and thirteen pint pots, gives us an idea of what a well-to-do citizen's house of that time

ordinarily possessed in the way of pewter-ware; a fair amount, indeed, but not nearly so much as would have been found in an English house of the same class, and period.

King James V. in 1539 imported into Scotland foreign craftsmen of every trade from France, Spain, Holland, and England, in order that they might teach their crafts to his subjects. Amongst these craftsmen there were no doubt pewterers, although no special mention is made of the fact.

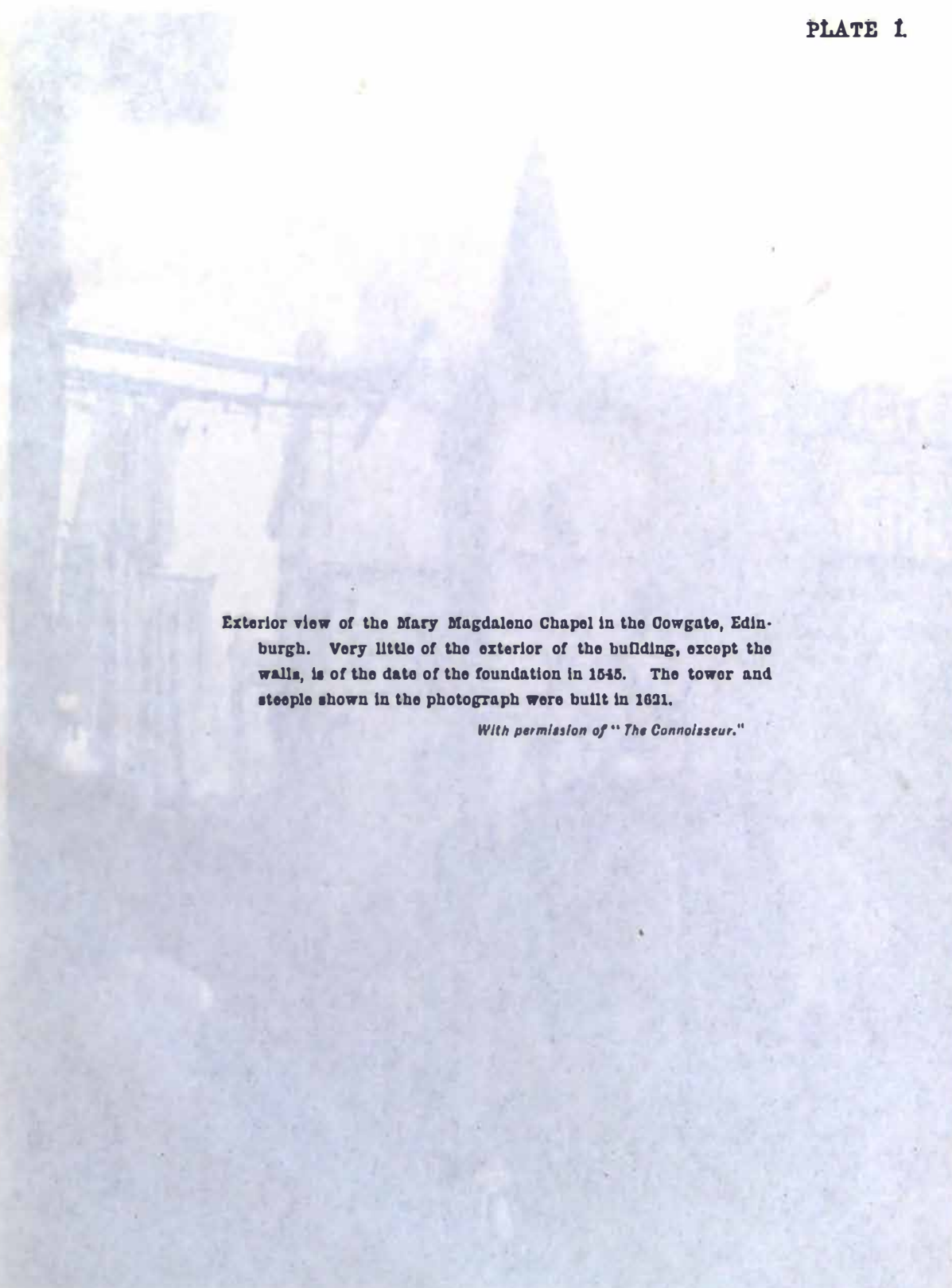
From the shapes of some of the Scottish pewter vessels it is likely that the first ideas of the forms of such vessels were obtained from France, and in some cases from Holland, and it was not until after the Act of Union in 1707, that purely English shapes for many of the vessels were introduced into Scotland. The craftsmen, however, who took French and Dutch models upon which to base their designs did not turn out mere servile copies of these models, as the vessels they produced always possessed independent character. These vessels were nearly always devoid of any sort of added ornament, an excellent effect being got by the scanty and judicious use of simple mouldings alone.

The collector of Scottish pewter-ware who looks to find vessels covered with engraving, punching, or other ornament, such as is to be seen upon some of the continental specimens, may search the length and breadth of the land and scarcely find such a piece; in fact, amongst the many illustrations which will be found in this work only two are of Scottish decorated pewter, viz.: the "Pirley Pig" (Plate XXXII.) and a basin in the Smith Institute Museum, Stirling (Plate XV.); the first of these pieces bearing engraved ornamentation, and the other being ornamented by a series of punches of different shapes.

There is some truth in the idea that a race shows its character in the design which it imparts to articles of everyday use, and the Scottish pewter-ware is, in a measure, characteristic of the people who made it, strong of line, and entirely devoid of any superfluous ornament.

The joining of the pewterers to the various incorporations of hammermen did much to help the craft by protecting them in the towns from the incursions of "unfreemen," and by getting for them a proper market and a fixed price for their wares. All persons who had not been born, or apprenticed in, or otherwise been made freemen of a Royal Burgh, were designated under the general head of "unfreemen," and they were only

PLATE I



Exterior view of the Mary Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate, Edinburgh. Very little of the exterior of the building, except the walls, is of the date of the foundation in 1545. The tower and steeple shown in the photograph were built in 1621.

With permission of "The Connoisseur."



allowed to trade in the towns under certain fixed rules. Many of these "unfreemen" were honest craftsmen from neighbouring towns, and it was not so much on their account that the various laws were made, as against those incompetent and often dishonest craftsmen from other parts who persisted in bringing their faulty goods into the towns.

A very large proportion of the population in Scotland were "unfreemen." The inhabitants of the town of Leith were among the most prominent instances. They were "unfreemen" and under the jurisdiction of Edinburgh, and, in the case of the hammermen of that town, were subject to the rule of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh, and that of the Canongate as well. These "unfreemen" had few of the privileges that freemen enjoyed; they could not sell their goods except in the open streets, and then only upon market days at fixed hours. On the other hand a freeman might not work with, or traffic, or, as the Scots phrase has it, "pack or peil," with unfreemen; they were not allowed to employ them as servants without first of all making them "booked servants" of their incorporation, and they could not buy their goods to sell over again. From the foregoing it will be seen that the "unfreemen" of the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had not a very good time of it. Though this was the position of the "unfreeman" in the burghs, yet in the country districts, where he was not directly under the jurisdiction of the Trades Incorporations, he had it practically all his own way, and did what he liked provided that he did not encroach upon the freeman's privileges by bringing his goods into the towns to sell at unauthorised hours, and in unauthorised places, or in other ways. To this large class of the population of Scotland belonged that wandering and mysterious tribe the Gypsies, many of whom dealt in and made pewter-ware.

Mr David Macritchie says in his book, "Scottish Gypsies under the Stuarts," that an English writer, in 1612, states that large gangs of gypsies travelled all over Tweeddale and Clydesdale, and during their wanderings employed themselves in repairing the oft-times scanty and precious chinaware, and utensils made of copper, brass and pewter, and kettles made of "white iron," belonging to the country people.

That these people made and dealt in pewter besides other ware there

can be little doubt, and, always a lawless race, they very soon turned their knowledge in the working of the first named metal to less harmless practices than the mere making, selling and mending of vessels made of it. They were always noted as cunning counterfeiters of money, and it is more than likely that they used the alloy pewter for this purpose, such a material having been a favourite with issuers of base coin in all ages. They were not content only to forge the coin of the realm, but some of them showed great skill and ingenuity in other ways; for instance, in 1574, when an act was passed requiring all deserving beggars to wear a pewter or leaden badge for the purpose of distinguishing them from the "sorners and vagabonds," as the undeserving were termed, they did not hesitate to forge these badges for sale to other rogues and as a means of obtaining alms for themselves from the charitably disposed.

The great majority of the gypsies may be said to have always been an unruly and turbulent people, whose hand was against every man, and against whom was every man's hand, only doing work where it was impossible to gain a living otherwise. For these reasons it is not to be wondered at, that they were detested by all law-abiding subjects, and many were the punishments that were ordained for their suppression by the various acts of Parliament and burgh laws; if they were caught within the precincts of the various royal burghs and elsewhere, banishment and mutilation were amongst the mildest of these punishments, and the mere fact of being a gypsy was at one time sufficient to send a man, or even a woman, to death, so bad a name as a race had they earned. But if the majority were law-breakers, there were some who were not, and it is pleasant to turn to the other side of the picture, and one famous gypsy chief, Johnny Faw or Faa, was granted by James V. of Scotland the title of "Lord and Count of Little Egypt," a title he seems to have deserved, as instances of his having punished various members of his tribe who had offended against the laws of the land are not wanting.

There seems little doubt that the gypsies from the sixteenth century downwards, if not members, had at least some connection with the hammermen incorporations of the various towns, though any direct evidence that they were actually members is wanting. The hammermen of such towns as Perth, Aberdeen, Glasgow and St Andrews had potters and tinkers as what was known as "pendicles" of the hammermen bodies, and, as members of the craft, such persons enjoyed certain privileges,

though they might not describe themselves as "Hammermen." A famous gypsy chief, William Marshall by name, who died at Kirkcudbright in 1792, was actually buried in state by the hammermen of that town.

Simson, in his history of Scotland, states that in the seventeenth century a suburb of Edinburgh known as Potterrow, and which is still in existence, was a favourite resort of the gypsies, the hammermen of this suburb being under the rule and jurisdiction of the Edinburgh and Canongate Incorporations.

The late establishment of the Pewterers' Craft in Scotland may be accounted for by one or two causes, the chief being that there was no tin in workable quantities to be found in the country, all tin having to be imported. An act of the Scots Parliament passed in 1641 against the use of bad metal gives us to understand that the alloy pewter in block form if not actually the pure tin was imported into Scotland from England, France, and Flanders. It is true that in the reign of James VI. and I. a special act of Parliament was passed, entitling a certain Eustace Rogh to break the ground and seek for tin amongst other metals, but there is no record of this person having established any tin mine in any part of Scotland, and this clause in the act seems only to have been put in upon this chance of his finding such a metal. From this cause, and from the poverty of the people generally, it is not a surprising fact that pewter-making as a trade found its way so late into Scotland.

The Church during pre-Reformation times would probably include amongst its clergy (possibly of foreign birth) some craftsmen able to work in pewter, as was the case upon the Continent. Whether these clerical craftsmen manufactured any great amount of pewter-ware, either for the Church's use, or for sale, it is somewhat difficult to say, as direct evidence is wanting; but be this the case or not, there is no doubt that the mediæval Church in Scotland used the metal for some of its choicest and most precious articles of Church use.

The Edinburgh burgh records contain an account of the dismantling of the Church of St Giles in 1559, one year previous to the upheaval of the Reformation, which states that part of the high altar furnishings were a pair of pewter candlesticks. These candlesticks were evidently looked upon as being very precious, or they would not have been used upon the most important of the altars, in a church as rich as St Giles was at that

time, but whether they were of the church's own make, or had been brought from elsewhere, there is nothing in the records to show.

Two pieces, which look as if they had been made by a somewhat unskilled craftsman, and probably a churchman, are a rather rude sepulchral pewter paten and chalice found, some years ago, in the church-yard of the parish church of Bervie in Kincardineshire. These pieces are of fifteenth century workmanship, and were never used in the actual service of the church, but were merely buried with a dead ecclesiastic to show his rank, as was the custom all over Christian Europe during mediæval times.

Whatever the Church made in the way of pewter vessels, its output must have been very small indeed, or else we have to blame the destruction and melting down of all Church vessels which took place after the Reformation for the almost entire absence to-day of any mediæval Church vessels of Scottish make, either of silver or pewter.

With no native tin in Scotland it is not surprising to find that in the reign of Charles II., an Act of Parliament was passed prohibiting the exportation of broken pewter out of the country, for if such exportation had been permitted the amount of pewter in Scotland would soon have become scarce, and the price of the unworked metal would soon have risen, and the craftsman and his customers would have suffered, for the prices he was permitted to charge for his wares were regulated by the various town authorities.

The act runs: "Act Charles II., 1661.—Act discharging the exportation of wollen yarn worsted broken copper and *pewter*. The King's magiestic considering the great prejudice this Kingdome and manufactorie doe receive by the export of worsted yarn unmarked cloath and stuffs; and the discouragement that Tradesmen and artists have by the export of broken copper, brass, and *pewter*," and the act goes on to state that any merchants, tradesmen or others exporting any of the above-named stuffs under any pretext whatsoever, were to suffer the penalty of confiscation of the stuff, half of which was to go to his Majesty's use, and the other half to the use of the apprehender and pursuer.

A previous Act of Parliament passed in the same monarch's reign and in the same year for the purpose of increasing the exchequer which had become very low at that time, seems to have allowed such exportation, for it ordains that, amongst other things, for every hundredweight of

pewter exported from this country, two ounces of silver bullion were to be paid into the mint. The act forbidding the exportation of pewter previously referred to, however, entirely nullified this one. With tin so rare it is not surprising to find the cost of pewter-ware very high. In an Act of Parliament passed in 1661, in favour of a Sir Mungo Murray against a Sir Coline Campbell, several articles of pewter and their prices are mentioned. It appears that Sir Mungo Murray being in prison for some offence, Sir Coline Campbell had come down upon the imprisoned man's home at Torrie, and after turning out Sir Mungo's wife and children, seized the house and all its contents together with the lands. When Sir Mungo was set free from prison, he started an action against Sir Coline for the restoration of his rights and payment of the goods he had taken. In the inventory of these goods the following pewter articles with their values are given :—

“Item eighteen great english pewter plates weightstand eight pund the piece, at eighteen shillings Scots the pund is one hundth twentic niyne punds two shilling.”

“Item of four dusson of small pewter plates with stoupis (tankards or measurs) saltsats pewter trunchers (trenchers) and spoons worth one hundreth punds” (Scots).

From the above it will be seen that the value of the plates, etc., were reckoned at so much a pound, and as the plates at least were of English ware, it may be possible that they were looked upon as being more valuable than the rest of the goods and therefore rated higher, but the charge of eighteen shillings Scots, though only eightpence English value, seems rather excessive, as the cost of pewter per pound in England at that time was not more than tenpence. So it will be well understood that if the good housewives of the Stuarts' reigns had to pay such a large price for their ware they managed to do with very little of it, and that little would last for a very long time ; and only when it was completely worn out, and no amount of soldering and patching could keep it together, would it be consigned to the melting pot to form part of a new set.

This very practice of melting down the old ware, and the complete blindness of many people after pewter had ceased to be used, and even in recent years, to what was beautiful in line and form in the old vessels, is responsible for the entire absence of anything like a complete collection of the different pewter vessels, typical of the work of the Scottish pewterer

of the sixteenth and seventeenth or even eighteenth centuries, in any of our museums.

It is true there has been some attempt to form such a collection in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in Edinburgh, but amongst the twenty odd pieces of pewter-ware of Scottish make there, only one can be safely said to be of sixteenth century make, only one other belongs to the seventeenth century, while the rest of the pieces belong mostly to the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In the Smith Institute Museum at Stirling a much larger and very interesting collection of Scottish and other pewter-ware is to be found, but here again none of the specimens seem older, as far as it is possible to judge with the information at our command, than the latter half of the seventeenth century, and these pieces are very few in number.

It is a pity that in the Museums of the Scottish towns and those of England as well, an attempt should not have been made some years ago, when pewter vessels were more plentiful than they are to-day, to get together a complete collection, as far as it was possible, of the eating and drinking and other household pewter vessels as well as those employed in the Church and elsewhere of the centuries which have gone,— such a collection would have been highly interesting and instructive.

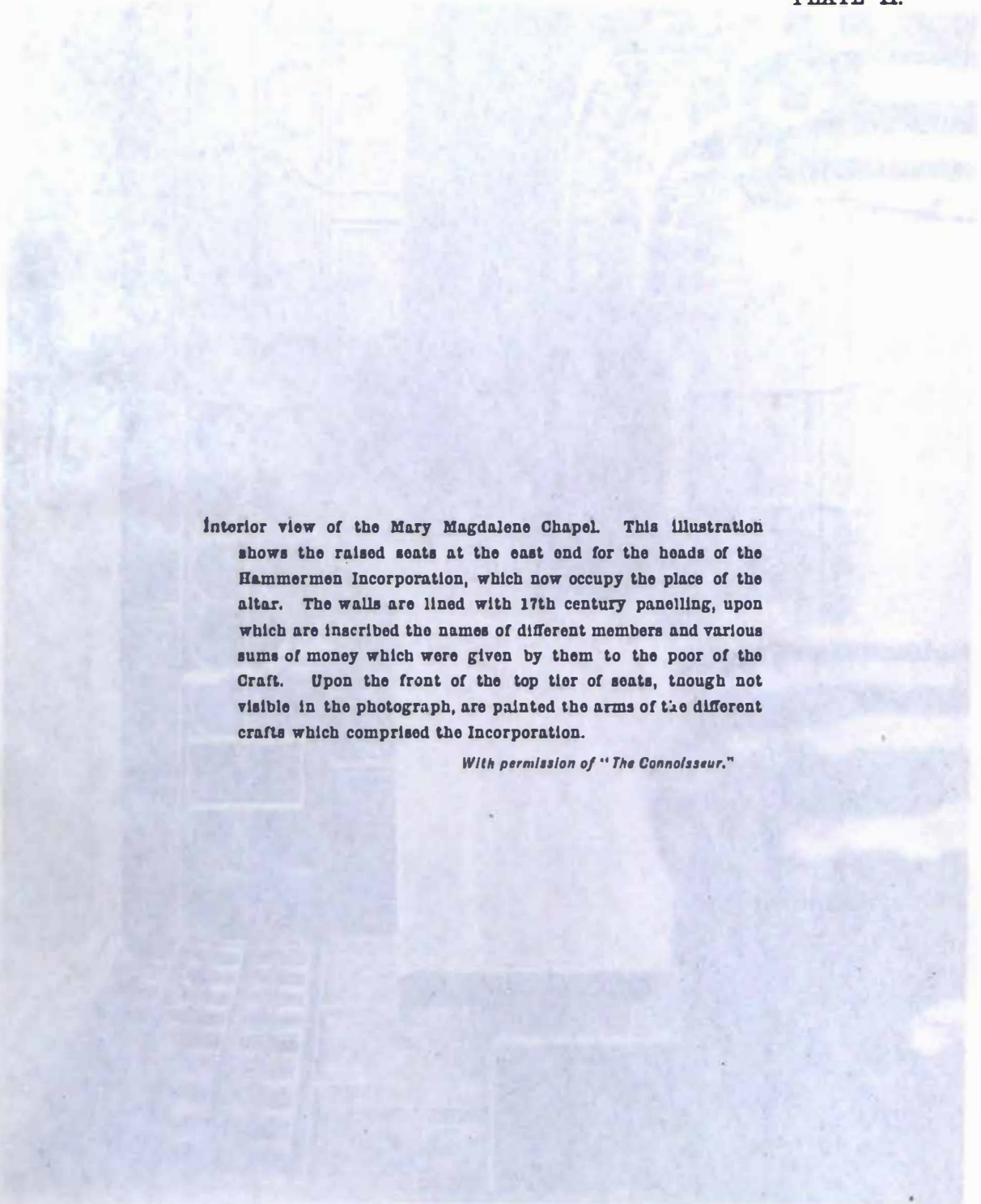
But the time for forming anything like a full collection of such vessels, with the exception of those perhaps of the Scottish Church, Established, Episcopal and otherwise, has past; and each day makes it more difficult in Scotland to find and procure vessels which are older than the early years of the eighteenth century.

Amongst the various parish churches of Scotland, there is no doubt a certain amount of really old and valuable pewter-ware, but whether, as in many cases, these vessels still remain in use, or have been put away and forgotten, it is equally unavailable to the collector.

Such a vessel as the Biggar laver (Plate XVII.) might very well find its way into one of the museums of the country, where it would be seen by collectors of the ware, and be carefully preserved. Until the present appreciation of vessels made in the metal became marked, large quantities of really beautiful pewter-ware found their way to the melting pot, to emerge forth in the shape of pint or quart pots of the worst design, or as plumber's solder.

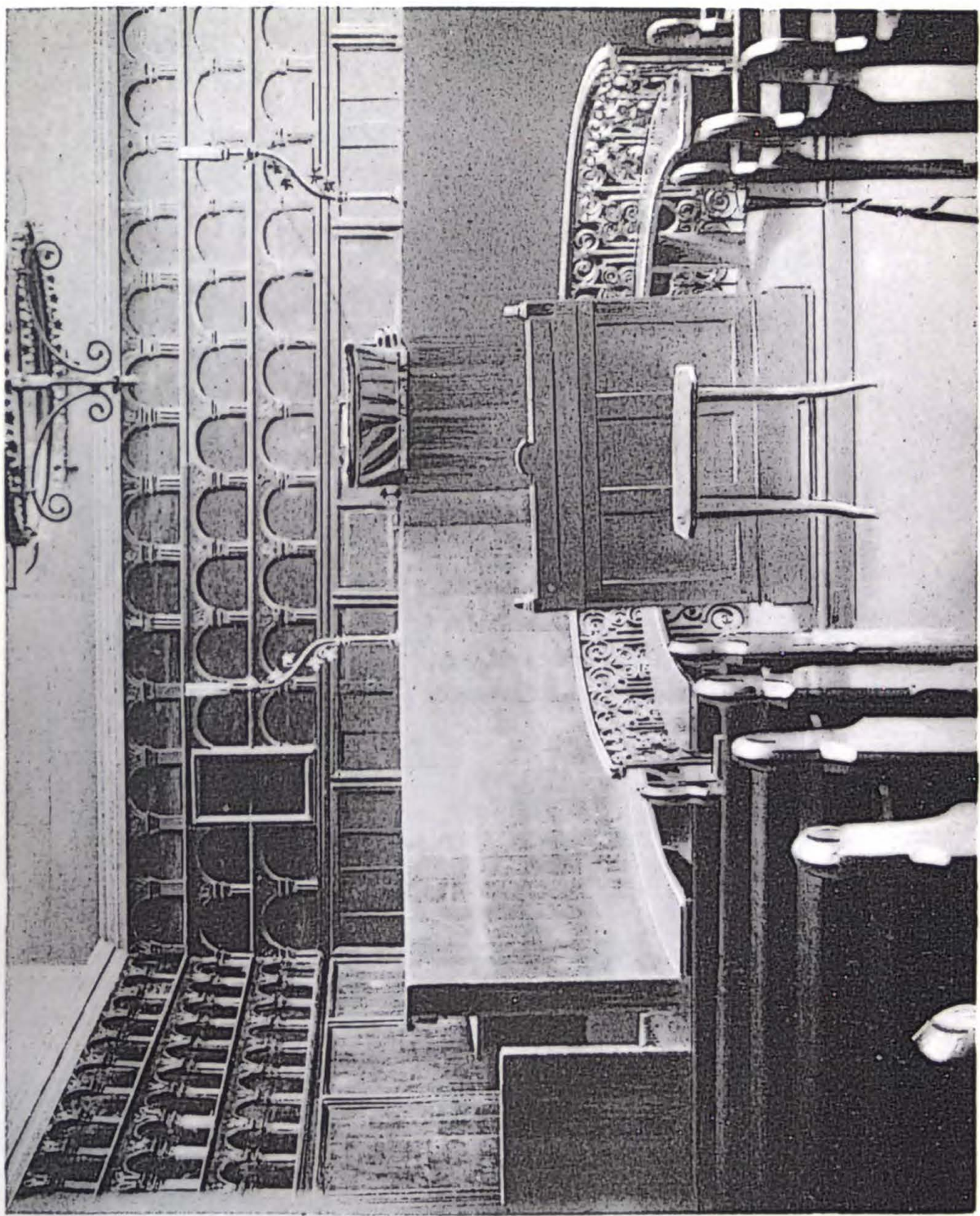
In spite of the laxity with which the pewterers of Scotland appear

PLATE II.

The image is a very faded, light blue-toned photograph of the interior of the Mary Magdalene Chapel. It shows rows of raised wooden seats, likely for the Hammermen Incorporation. The walls are covered in 17th-century panelling with inscriptions. The overall image quality is poor, with significant fading and low contrast.

Interior view of the Mary Magdalene Chapel. This illustration shows the raised seats at the east end for the heads of the Hammermen Incorporation, which now occupy the place of the altar. The walls are lined with 17th century panelling, upon which are inscribed the names of different members and various sums of money which were given by them to the poor of the Craft. Upon the front of the top tier of seats, though not visible in the photograph, are painted the arms of the different crafts which comprised the Incorporation.

With permission of "The Connoisseur."



to have treated the various Acts of Parliament, burgh laws, and ordinances which ordered them to mark their ware, etc., there is one thing they seem to have observed, and that is the mixing of their alloy, which was generally of the best. Nearly all the pieces in the museums, and private collections, that I have examined, are made of a first rate quality of pewter, with the exception perhaps of some of the nineteenth century measures. The quality of the metal in Scotland was in 1641 and 1663 fixed by Acts of Parliament, which ordained that it should be of the same quality as that marked with the rose stamp in England, which at that time appears to have indicated that the ware so stamped was of fine metal, or the best quality of alloy. Another thing which went far to keep up the good quality of Scottish pewter was that the acts of 1641 and 1663 seem to have allowed the pewterer to use only one quality of alloy, which was to be the best.

With a population the majority of which were poor, and with the price of tin so high, the pewterers of Edinburgh in the seventeenth century, at least, seem to have found it hard work to make both ends meet; probably from the reason that there were too many of the craft at one time in the city, no less than seventy having been admitted as freemen of the Incorporation of Edinburgh between the years 1600 and 1700, and it is not surprising to find that some of them practised the plumber's craft as well as that of pewterer.

In the year 1649 a special Act of Parliament was passed, to grant to James Monteith, a pewterer of Edinburgh, and a member of the Hammermen Incorporation, the large sum of five thousand three hundred and fifty three pounds (Scots), which was due to him by the Government for the casting of musket and pistol balls for the use of the army in England and Scotland in 1647. Through not receiving this sum James Monteith had been brought to great straits, and, as the act very naïvely puts it, "if some speedy course be not taken for his present subsistence, the supplicant would have cause to desert his family!" It is pleasing to note that James Monteith was not driven to desert his family, for he was granted eventually, by a grateful Parliament, the sum due to him, upon the count that such a man had been useful to his country.

Before bringing this chapter to a close, it will be as well to give the reader an idea of the value of the Scots money, as constant

reference will be found to it in the chapters which follow. A Scots pound was one twelfth of a pound sterling, that is to say, one and eight-pence English money, whilst a shilling Scots was equal to one penny sterling. The Scots penny was only one twelfth of the English coin. A "merk" or "mark," was thirteen pence and one-third sterling, and a "plack" was equal to fourpence Scots, three placks going to the penny sterling. After the Act of Union the Scottish coinage in use before 1707 was abolished, and the English system adopted, but it is quite a common occurrence to find the values of fines, payments, etc., stated in old records at the Scottish value, though the actual coins of such value had long since passed out of use.

One of the chief causes of the decline of the Pewterers' Craft in Scotland, and which accounts for the scarcity of such craftsmen in the various towns in the latter half of the eighteenth century, is to be found in the introduction at an early date in the seventeenth century of a material then known as "white iron," but now more commonly called "sheet-tin." Until the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century it had found little favour and made little way, but at that time the tin-smiths or "white-ironsmiths," as they are more frequently termed, began to increase in numbers, and eventually drove the pewterers out of the field altogether in all the towns, with the exception of Edinburgh. It is not indeed to be wondered that this happened, for the new material was much cheaper than pewter and lighter to handle, whilst having all the appearance of the dearer metal.

In these days when almost everything that can be is made of sheet-tin, the collector may laugh at the idea of mistaking a "white iron" plate or other vessel for one made of pewter. But let him examine the first specimen of *really old* sheet-tin he comes across, and he will at once be struck with the likeness that the material bears to pewter. Such old examples of "white iron" are as unlike the sheet-tin articles of to-day, as chalk is to cheese, the sheet-iron of which they were made being very much thicker and very heavily coated with tin, whilst the vessels were often given shapes similar to those of pewter-ware.

With a thrifty nation like the Scots it is not to be wondered at that the majority of the people preferred the "white iron" to the more costly pewter vessels, but there were a certain, diminishing number who stuck to the older and more serviceable material, and continued to favour the

pewter vessels, until well into the last century, when japanned and enamelled iron and other like atrocities finally killed the pewter trade altogether.

Many of the white-ironsmiths in the latter half of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries seem to have made a certain amount of pewter-ware, and for this reason their names, together with coppersmiths and braziers, who in a like manner worked the alloy, have been included in the list of freemen's names in Appendix B.

CHAPTER II

THE HAMMERMEN INCORPORATIONS

TO give a full and particular account of what the Hammermen Incorporations really were, and what part they actually played in the craftsman's work and life, would be quite beyond the limit of this chapter, which is only intended as an introduction to the particular chapters which follow upon the different Hammermen Incorporations; but, as it is necessary for the reader who wishes to study the history of the Scottish pewterers to know what the incorporations were and what they did, it is well to lay before him an introductory chapter showing how these bodies originated, what were their functions, and what was their eventual fate. There seems to be little doubt that before the time of the trades or crafts incorporations (the hammermen being one of these) all crafts or trades, together with the merchants, who were always a distinct class and in general held themselves very much aloof from the crafts, were joined in one common body known as the Guildry, which in pre-Reformation times seems to have been closely connected with the Church.

As early as 1210 we find that King William the Lion had granted to the burgesses of Perth the privileges of a Merchant Guild; these privileges had more particular reference to the bringing of goods into the town, and to the export of the same. The craftsmen of Perth as well as the merchants belonged to this guild, and, as in Perth, so in other royal burghs, the merchants and craftsmen were all gathered into one common body or guild; but there came a time when the workers at particular crafts, such as the hammermen, bakers, skimmers, and others, became very numerous, and, these desiring different government, broke off from the main body of the Merchants' Guild, and set up guilds, or, as they were styled, incorporations of their own, each craft for itself. Among the trades or crafts which left the main Guild were the Hammermen, and before going further it will perhaps be well to explain what trades composed the Hammermen Incorporations. As will be seen from the name, the

term "hammerman" signified a craftsman who chiefly employed the hammer in his work, and the Hammermen Incorporations comprised nearly all those craftsmen, with one or two exceptions, who used this as their chief tool. Unlike the English workers, the armourers, cutlers, blacksmiths, pewterers, and other crafts, who each formed a separate guild, with their own particular laws and privileges, the craftsmen in Scotland of these particular and allied crafts were neither numerous nor rich enough to emulate the example of their English contemporaries, and to form themselves into a number of separate incorporations, or guilds, according to their particular trades; and so, for their mutual protection and with a laudable desire to see good work done, they joined in one large body known as the Hammermen Incorporation, which, as already indicated, comprised all the craftsmen who mainly employed the hammer in their trade. The Hammermen were, in the main, metal workers, but all the members of the craft did not work in this material, though they employed the hammer in their work: such were the saddlers and glovers, the lorimers (those who made the metal parts of saddlery) and bucklemakers supplying the former with the metal parts required in the construction of a saddle or harness such as rings, bits, stirrups, etc. Nor, on the other hand, were all those craftsmen who wielded the hammer members of the Hammermen Incorporations, as witness the wrights and masons who had a separate guild or incorporation of their own.

The Hammermen and other trades at the time when they left the Merchant Guild do not seem to have entirely severed their connection with that body, for there are many entries in the various hammermen's records, and those belonging to other trades incorporations, which show that when a craftsman became a freeman of the incorporation, he also joined the Merchant Guild or the "Guildry" as it was known at that time. Thus under the date 1587 there is an entry in the Dundee hammermen's records describing a certain craftsman, "Martein Grey," as a "pewderer and brothergild," that is, a pewterer and brother or member of the Guild. As was only natural when the different crafts (and by "crafts" we mean other trades as well as those practised by the hammermen) broke away from the Merchant Guild, and began to acquire some importance, there were numerous disputes and squabbles between them and the chief body. But each of these craft incorporations was, at the first, a weak unit, and the Merchant Guild easily got their own way. As time

went on, however, the crafts seeing that it would be impossible for them singly to fight "the Guildry" joined together in one common cause, and so in the end effectually asserted their position. The crafts thus joined were known as the Incorporated Trades or Crafts, and met together from time to time, for the election of members of the Town Council, and the proper regulation of the particular privileges and rights which had in most cases taken so long a time to win.

One of the most common causes of dispute between the "Guildry" and the Incorporated Trades was with regard to the election of members of the Town Council, the Hammermen, amongst others, claiming the privilege of sending a member who would have a special eye to their interests. Another right claimed by the Hammermen, in common with the other crafts, was that of regulating the quality and price of the goods made by the members of their particular craft, and as to the election of the official deputed to examine the craftsman's work. The magistrates and councils of the various towns, who were mainly composed of merchants, always opposed this claim, and, on the contrary, maintained the same right in themselves. This state of things went on for many years, but about the middle of the sixteenth century things had gradually righted themselves, and we find members of the various craft incorporations sitting by that time upon the Town Council.

As each of the different crafts left the "Guildry" each new organisation framed rules or "ordinances," as they were called, for the proper regulation of the members' work, conduct, etc. At first these "ordinances" were entirely self-imposed, and the head-men of the craft had no legal power whatever to enforce them, and the incorporations could only rely to a limited extent upon the sense of right and wrong of the various members. This was all very well at first when the members of the different incorporations were comparatively few, but as years went by and the members became more numerous, the brethren of the crafts applied to those in power above them, the Magistrates and Town Council, through the chief men of their particular incorporation, for proper powers to enforce their laws. Such an application for powers was entitled "a Seal of cause," which was a document showing the rules of the incorporation, and desiring the Magistrates and Town Council to grant them certain privileges over other craftsmen of the same craft not already members of the particular body, who might reside and practise their trades in the town or its

suburbs, and various other privileges. Sometimes, but not always, the various incorporations received a ratification of their "seals of cause," which ratification was generally granted by the Sovereign, or else by the Magistrates and Town Council, and such a document generally carried with it some increased powers and privileges.

The Hammermen, as also the other crafts, were ruled by a committee of craftsmen, elected annually by the members of the incorporations, which committee consisted of a "Deacon," or, as he is styled in some of the older records, "Kirkmaster," a "Boxmaster" or "Positor," and "Masters" representing the different crafts which the Hammermen Incorporation comprised. The first statutory mention of Deacons of the Incorporations was in the reign of James I. of Scotland, in the year 1424, when an act was passed ordering every craft to elect "a wise man" for their Deacon, whose duty it would be to see that the craftsmen's work was up to the standard of quality, and otherwise to oversee the goods; only two years later, however, another act forbade the Deacons to punish the craftsmen in any way but to strictly confine themselves to the overseeing and assaying of the goods, which duty was to be performed every fifteen days.

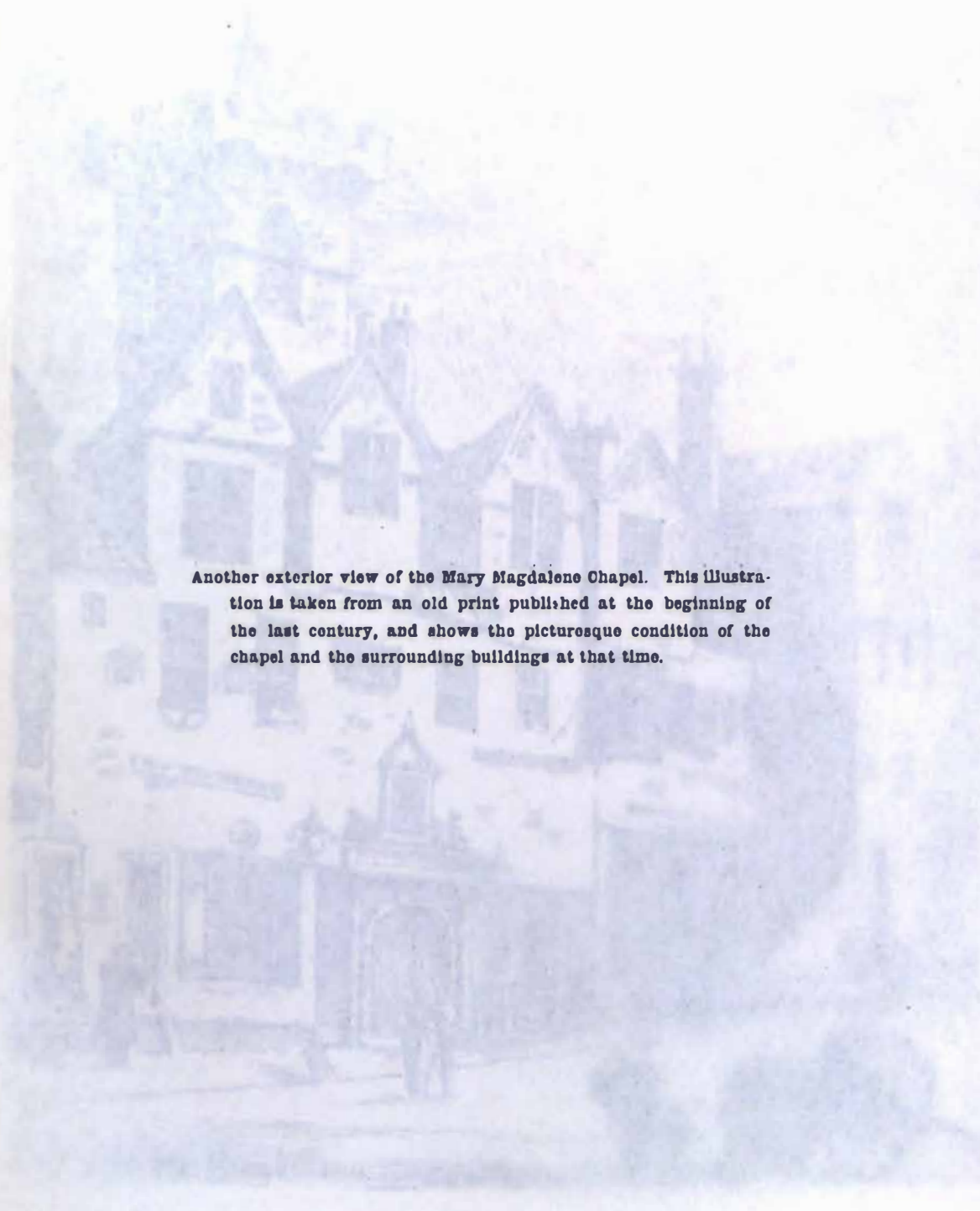
At that period, 1427, the Magistrates and Town Councils had the right to fix the prices of craftsmen's goods as well as the fees extracted from them upon various occasions. In 1427 this right became vested in an official known as the "Town's officer," whose duty it was to go round the markets to fix the prices and examine the work of the craftsmen, which duties had formerly been performed by the Deacons, who it seems had rather exceeded their powers. The next statutory mention we have of Deacons of Incorporations is in the reign of James IV., when an act was passed in 1491 relieving these officials of most of their duties, as they had been found to be dangerous elements in the burghs, by making laws of their own and by similar arbitrary actings, and the act goes on to state that their duties were to be confined to examining the goods wrought by the craftsmen of their respective incorporations. All seems to have gone well until the year 1551 when the Deacons were once again in trouble, the offence now urged against them being that in some cases they had raised the price of the craftsmen's work to three times what it usually was, and the act goes on to order the Town Councils to confer with the Deacons and craftsmen and establish more reasonable prices.

Four years later, in 1555, the Deacons of the various craft incorpora-

tions, that of the Hammermen being included, were dismissed by a fresh Act, and the Provosts and Magistrates of the different towns were given the right to choose an "honest man" to act as overseer, whose duties lay in overlooking the craftsmen's goods, but who had no power to make laws, from which it will be inferred that the Deacons had been again practising their old arbitrary habits. The first part of the above act was a singular commentary upon the character of the Deacons, but in the next year, 1556, a more reasonable state of matters was arrived at, another act being passed which gave back to the crafts their old privilege of electing Deacons, and the Deacons had all their old powers restored to them, and even more, for they were allowed to frame laws for the proper regulation and working of their different incorporations. The Deacons had also the right of taking votes from the members of their incorporations upon the election of certain persons, who were to act as officers or overseers, and the post of officer might even be filled by a craftsman provided he was suitable, and in the later history of the Trades Incorporations this was constantly the case. In 1564 another act was passed, which was practically a ratification of the previous one passed in 1555.

The next we hear of the Deacons is in the year 1581, when James VI. granted a charter to the Crafts. This charter granted them the power to elect Deacons and overseers and privileges "to sell goods as other merchants," a privilege which must have been a sad blow to the "Merchants' Guild"; these privileges were first given in the act of 1556, but this special charter seems to have been necessary before it could be properly enforced. The charter goes on to state that the king also desired that "no public quarrels" should take place between the craftsmen and the merchants, the jealousy of the merchants against the increasing privileges of the craftsmen being in reality the cause of all the trouble. After this we hear little or nothing about the Deacons, and they seem to have worked in harmony with the merchants, or in other words the greater part of the Town Councils, from that time, and there are constant entries in the various incorporations' records of Deacons sitting upon the Town Council, a right which they had in time acquired. As will have been learnt from the foregoing, the duties of the Deacons, as laid down by the various acts of Parliament, were to examine the work of the craftsmen, along with the "town officers" or "visitors" as they are called in many records, and to impound such work if it was

PLATE III.



Another exterior view of the Mary Magdalene Chapel. This illustration is taken from an old print published at the beginning of the last century, and shows the picturesque condition of the chapel and the surrounding buildings at that time.



not of good material or workmanship, to admit new members into the incorporations, to make new ordinances for the proper working of the different crafts, and to see that the same were properly carried into effect. The Deacons, in short, came to exercise a general authority over the whole respective organisations.

Next to the Deacon came the "Boxmaster" or "Positor," or, as we should to-day style him, the Treasurer. His duties consisted of keeping the books, money and other valuables, and the receiving of fines extracted from the delinquents who broke the ordinances of the incorporation from time to time.

Besides these, two other officials sometimes styled "Masters" were elected in some of the Hammermen Incorporations, but not in others. In such bodies as the Edinburgh and the Carongate Hammermen Incorporations there were generally two masters, but sometimes only one master of each of the different trades comprising the Hammermen, and their duty was to attend to the business and look after the privileges of their own particular craft.

Another officer of the Hammermen, but one who had no voice in the management of the body, was the clerk, who kept and wrote the minutes of the meetings, etc. In the early history of the various hammermen incorporations he was a highly trained individual, proficient in the art of scribing, but later on this post was filled by one of the brethren themselves, who in most cases was *not* a skilled scribe.

The Hammermen, in common with the other trades, had the power to prevent any outside craftsmen or "unfreemen," as they were generally styled, exercising any trade peculiar to the members of the various craft incorporations, within the boundaries or limits laid down in their particular "Seals of Cause" or the ratifications of the same. These non-freemen, who are sometimes referred to in the records as "alien strangers," were not only forbidden to carry on their trade in the towns, but they were prohibited from bringing their goods into the towns for sale, except upon certain fixed market days, and even then they had to conform to the rules regulating the quality, price, etc., of their ware, so as not in any way to undersell or infringe upon the rights of the Crafts Incorporations. Besides being only allowed to expose their work upon fixed days, they were not permitted to sell during any but certain fixed hours of those particular days. Many

are the entries in the different hammermen records which show what trouble these unfreemen caused, and the action which the Hammermen Incorporations took against them from time to time; but they do not always seem to have been able to properly enforce the various edicts that were passed against these outside craftsmen, or the records would not show so many entries relating to the punishment of this class of workers as they do. "To pack or peil," as the records have it, or in other words to trade with, or in any way employ or deal with an unfreeman, was an offence against a rule made by all the crafts incorporations, and one which, we may add, was very frequently broken. Not only did the Hammermen and other incorporations make and endeavour to enforce the laws against these unfreemen, but the Town Councils of Edinburgh and other towns also helped them in the matter by making it a punishable offence for a free craftsman of the town to traffic in any way with these unfreemen. Thus, in 1508, the Town Council of Edinburgh passed a law to the effect that no craftsman should sell any unfreeman's goods, or work up and finish such goods and sell them as his own work.

The passing of an ordinance by the Dundee Incorporation of Hammermen in 1696, which regulated the sale of unfreemen's work, gives us a very good idea how such craftsmen were treated.¹—"Work by unfreemen to be exposed for sale on stands in the market, 5th December 1696.—The qlk day in due court and convention holden within bwriall place of the brugh of Dundie, be George Ramsay present Deacon of the hambermen trade, and hail remanent brethren and masteris of the said craft, considering that the inhabitants of this brughs and others are mightlie prejudged be unsufficient blacksmith werk, *pewterer werk*, and other werk of that kynd, which is sold be unfriemen, and brought in be them within the s^d brugh not on a mercart day; and that those unfriemen doe not dewlie expose their werkmanship to the publick mercat at the ordinar tyme of the mercat, and y[']by prejudices and ineroaches upon the liberties and priveledges of the hambermen craft of Dundie, contra to the old laws and Staituts made be our Sovereigne Lord and his most Royall progeniters of blessed memorie, in favours of frie tradesmen liveing within Royall Brughs and contrair to the acts and constitutions made of befor be the Deacons and masters of this craft, doe hereby enact, appoint and ordain that all unfrie hambermen liveing without this brugh, shall from

¹ "Burgh Laws of Dundee." Alex. J. Wardon, F.S.A.Scot.

tyme to tyme expose and lay down their werkmanship on timber stands, dereutlie (directly) on the mercat place on lawfull tyme off day, wiz, in the summer tyme at ten oclok in the foernoon, and continue the samen untill four o cloak in the afternoon; and at eleivin a cloak in the foernoon in the winter tyme, and continue untill thrie hours in the afternoon, and no longer nor shorter tyme. And in caise the sds unfriemen shall contravein this Act that their werkmanship shall be seized upon be the frie masters of the s^d trade, and applyed for the behove of the poor of the sd craft, and that the transgressers hereof shall pay to the Deacon for the use fors^d two pounds Scots for the first fault, and four pound for the second fault, and six pound for the third tyme, by and attour (over) the loss of the werk, and be discharged y'after to bring anie werk to the s^d mercat place; and discharges the sds unfriemen to leave their werk with anie of the inhabitants of this burgh, but immediatlie after the mercat to remove the samen without the burgh, under the pains and penalties above rehearsed."

An unfreeman might enter the Hammermen Incorporation either as an apprentice, or as a "journeyman" or hired worker, or else as a freeman, if he had served his apprenticeship to his particular trade elsewhere, and could show a proper knowledge of the same, in which latter case he had to present some piece of work known as an "essay" made by himself alone, and which was set him by the craft; or he might attain his object by the simple process of marrying a freeman's daughter, but in any case an "essay piece" was generally expected from him, though not always. He had to pay a sum of money into the incorporation's funds upon his entry, and in fact go through the same procedure as a craftsman who had been born in the town; though the sum of money for an unfreeman's entry fee or "upset" was generally larger than that exacted from a freeman.

The term "unfreeman" did not, however, imply that he was an unskilled worker, but merely that he had been born or apprenticed outside the jurisdiction of the particular burgh in which the incorporation was situated.

An apprentice was indentured to his master, who was responsible for his behaviour and training, for a term of from five to six years, and an extra year for the benefit of the master to recoup him for the money he had laid out upon his apprentice's board, and for the fee he had paid upon his being booked to him. After having served the necessary term of years, before he could become a master craftsman, that is to say, one

who could open a shop of his own and employ and teach others, it was requisite, in many cases, to serve as a common journeyman or as a freeman journeyman for a further period of two years with a master craftsman of his particular craft, either in his own incorporation or in that of some other town. Of course many of the craftsmen had neither the ambition nor the means to set up for themselves as masters, and so remained freemen journeymen or ordinary journeymen all their lives.

When an apprentice desired to qualify as a freeman, the first step to becoming a master, he had, like the unfreeman, to present a trial or "essay piece" of his work; but in some hammermen incorporations this does not seem to have been the rule, the apprentice, if his father had been a freeman of the same incorporation, being admitted to that honour without the necessary trial piece.

This "essay," "sey," or "masterstick," as it is variously termed, was an article or a number of articles set to the applicant by way of trial by two members of his own particular craft, styled "Essay Masters," who overlooked him while he was at work, and saw that he received no help from anyone, but made his essay entirely by his own hands. When the essay was finished they judged whether it was good or not, and if the former was found to be the case, the applicant brought the article or articles to the next general meeting of the incorporation, and then if everything was found to be in order and all the formalities performed, he was admitted as a freeman of his particular craft or trade and his name was inscribed in the books as such. Besides preparing his essay and appearing at the meeting of the incorporation, before his name was entered in the book he had to subscribe a fee to the general funds of the craft, and also pay various sums to the different charities kept up by the incorporation; and, in addition to these expenses, he had generally to pay a sum of money for what was known as a "banquet" or feast for his fellow craftsmen, frequent references to which will be found in the extracts from the records of the various Hammermen Incorporations given in the following chapters.

The Hammermen Incorporations, and the other trades incorporations as well, not only regulated the craftsman's work and looked after his social life, but they were also charitable organisations, and gave charity when needed to craftsmen who had fallen upon hard times, or to the families

of deceased craftsmen who had left them ill-provided ; for the wives and children shared to some extent in the privileges of the incorporation. The sons and daughters of craftsmen could be educated at the various institutions or schools kept up by the funds not only of the Hammermen but of other incorporations, such schools existing in Edinburgh and elsewhere to-day.

The rules passed from time to time by the Hammermen Incorporations applied to all and every craft which made up the main body, the pewterers included ; at first these ordinances were chiefly directed to the turning out of good and true work, and absolute fairness to all in the matter of buying and selling of work ; but as time went on, and as members became more numerous, various rules of a disciplinary character were introduced regulating the conduct of the craftsman, not only in his booth or shop, but at meetings and in his general life, such as his duty towards the Church.

The patron saint of the Hammermen before and after the Reformation was St Eloi, Eloy or Eligius, though it is needless to state that after 1560 he was not worshipped, except in one case, and that by the Hammermen of Aberdeen. This saint had, at one period of his life, been a worker with the hammer, and for this reason he was adopted by the hammermen as their patron saint. Born at Limoges in France, he began life as a goldsmith, and soon became famous as a maker of gold shrines for the preservation of sacred relics and the decoration of the churches in the neighbourhood of his birthplace. Always of a religious temperament, he entered the Church and attained to the dignity of a bishop, and after his death he was canonised. All the Hammermen Incorporations had an altar dedicated to this saint, which altar was usually in the principal church of the town or burgh in which they held sway. This altar was decorated and kept up by fees and fines received from the craftsmen, in the shape of money or wax—a pound, or even in some cases a stone of wax being paid by those members who broke the ordinances of the incorporation. This wax went to the making of candles for the lighting of the altar. Every altar dedicated to St Eloi had one or more priests or chaplains, who performed the usual services, and prayed for the souls of deceased hammermen and others connected with the incorporation, as occasion required.

After the Reformation the altars to St Eloi and their attendant

priests, with the one exception before noticed, were all swept away ; but the Hammermen did not lose their connection with the Church, though it was continued in a somewhat different manner, for after that time they employed their funds in building pews for the accommodation of the members of the Incorporation, and in some cases they still continued to exact the fines of wax, which at this time was made into candles for the lighting of these pews. With many of the smaller Hammermen and other Trade Incorporations these pews served as a meeting place for the members in which to conduct the business of the incorporation, where such incorporations did not possess a proper hall or building of their own for this purpose.

In many ways the Hammermen and other crafts incorporations in Scotland were very similar to the trade guilds existing at the same period in England and upon the Continent. Many of their ordinances may seem absurd to us in these days of competition in trade and otherwise, but we have to remember that they were made in an age very different to our own and under very dissimilar conditions ; and whatever the faults of a system that prevented anyone working at a craft of any sort, in the towns and burghs, unless he was a member of one of the incorporations, it had the effect of turning out good and honest work : for the craftsman knew that he had to keep his goods up to a certain level, above it if he liked, and that he could not be under-sold by his fellow workers at the same craft. It seems a great pity in these days of wonderful machinery and generally improved methods that some such system should not be again put into practice.

Like the Pewterers Company of London and other similar guilds, the Hammermen Incorporations of Scotland were at their best from the beginning of the sixteenth century down to the end of the seventeenth, after which date they began to lose some of their importance and with it their influence ; but even then the change was very gradual, and they managed to exist under almost the same conditions as when they were first founded, until the year 1846, when an Act of Parliament was passed which did away with the privileges of exclusive trading.

Some of the incorporations succumbed soon after this date, but those of Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen and Stirling still continue to hold meetings, set essays, etc., for those who may wish to become members, very much on the same lines as their forefathers did in the time of Mary and James VI. and J.

CHAPTER III

THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF EDINBURGH

EDNBURGH at the time that the pewterers of that city joined the Hammermen Incorporation had been for some few years the capital city, but for a long time the largest town of Scotland, and it is therefore not a matter for surprise that the Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh, at the end of the fifteenth century, was by far the largest hammermen incorporation in the kingdom ; which position it continued to hold until the early part of the nineteenth century. The first years of that century, however, saw its decline, and the latter half witnessed the complete extinction of a trade incorporation which, with its traditions, had braved and weathered the storms of four hundred odd years. The first "Seal of Cause," or Charter of Foundation, was granted to the Hammermen of Edinburgh in the year 1483, by the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of that burgh, and the crafts at that time embraced within the Incorporation comprised blacksmiths, goldsmiths, saddlers, cutlers, and armourers ; but no mention is made of pewterers until 1496, when a second "Seal of Cause" was issued to the Incorporation, which by that time apparently included pewterers, and in the charter then granted these craftsmen are mentioned and spoken of as "peudrars." The Goldsmiths were, not unnaturally, one of the richest crafts of the Hammermen of Edinburgh, and prior to the year 1581 they had left that body and formed an incorporation of their own. The exact date at which they left the Hammermen is not known, but it must have been between the granting of the second "Seal of Cause" to the Hammermen in 1496, and the date referred to above, as at that date, 1581, a charter granted to them (the goldsmiths) refers to them as having been a separate body for some time previous to this, the date of the charter. One of the most famous of the goldsmith craft was George Heriot, who in 1628 founded and erected that magnificent building known as "George Heriot's Hospital," at which the sons of all freemen craftsmen belonging to the

trades of Edinburgh might be educated, at an exceptionally moderate cost, while the daughters of craftsmen might be educated under similar conditions in another institution known as the "Trades Maiden Hospital." This last named institution exists as a school at the present day, though not in the original building, but "George Heriot's Hospital" is a building well known to most people as an almost perfect example of Scottish seventeenth-century architecture. The second "Seal of Cause" just referred to included for the first time both the crafts of pewterers and coppersmiths, the other trades constituting the Hammermen Incorporation remaining the same as in the original charter. The ratification of the charter by King Charles II. took place in 1681, when the pewterers are styled "peutherers."

As with the other hammermen incorporations, St Eloi was the patron saint of that of Edinburgh, and an altar was dedicated to him in St Giles' Cathedral, for the performing of masses, etc., for the benefit of the craftsmen. A few years later, in 1545, the Edinburgh Hammermen, and the other Trade Incorporations, became possessed of the chapel and hospital of Mary Magdalene through the generosity of one Michel Macquhan and of Janet Rhynd his wife, who dedicated the chapel and hospital "for the poor of these bodies and the holding of their meetings." The Hammermen with the other Trades continued to use these buildings until the middle of the nineteenth century, when they were sold, and turned into a Dispensary in memory of the great traveller and explorer Dr Livingstone, though the chapel still continues to be used for service. Michel Macquhan, as events turned out, had not so much to do with the building of the chapel and hospital as had his spouse, Janet Rhynd. He had indeed, in 1503, left 700 pounds (Scots) to the founding of the buildings, but in the Charter of Dedication, in 1545, it appears that, owing to the shortcomings of others who had promised various sums towards the erection of the chapel and hospital and who had not kept their promises, Janet Rhynd at that date gave 2000 pounds (Scots) more for the completion of the good work. This money was given for the finishing of the building of the chapel and hospital, and for the purchase of some land, the rents from which were to keep and sustain seven poor craftsmen ("bedesmen"), a chaplain for the chapel, and to maintain the whole building in repair. Some of the provisions of the Charter of Dedication are curious. For instance, the prayers of the chaplain and the

PLATE IV.



Bottle-shaped measure, about a Scottish gill in capacity.

Smith Institute, Stirling, collection.

See Appendix C, page 196.

As this measure is of an unique type, it is difficult to date it,
but, in all probability, it belongs to the 18th century.

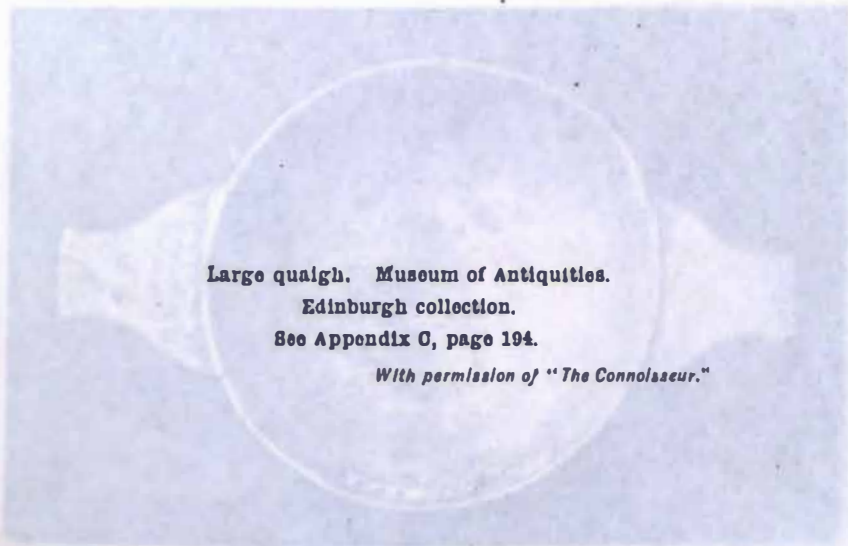


Large quaigh. Museum of Antiquities.

Edinburgh collection.

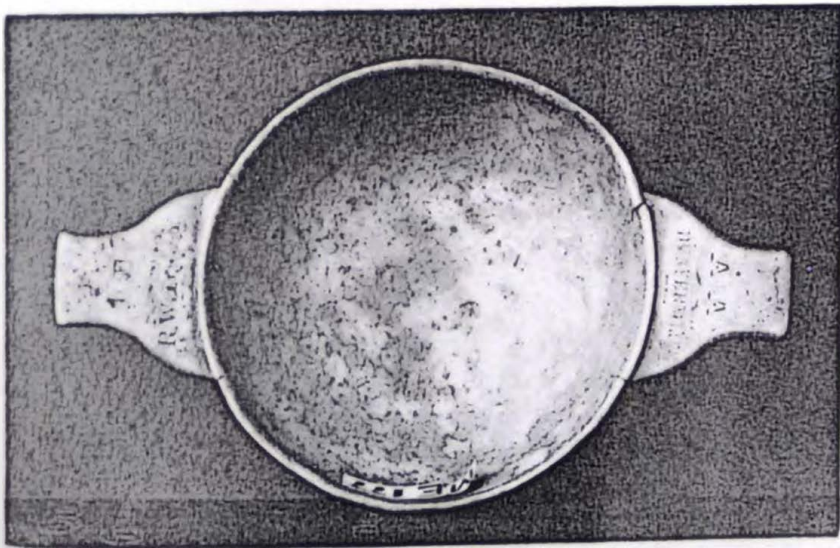
See Appendix C, page 194.

With permission of "The Connoisseur."



Small quaigh, pocket size. Smith Institute,
Stirling collection.

See Appendix C, page 198.



seven poor craftsmen were to be¹ "offered unto God for the Salvation of the Soul of our most illustrious Mary Queen of Scots, and the Salvation of my umquhil (late) Husband's Soul and mine. And also for the Salvation of the Souls of my Fathers and Mothers, and for the Salvation of all the Souls of those who shall put to their helping Hand, or sall give any thing to this Work:" as well as for the souls of others who are mentioned.

Good woman as Janet Rhynd no doubt was, she does not seem to have had much of an opinion of her own sex, as witness one of the clauses in the charter, which forbade any member of the weaker sex to be admitted into the hospital, under any pretext whatsoever, either by day or night; since one of the qualifications required of the seven bedesmen was that they must be over three score years of age, this provision appears a trifle superfluous! Another clause of the charter enjoined that upon the day of the patron saint of the building two wax candles should be lighted upon the altar, and two others be set in brass candlesticks at the foot of the "Images of the Patron," in this case "St Mary Magdalene," though no doubt St Eloi would have his proper place somewhere in the chapel.

The interior of the Chapel of St Mary Magdalene, or Mary Magdalene, as it is more commonly called, is, at the present day, in very much the same state of preservation as it was when left to the Crafts by the founder and foundress, with the exception that the altar has long since been swept away, its place being now occupied by seats for the heads of the incorporations. All that remains to remind us of the two pious persons who gave what was then such a magnificent gift to the Crafts of the city, is their tomb, and some pre-Reformation stained glass, said to be the only remaining of its kind in Scotland. Upon the west wall of the chapel appear, with those of the other Trades, the arms of the Hammermen, which are "Azure, a hammer proper ensigned with an imperial crown." Upon the front of the seats, which now take the place of the altar, amongst the arms of the other Hammermen crafts appear those of the Pewterers, which are strangely similar to those of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London. The arms are "Azure, on a chevron argent, betwixt three portcullices or, as many thistles vert," the only difference in the Edinburgh Pewterers' arms from those of the London Company, being the substitution of thistles for roses.

¹ "Historical Account of the Blue Blanket." Mr Alexander Pennecuick.

The Hammermen Incorporation of Edinburgh was managed by a committee, as were the similar incorporations of other towns, consisting of a Deacon, Boxmaster, and Masters of the different crafts, the duties of which officials have been explained in the preceding chapter. Like the other incorporations they had a set of rules applicable to the general management of the craft, whilst the rules which applied to each particular craft belonging to the Incorporation were, in the case of the pewterers, prescribed partly by Act of Parliament, and partly by word of mouth. These Acts ordained the quality of the metal they were to use, and the marking of the goods after they were made, and certain other details of their craft.

One of the earliest sets of rules of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen was briefly as follows:—

(a) ¹“That no hammerman, either master or servant, presume to practise more arts than one, to prevent damage or hurt to the other trades.”

(b) “That no person presume to expose for sale any sort of goods in the street at any time other than any market day.”

(c) “That certain of the best qualified persons of the crafts be empowered to search and inspect the goods made by the members, and if found of insufficient material, the same should not be sold under the pain of ‘eschill’ or forfeiture.”

(d) “That all hammermen be examined by the masters and Deacons of their several crafts in respect to their several qualifications, and all that are found to be masters of their respective trades to be admitted to the freedom of the corporation, and such as are not to be rejected until, by industrious application, he become a master of his business.”

(e) “That no person harbour or employ the servant of another without his master’s consent, who shall receive his wages or money that he may earn.”

(f) “That no person not of the aforesaid crafts shall take upon him to sell or mend any sort of work made by the hammermen.”

(g) “That persons guilty of a breach of the above specified articles to pay eight shillings (Scots) towards the support of the corporation’s altar of St Eloy and the maintenance of the priest officiating thereat.”

¹ “The Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh,” by Mr James Colston.

These rules seem to have been some of the, if not the earliest ordinances of the Incorporation, and they remained in force substantially the same, with the exception of the last one, as long as the Incorporation held its sway over the crafts which used the hammer in the city of Edinburgh. Other rules were added from time to time as was found expedient, and a number of them are given below which apply more particularly to the Pewterers' Craft. In 1588 the "essay" or trial piece of the Edinburgh Pewterers for those who wished to become freemen, at that date was very simple, being only a basin and laver (water-jug). In 1605 a "chalmer pot" was added. Five years later it comprised a "basin, a laver and a water pot," a "laver and a quart flecket (a flagon) of strong tin." In 1621 a "school of tin" (a goblet or bowl) was substituted for the quart "flecket" of the previous year. It is not until 1654 that the essay is again mentioned, when it apparently became again the "basin, laver and quart flecket," only the flecket is designated as a "flagnet." In 1692 a ring stand was added to the existing essay. This last addition shows that the pewterers of that time not only made articles of everyday household use, but also made such articles as were clearly luxuries, and in which design would hold no inconspicuous place. It was not until 1742 that there was again any alteration in the essay piece, when it was "a five pound dish, a quart flagon and a bellied decanter of fine tin." Some fifty years later, in 1794, it had dwindled down to a "five pound dish and a pint flagon." This last mention of the essay shows a considerable falling off in the articles as susceptible to design, they being of a purely utilitarian character, chiefly owing, no doubt, to the fact that both china and glassware by this time had become cheaper, and the white-ironsmiths or tinsmiths had begun to encroach upon the sphere of the pewterers' craft, by making many of the articles of domestic and other use in sheet-iron coated with tin; and from this date (1794) onwards, the white-ironsmiths wrested from them, little by little, the pewterers' monopoly. There is, indeed, evidence that in the later history of the Crafts the two trades of pewterer and white-ironsmith were sometimes combined, many of the articles of later date made in white-iron being enriched by the additions of mouldings and ornaments run and cast in pewter, whilst some of the white-ironsmiths made a certain amount of pewter-ware. "Packing and peiling with unfreemen," as has been explained before in the previous chapter,

was a very dire offence in the eyes of those who managed the affairs and made the rules of the Edinburgh Incorporation, and it must be noted that although the Pewterers' Craft was not so often brought to book for this particular offence as were some of the other crafts, they yet could not altogether plead not guilty upon this score. For instance, in 1721 one Alexander Waddel was fined for this particular offence, whilst there are some similar charges against others of the craft. Upon this particular point there seems to have been a certain unanimity of feeling and action amongst the hammermen incorporations of the different towns, for in 1696 Samuel Walker and William Harvie were sent to Glasgow to get a bond of the Pewterer Craft from the Hammermen of that city not to "pack nor pele" with "hawkers and tinklers" (tinkers).

Rule (b), which refers to the exposing of goods for sale in the street upon any other than a market day, has reference to the fact that until quite a late date, 1750 or thereabouts, there was a weekly market held within the burgh, at which only was it lawful to expose goods for sale in the open street; upon other days goods had to be kept in the booths or shops, which had very little accommodation, owing to their construction, for showing anything like a good selection of the ware. Upon these market days unfreemen could import their goods into the burgh; but according to powers given by the Crown to the Edinburgh Hammermen Incorporation in 1681,¹ unfreemen's work that was brought into the city upon any other day than these market days could be confiscated and sold, and the money made by selling them was to be divided equally between "His Majesty" and the poor of the Incorporation.

Hawking of pewter was an offence, as in England, and punishable according to the ordinances, when practised by a member of the Edinburgh Incorporation. In 1705 John Grier, a freeman of the Hammermen Incorporation, was fined ten pounds (Scots) for hawking pewter.

The Hammermen Incorporation of Edinburgh viewed most severely, and most vigorously punished when it could, any attempt upon the part of any of its members to take up more than one trade, though the view of the other hammermen incorporations does not seem to have been either uniform or consistent upon this point. In 1609, Thomas Brown, a locksmith, was fined for selling pewter and exhibiting it in his window. That this was regarded as a very flagrant offence may be gathered from the

¹ "Historical Account of the Blue Blanket." Mr Alexander Pennecuick.

fact that he was fined £10 sterling, and discharged from the smith craft. The buying of an article from any man who worked in a trade other than that to which the article pertained, was another breach of the rules : thus in 1710 our friend John Grier already mentioned was again fined for having bought a pair of silver buckles from a worker other than a silversmith.

There is one notable exception to the rule, and that was in the making of brasswork, which appears from the records to have been the right of the Pewterers' Craft, for in 1696 " William Harvie protested that no act that the incorporation might make for the benefit of the copper-smiths should do away with the ancient privileges of the pewterers in the making and selling of brasswork." This is the only item of information that the records contain with regard to this particular right, and we are left in ignorance whether such brasswork was marked in the same way as the pewterers' other wares, or whether it was allowed to go unmarked, or had special marks pertaining to it.

The essay pieces, which had to be satisfactorily executed by a candidate before he could obtain admission as a freeman of any of the crafts of the Hammermen's Incorporation, had to be made in a freeman's shop, in the presence of two " Essay Masters." These masters had the right to visit the shop where the candidate was working and examine his work at any time, and if they suspected that he was getting any help in the making of his essay, they even had the power of locking him into the workroom by himself until the work was finished. The essay completed, the applicant brought it with him to the next general meeting of the incorporation, when it was examined and, if found of sufficient quality and workmanship, he was admitted as a freeman with all the usual privileges of the incorporation upon the payment of certain fees and dues referred to in Chapter II.

The following extract from the records will explain more fully the form of procedure gone through upon these occasions ; but as in the original records the omission of certain words and punctuation renders the context somewhat unintelligible, these have been inserted by the author for the convenience of the reader.

" 27th August 1714. Then ye Incorporation being met compared Thomas Inglis late prentice of ye deceased Thomas Inglis peutherer, and presented his essay, viz. a laver, a flecket, and a ringstand, *which* ye

house *having* found to be a well wrought essay, and that he is able to serve his majesty's lieges thereafter, they admitted him a freeman pewtherer among them. His essay masters were James Cowper and Robert Reid, his essay was made in John Weir's shop, he paid ye Boxmtr. 106£ 13s. 4d. (Scots) for his upset and twenty merks to ye maiden hospital."

There are several entries in the records which show that the members of the Incorporation sometimes exercised the powers contained in the latter part of Rule (d) with regard to the rejection of those who might wish to become freemen and who did not provide suitable essays. Thus, in 1607, James Somerville's admission as a freeman was opposed as he did not present an essay piece; the Incorporation sent him back to his work, and we find that he did not qualify as a freeman until some nine years later, in 1616.

As one of the chief objects of the Incorporation was to maintain the standard quality of the goods made by its members, the making goods of bad metal or of indifferent workmanship were other very serious breaches of the ordinances. The first and only instance that we have of an Edinburgh pewterer violating this particular ordinance is when William Abernethie was, in 1652, fined for working in bad metal.

The records of the Incorporation are silent upon the point of what constituted the standard of quality of the metal, but this was apparently laid down by various Acts of Parliament, and which will be found more fully treated in Chapter XV.

An apprentice of the Edinburgh Hammermen Incorporation had to serve a term of six years, with the usual extra year for board, lodging, and fee, and in addition to this he had to work a certain amount of time as a journeyman before he could be admitted as a freeman. Many of the members of the Incorporation belonged to good families, and it was never thought in Scotland at any time a disgrace or a sacrifice of dignity for the younger sons of a noble house to engage in trade. The Pewterers' Craft does not appear to have been able to claim that its ranks were swelled from any of the well-known families of the land, though some of the other crafts can show such entries in the records. But the Pewterers did not lack entrants of at least a fair social standing, for in 1687 "Robert Pape nephew of the Laird of Wallieford was apprenticed to Alexander Menzies, pewterer," and in 1691 "Adam Rae son of Thomas

Rae cornet of Cunningham's dragoons" was apprenticed to Alexander Finlay. These two entries show from what ranks of the people the hammermen crafts were to some extent recruited. Apprentices, upon being bound as such to their masters, were brought up by the latter before a meeting of the Incorporation, and after paying certain fees became "booked apprentices." The following extract from the records shows the form of booking of an apprentice:—"14th June 1720. Joseph Dawson sone to James Dawson Smith in Dalmenie is booked prentice to Robert Finlay peutherer, he paid ye Boxmr. 40 sh. (Scots) of booking money and 40 sh. (Scots) to ye maiden hospitale."

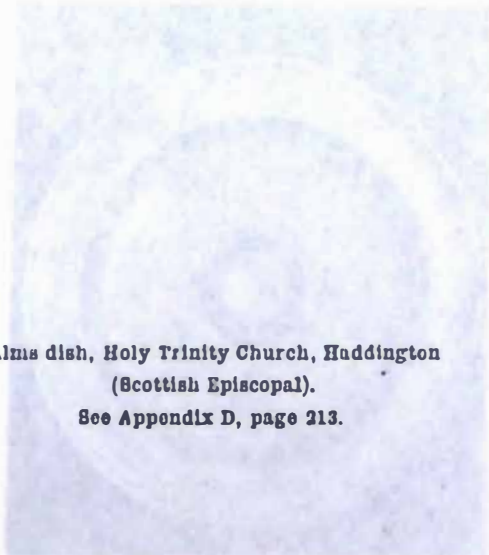
All craftsmen of the Incorporation, the pewterers included, had to mark their goods with a private stamp or "touch," so that the Deacon of the incorporation, when he went his rounds upon market and other days, might be able to identify each craftsman's work by his own particular touch. The placing of this private mark by the pewterers upon their ware was enjoined for them by several Acts of Parliament referred to in Chapter XV. In 1681 the Incorporation thought it necessary to pass an ordinance ordaining every craftsman to mark his work with a private mark; but the Pewterers had adopted the measure long before this ordinance came into force, and their touch plates, or "counterpanes," as they are styled, of which the Frontispiece is an illustration, are now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in Edinburgh.

The Hammermen Incorporation of Edinburgh exercised a sort of suzerainty, as we may so style it, over the hammermen of those suburbs of Edinburgh known as the West Port and Potterrow and the town of Leith, though the records are not very clear upon this latter point, and a study of the ratification of the "Seal of Cause" granted to the hammermen of the Canongate in 1540 shows that that body enjoyed this privilege as well. From the records of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen it is interesting to learn that at the date 1717 there were no pewterers amongst the hammermen of Leith, nor have we any more evidence from these same records that any such craftsmen were to be found amongst the hammermen of the West Port and Potterrow, though it is quite probable that there were; but as the records of these bodies are missing, it is impossible to speak with certainty.

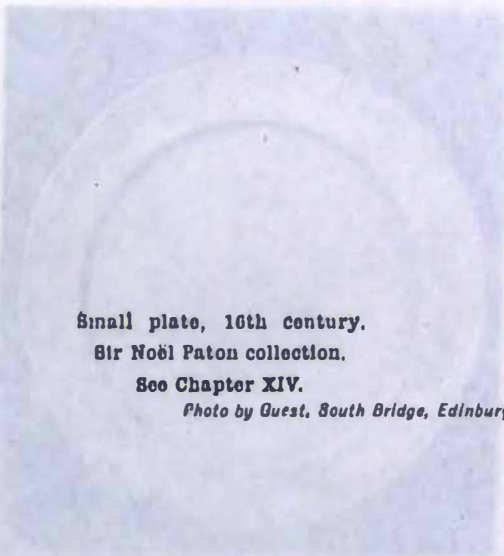
According to an entry in the Edinburgh Incorporation's records dated 1713 which runs as follows: "Delivered to the Deacon and Box-

master of Edinburgh the Hammermen of Portsburgh's (the West Port district) obligation not to import any of their maid (made) work into the city," it is evident that the hammermen of the above district, and most probably those of Leith and Potterrow as well, were forbidden to bring their work in a certain form into the city of Edinburgh. The white-ironsmiths or tinsmiths, as has been noted before, were, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, always a thorn in the side of the Pewterer Craft by reason of their making, in a cheaper if not so durable a metal, the very things the pewterers themselves manufactured and sold, and thereby seriously damaging the latter's trade. Up to the end of the eighteenth century the pewterers seem to have held sway over the white-ironsmiths, and to a certain extent to have controlled their actions. The first mention of white-iron or tinned sheet-iron in connection with the Hammermen Incorporation of Edinburgh was in 1713, and James Bruce apprenticed to Robert Bruce was in 1721 the first white-ironsmith to be admitted as a freeman of the Pewterers' Craft, his essay being "a stoving pan, a lanthorn, a watering pot, and a chalmer of white metal." On the 10th of February 1733, according to the Records, the pewterers announced that they had determined to alter their essay; the white-ironsmiths also desired to alter theirs, but Thomas Simpson and Simpson Frazer (pewterers) protested against this, and said it would not be allowed without the consent of the Pewterer Art. By the 26th of March of the same year, however, the pewterers had consented to allow the white-ironsmiths to change their essay which was in future to be "a box with three canasters, and a salver beaten, and a lante rnwith sixteen horns, and a syphon all of white iron." In the year 1739 the white-ironsmiths brought a complaint against the pewterers, and desired to have a separate craft of their own, but this the pewterers would not allow, and in the records there is no evidence to show that they ever achieved this purpose. If the white-ironsmiths often annoyed the pewterers by making goods in the forms pertaining to the latter's craft, these sometimes retaliated and paid the white-ironsmiths back in their own coin. Thus in 1795 the white-ironsmiths called a meeting to protest against James Wright, pewterer, making their work; he was admonished by the heads of the Incorporation, but rather unjustly, so it seems, allowed to finish the work he had in hand. Another craft like that of brass working, not mentioned individually as a craft, and which was very closely allied

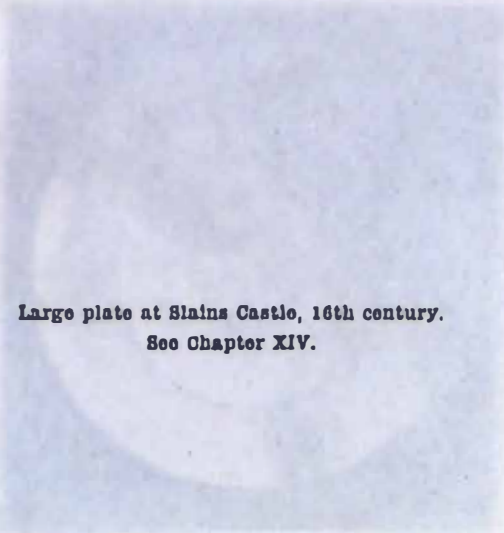
PLATE V.



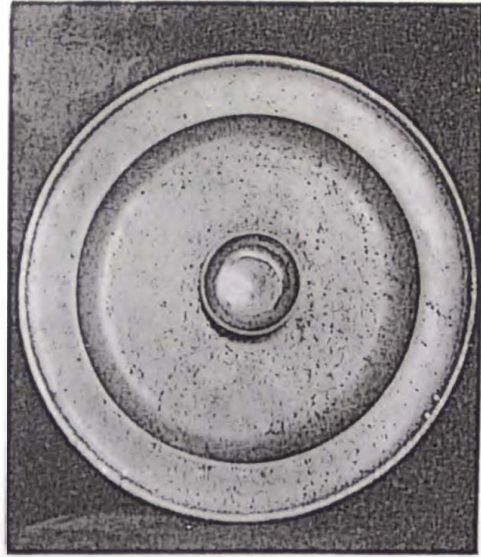
**Alms dish, Holy Trinity Church, Haddington
(Scottish Episcopal).
See Appendix D, page 213.**



**Small plate, 16th century.
Sir Noël Paton collection.
See Chapter XIV.
*Photo by Quest, South Bridge, Edinburgh.***



**Large plate at Slains Castle, 16th century.
See Chapter XIV.**



to that of the pewterers, who indeed in many cases seem to have worked at it as well as their own, was that of the plumbers, a somewhat different form of art from that which is practised in present age of lead pipes and sinks. The beautiful old water cisterns, rainwater heads, and many of the fittings and external decoration of a house, which are still to be found in many old buildings, and which articles show in many cases great beauty of design and treatment, were the works of the plumbers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The only mention of this craft in the records of the Edinburgh Hammermen is in 1678, when a sum of money was advanced from the "common box" to the Pewterers' Art for a lawsuit brought by them against the plumbers. Upon the "4th February 1679. The Pewterers brought an action against the Plumbers of Edinburgh to have it declared, that they had as good a right as the Plumbers to work in lead, as in making pipes, thatching platforms, etc. It was pleaded *inter alia* by the Plumbers that the court in 1663 had found them the Plumbers to be a distinct trade, and that by the act of 1663 Pewterers were forbidden to meddle with lead, the Pewterers replied that some lead was always necessary in the making of tin work, in ley metal such as stoups chamber pots etc., the standard and quality of which mixture is discerned by an act of the Burrows (burghs). The Pewterers further pleaded that the act of 1663 did not hinder them working in lead but only mixing it with foreign tin. There is no mystery in Plumbing but easily any pewterer may do it. Yet *Stannum* and *Plumbum* are different. The Pewterers are in the scall of cause with the Hammermen, plumbers are not, but have a wheelbarrow for their essay. Different trades where they are able to subsist are useful, but, in Scotland cannot subsist upon their work as a distinct trade, there being little to do, only our curiosity (requirements) is increasing daily."

The court ordained the Plumbers before answer, or before deciding the merits of the case, to prove that since their admission and incorporation with the Wrights and Masons, they were in the habit of themselves working in lead as a distinct trade and employment, and were in use to admit apprentices and do such other things as were proper for a distinct trade and employment, and also to prove that, at the time of their assumption they were a distinct trade. The foregoing sheds some light upon the state of the plumbers' craft in the seventeenth century, and shows that before that time, and possibly after, the

pewterers practised this craft as well as their own. It does not appear that they made any of the finer things of the trade such as rainwater heads, etc., but confined themselves to the rougher work of roofing and pipe-making.

What has preceded embraces practically all the references that the records of the Hammermen Incorporation of Edinburgh contain with regard to the Pewterers' Craft and the allied crafts of the white-ironsmith and the plumber.

Many of the craftsmen of the Incorporation had their shops in that steep winding street of the city known as the West Bow, which is now for the most part demolished, and in the Grassmarket, but now all that remains to serve us as a reminder to-day of the Pewterers' Craft are, by a strange irony of fate, one or two shops kept by tinsmiths, or as the old records would have had it "white-ironsmiths." The last pewterer to practise his trade in Edinburgh, and whose shop was in the West Bow, was a Mr James Moyes, who gave up his business in the seventies of the last century, though it is said that for some years before that time he had ceased to manufacture pewter vessels; with the closing of his shop there died the last of one of the historic crafts of the Scottish Capital.



CHAPTER IV

THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF THE CANONGATE

THE burgh of the Canongate was practically founded by the building of the Abbey of Holyrood, or as it is termed in old deeds the Abbey of the Holy Cross. In a charter given by David I. in the year 1128, leave was given to the canons of the Abbey (Holyrood) to establish a burgh between their church of the Holy Cross, and the burgh of Edinburgh, the burgesses of which were to have all the rights with regard to the buying and selling of wares, as had those of Edinburgh and other royal burghs.

But though so near to Edinburgh, its main street being merely a continuation of the High Street of that town, it was quite outside the jurisdiction of the capital for many centuries. As it was beyond the governing powers of the principal city, and entirely outside the walls, it did not share in the latter's defences against an enemy when he came, which was not an infrequent occurrence. It is true that the Canongate itself was surrounded by walls of a sort, but these were of so flimsy a nature, and generally kept in such bad repair, that when the invader arrived he found no difficulty in effecting an entrance, and it was not long before he was laying siege to the Netherbow Port of Edinburgh. The inhabitants of the burgh of the Canongate were at first under the superiority of the abbots of Holyrood, who held the title of Superior, but after a while they resigned this right, though they still seem to have had a hand in the making and administration of the laws of the burgh. The abbots seem to have made wise rulers, and the inhabitants of the Canongate appear to have enjoyed particular immunity from any trouble with their superiors until the year 1620, when Sir William Bellenden, the then Superior, attempted to interfere with the election of the bailies, which action brought down a wrath which must have been long pent up, for in so interfering he had exceeded his privileges. Shortly after the foregoing date the bailies and town council of Edinburgh,

in 1636, obtained the right of nominating the Baron Bailie, or Superior of the burgh of the Canongate for each ensuing year, which right they continued to exercise until the year 1853, when the burgh was merged with the districts of Potterrow and the Calton into the city of Edinburgh; but up to this latter date the burgh of the Canongate still continued to possess certain peculiar laws of its own, and to enjoy certain privileges. In common with the other burgesses of this royal burgh the members of the Hammermen Incorporation had the rights and privileges usually granted to similar incorporations in the other towns of Scotland.

In 1535, in a "seal of cause" the Hammermen of the burgh of the Canongate craved the permission of the town council and magistrates and that of the Abbot of the Abbey of the Holy Cross to build and dedicate an altar to St Eloy within the abbey church, as well as to be allowed to form themselves into a properly legalised hammermen incorporation. This deed contained besides the application for powers a set of rules, as it was usual to include these in such documents, by which they proposed to govern the members already joined, and those craftsmen who would after the granting of the charter come under the Incorporation's jurisdiction. It was not, however, until the year 1546 that we find that the Abbot of Holyrood had given his sanction to the Hammermen of the Canongate to erect their proposed altar to St Eloy, but at that date he not only gave them permission to set up this altar, but also to build and dedicate a pillar to the same saint, which altar and pillar were to be placed in the north aisle of the abbey church.

The rules of the Canongate Incorporation are not dissimilar to those in force in the early histories of Edinburgh and other hammermen incorporations. The first of them required that every craftsmen before he became a master should be a freeman and a burghess of the burgh. Those who were apprentices born in the burgh were to pay the sum of four pounds (Scots), and those who had been born elsewhere were to pay an additional pound for their "upsets" or entry money; this money was to go to the keeping up of the altar of St Eloy, and the ornaments upon it.

The next rule ordained that every freeman when he was made a master was to pay the sum of forty shillings (Scots). The rule that comes next to this in importance and is the fourth in the list is one most commonly to be found in the records of the hammermen incorpora-

tions. It ordained that no man should work at any craft except that to which he had been apprenticed. The rule following enacts that the best men of the craft were to be appointed and act as overseers of the work, and to see that it was of good workmanship and of fine material. Rule six forbade the selling of work upon the High Street, either in the hand or upon stalls, upon any other day except a market day. Prentices were to be bound for seven years and for no less, unless the leave of the principal masters of the Incorporation to shorten the time had been obtained. Every son of a freeman upon his entry into the Incorporation had to pay the sum of twenty shillings Scots, for the upkeep of the altar of St Eloy. Every master who had a booth or shop had to pay what was known as the "owkly" or weekly penny to the "reparation" of the ornaments of, and the maintenance of a priest to officiate at this altar.

The Deacon and "Kirkmaster" as he was styled at this time and the principal Masters for the year, together with the officer of the town, were given full power to collect dues, examine work, etc., and impound the same if necessary.

In 1540 James V. granted the Incorporation of Hammermen of the burgh of the Canongate a proper ratification of their "Seal of Cause," which ratification carried with it the additional powers of controlling and generally bringing within their jurisdiction the hammermen of those suburbs now of Edinburgh, known as St Leonard's Gate, and the Barony of Broughton, besides the town of Leith.

The crafts which belonged to the Incorporation at the date of "the Seal of Cause" comprised blacksmiths, goldsmiths, lorimers (craftsmen who made the metal parts of saddlery), saddlers, cutlers, swordslippers (sword cutlers), bucklemakers, and pewterers, which last are described as "pewdir makirs."

So much we know of how the Hammermen of the Canongate were ordered and ruled during pre-Reformation times, but between the years 1546 and 1706 there is a tremendous gap in the records, and the old excuse must be pleaded that is so often put forward in similar cases of valuable manuscripts, and which is unfortunately so often true, they are lost. The only two record books of the Incorporation which have come down to us of modern times are those which begin in the year 1706 and finish in 1789. One of these books is the "lockit book" of the Craft

and contains the entries of apprentices and freemen into the Craft, and the other is the ordinary minute book with the records of the business of the different meetings of the Incorporation. By the year 1707, the Hammermen of the Canongate had thought fit to make no less than forty-seven different ordinances for the proper management of the Craft and its members, but it is not proposed to trouble the reader with a full account of them all, but only of those which throw some light upon the working of the different crafts, as well as upon the social conditions under which the craftsmen and their servants and apprentices lived.

The first of these forty-seven rules forbade disobedience to the Deacon, which offence was to be punished by a fine of forty shillings Scots. For swearing, cursing, or blaspheming the name of God, profaning the Sabbath day, drinking in a tavern after ten o'clock at night, or being found drunk, a freeman had to pay a fine of forty shillings Scots, a journeyman twenty shillings Scots, and an apprentice thirteen shillings Scots; these fines were for the first offence, for the second they were doubled, and for the third the offender was to be dismissed from the Craft. One wonders, in reading the above, to what extent it was really enforced, for if the Scots workman of the last century was anything like his contemporary of to-day, the Craft must have found great difficulty in getting any journeymen at all! The seventh rule ordained that no man was to be admitted as a freeman of the Incorporation until he was quite proficient in all branches of his craft, and then not without the consent of the Deacon, Masters and Brethren, and particularly those of his own trade. The ninth rule shows the state of petty jealousy existing at that date (1707) between the city of Edinburgh and the burgh of the Canongate, for after forbidding a freeman to work with an unfreeman, it ordained that no freeman of the Canongate Hammermen was to belong to the incorporation of Edinburgh, or to go into partnership with another craftsman who was a member of the Edinburgh incorporation. The eleventh rule forbade any master to discharge his apprentice of his indentures, except in the presence of the Deacon and some of the masters; and the next rule orders that every freeman who might wish to become a member of the Incorporation should first of all present a bill or paper showing his right to become a freeman, which bill was to be followed by an essay piece, which had to be found of good workmanship before a meeting of the whole house; and after he had satisfied the Brethren and

paid the ordinary trade dues he was to be admitted into the Incorporation.

The rules referring to the conduct and treatment of servants are very strict and in many cases severe. Rule sixteen forbade any servant to absent himself from his master's service without leave; and the next rule, number seventeen, ordained that if any servant fought within his master's house, or abused him or his landlady, or his fellow servants, by word or deed, or if he played at cards or diced, or was a night walker, *i.e.* roamed the streets at nights after the house was locked up, the luckless wight had to pay the sum of forty shillings Scots, and was to be expelled from the Craft!

But the benefit was not all on the master's side, for rule eighteen ordained that if a master attempted to strike his servant or apprentice in the presence of the Deacon, a fine of forty shillings Scots was to be exacted. The terms of this rule leave us to infer that outside the presence of the Deacon, a master might strike his servants or apprentices at will, and as these were not exactly "kid glove" times, some of the masters would not hesitate to take full advantage of their rights and authority.

The next rule ordained that no master was to see, *i.e.* to talk and consult with, his brother craftsman's servant without leave.

Rule twenty-seven shows that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the discipline of the Church was as strict as ever. This rule ordered the master to insist upon his servants attending church with him upon Sundays, at both the morning and afternoon services, and this too in the days when a single sermon was not thought worth listening to if it was less than two hours in duration! The rule goes on to declare that if any servant or prentice be found upon the streets at unreasonable hours, he would be punished "to the terror of others" and fined the sum of four pounds Scots.

Rule thirty-eight enacted that no freeman of the Incorporation was to absent himself from the burial of another freeman, "or his wife, bairns, or prentices," and the ordinance further ordained that the freeman should be at the appointed place named by the Deacon and go from there "to the lifting of the corpse" and from thence to the place of burial.

Rule forty forbids the custom of apprentices exacting from servants and other apprentices what is styled in the records as "apron ale." It was in all probability the custom amongst the servants and apprentices

of the craft to exact money for buying ale or other drink from a new member of the establishment when he made his appearance amongst them and started work for the first time. That the custom was a recognised one may be gathered from the fact that the latter part of the rule states that if any master permitted this custom to take place in his shop he was to be fined forty shillings Scots.

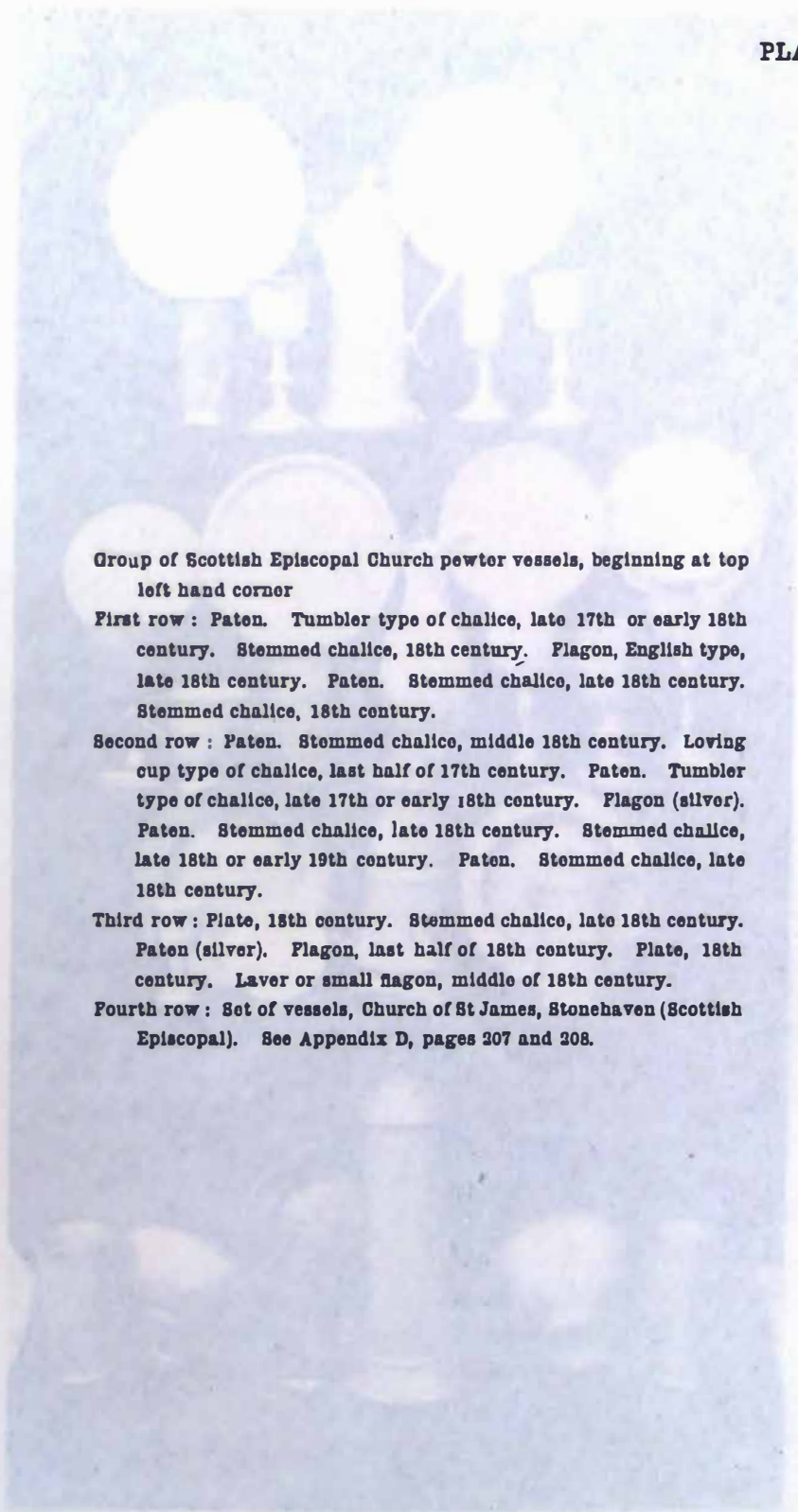
The next rule, forty-one, enacts that the Box-master and two of the "poynding masters," as the representatives of the different crafts were called, were to go through the district over which the Hammermen of the Canongate had jurisdiction, for the purpose of seeking out apprentices and journeymen who were not bound or not entered in the crafts' books, as well as to look for any unfreeman craftsman who might be poaching upon their preserves.

These are practically all the rules that controlled the actions of a craftsman of this particular incorporation, and his servants. No mention is made amongst them or in those given in the "Seal of Cause" of any ordinance which ordered the craftsman, and the pewterers in particular, to mark their goods with a "touch" or stamp, and if any ordinance of this kind was ever passed at all, it would be in those records which are lost, though of course the pewterers would have to conform to the Acts of Parliament of 1567, 1641 and 1663 (Chapter XV.).

The Canongate being smaller than the neighbouring burgh of Edinburgh, it is not unnatural to find that there were only some five pewterers admitted as members of the Incorporation during the eighteenth century, or rather during the first thirty years of that period, for after 1729 no pewterer seems to have joined the Hammermen of the Canongate and only white-ironsmiths appear in their place. But it is quite likely that these latter craftsmen made or kept pewter-ware to supply the needs of those who still required it, and in so doing they would meet with but little opposition from the other members of the Incorporation, whose liberties by that time would not thereby be encroached upon in any way.

White-ironsmiths are mentioned for the first time in the existing records in the year 1733, when John Nanson was admitted into the Incorporation as a freeman white-ironsmith, but they do not seem to have been numerous at any time, and only four names are recorded as having joined the brethren from the beginning down to the latter years of the eighteenth century.

PLATE VII



Group of Scottish Episcopal Church pewter vessels, beginning at top left hand corner

First row : Paten. Tumbler type of chalice, late 17th or early 18th century. Stemmed chalice, 18th century. Flagon, English type, late 18th century. Paten. Stemmed chalice, late 18th century. Stemmed chalice, 18th century.

Second row : Paten. Stemmed chalice, middle 18th century. Loving cup type of chalice, last half of 17th century. Paten. Tumbler type of chalice, late 17th or early 18th century. Flagon (silver). Paten. Stemmed chalice, late 18th century. Stemmed chalice, late 18th or early 19th century. Paten. Stemmed chalice, late 18th century.

Third row : Plate, 18th century. Stemmed chalice, late 18th century. Paten (silver). Flagon, last half of 18th century. Plate, 18th century. Laver or small flagon, middle of 18th century.

Fourth row : Set of vessels, Church of St James, Stonehaven (Scottish Episcopal). See Appendix D, pages 307 and 308.



The form of admission of a freeman into the Canongate Incorporation during the eighteenth century was similar in essentials to that of the Edinburgh Incorporation. The following extract in the records illustrates the general procedure of an admission at that time:—"1720. Alexander Waddel presented his bill and craved to be admitted a freeman pewterer. He was given the essay of a peuther chamber pott and a pynt stoup and bason. Essay found good *and he was* admitted as a freeman in the Cannongate as long as he professed the Protestant religion and paid his dues." It will be observed that the essay piece is specified in the above extract, and it remained exactly the same until the last pewterer was admitted into the Incorporation some nine years later. The qualification as to professing the Protestant religion is very curious and significant, and one that appears to have been introduced at the time of the Reformation.

The foregoing rules and extracts are practically all that related to the doings of the Hammermen Crafts in general, and more particularly to the working of the Pewterers' Craft, and as in the case of the Glasgow and Stirling Hammermen records, it has been thought best to include such information, however fragmentary, on the principle that half a loaf at least is a great deal better than no loaf at all!

Before bringing this chapter to an end, there is one other entry of interest which is inscribed in the beginning of the minute book, which begins at the date 1706, and which shows that if the Hammermen of the Canongate professed the Protestant religion, they at any rate had not given up their patron saint. The entry refers to St Eloi, the description of whom is the same as is to be found upon the official seal of the Hammermen Incorporation of Edinburgh:—"The effigy of St Eloi in his apostolical vestments proper, standing in a church porch (a niche?), a porch adorned with five pyramid steeples engraven, each surmounted with a plain cross, holding in his dexter hand a hammer bar-ways and in his sinister a key bend-ways." Round the effigy are these words, "*Sigillum commune Artis Tudiatorum.*"

CHAPTER V

THE INCORPORATION OF THE HAMMERMEN OF PERTH

AN inhabitant of Perth in the time of William the Lion, were he able to come back to the scene of his life, would have some difficulty in recognising it as the city in which he once dwelt, were it not for the swift rushing river Tay and the broad stretch of green pasture land upon its right bank known as the Inch.

For Perth has undergone and suffered more changes in its way than perhaps any other city of its size in Scotland. Scarcely an old house or other building dating back for any length of time remains. True, you are shown a house in which you are told "the Fair Maid," that most charming heroine of Sir Walter's novel, once dwelt, but everyone who has tried knows how difficult it is to fix the abiding place of a character of fiction, or even of real life for the matter of that, unless that character be some well-known personage, and even then the task is often impossible. Even the West Kirk, used for a time by the Hammermen of that city as their place of meeting and worship, is but a poor ghost of its former glory and magnificence when under the rule of the Church of Rome.

From the time of William the Lion, Perth was a prosperous town, never very large, even smaller than Dundee, the second town in Scotland, but still a prosperous place, and for some time the capital, with many well-to-do merchants and craftsmen who, to judge by their numbers, seem to have had a good market for their wares, as indeed was likely when the Court was stationed there, and before the capital was removed to Edinburgh. Perhaps the earliest mention of the crafts in Perth is in 1210, when King William the Lion granted to the burgesses of Perth the privileges of a merchant guild, in which privileges not only the merchants shared but the craftsmen as well. In the Guild "lockit book," or a book bound with metal and having locks to it for the better preservation of the more precious records of that body, which dates from the year 1452, workers in gold, brass and iron, together with bakers, tailors and other

tradesmen, are mentioned, but not a word is said about the Pewterers' Craft, from which it may be inferred that at that date there was no pewter made in Perth, and the use of vessels made of that metal would be very small indeed, and in all probability what there was would be imported into the town, and for that matter into many other towns of Scotland, from England and the Continent. Later on the different craftsmen formed guilds or incorporations of their own, but as it has been pointed out in Chapter II., they did not entirely sever their connection with the Merchant Guild or "Guildry."

It is difficult to say how old the Hammermen Incorporation of Perth really is, the earliest existing record book now in the possession of the Craft dates from 1518, but we have every reason to believe that this was not the first book, and that there were other records kept before the date of this one, and it is likely that the Incorporation dated back to the fifteenth century. Like the other similar incorporations in the country, the Perth Hammermen had St Eloi as their patron saint, and an altar was dedicated to him in St John's Church. This altar was kept up and the priest paid, in the usual way, by the fees of the members, and the altar itself was lit by candles made of the wax extracted as fines from defaulting craftsmen, and which manner of fining a craftsman for breaking the ordinances has been referred to before. Like some of the other hammermen incorporations, that of Perth still continued to extract the fines of wax, after Knox and his followers had swept away all such popish things as altars; but the wax then went to the making of candles which served to light the Incorporation's pews.

The earliest mention of pewterers in the Perth Incorporation's records is in 1546, when an ordinance was passed by the Hammermen against apprentices playing at football upon the Inch and otherwise neglecting their duties. The pewterers are there described as "pewteraris."

It is not until the year 1597 that the name of a worker at this craft appears in the Minute Book of the Incorporation, when one William Lauder was admitted as a freeman "peutherer." After this date the names continue with tolerable frequency down to the year 1771, when the last pewterer was admitted into the Incorporation; but some of the numerous copper-smiths, white-iron-smiths and founders, continued to make small quantities of pewter-ware, as was the case in other towns.

The craftsmen who comprised the Perth Incorporation of Hammer-

men in the early years of its history were gold and silversmiths, potters, blacksmiths, saddlers, armourers, gunsmiths, braziers and pewterers; later on tinklers (tinkers), white-ironsmiths, clockmakers, watchmakers, carriage-makers and bell-hangers were included.

The earliest ordinances of the Perth Hammermen are few in number, and the ones that have any particular interest and bearing more particularly upon the Pewterers' Craft are fewer still.

The second rule in the list forbids any craftsman to dispossess a brother of his booth by offering the landlord an increased rent, a regulation which even to-day will go straight to the heart of many a dispossessed tenant. All efforts to increase one's business by undue advertisement, and thereby make profit at the expense of brother craftsmen, and all methods of pushing business except by the legitimate means of hard work, and good workmanship, were from the earliest times sternly repressed by the Hammermen Incorporation. Another rule shows this point very forcibly, as it forbids any craftsman to dispossess another of the work he had taken in hand, or to call a customer from another's booth, at which he (the customer) might be at at the time, in order to look at the wares in any other shop or booth.

The fourth rule is a somewhat curious one, and also discourages anything in the nature of unfair competition. It forbids any member to meddle with another's goods until the customer had concluded his bargain, or given up the intention of concluding one. Perhaps some of the craftsmen had been guilty of the fault of disparaging some of their fellow-workers' goods by pointing out supposed flaws and imperfections which might prevent the customer from buying at that particular booth, and possibly with the hope by so doing that the fault-finder's own booth might be patronised, or it may even have been the case that brother members were not above substituting articles with a view to discrediting another's workmanship. We do not like to think this, but human nature is ever the same whatever the age in which it lives, and in the eternal struggle for existence where, as here, direct methods of competition are forbidden, indirect and more doubtful methods are apt to be found.

An apprentice by the rules of most of the trades incorporations was bound for a term of six years and one year extra to recoup his master for outlay and keep. In Perth, as was the case in some other towns, an apprentice was bound for a term of five years only, with the usual extra

one year for meat and fee. After the expiry of his term he had to serve two more years as a journeyman, either to his old master or to some other of the same craft, before he could become a master craftsman himself.

Strangers or craftsmen who had not been born in the town of Perth, but who had been apprenticed and trained in other places, were at the beginning of the Incorporation's history admitted only as journeymen or paid servants to work for the members, their admission as such being made the subject of a small tax levied upon the masters, who incurred a penalty if they employed any unfreeman not licensed in this manner. In the middle of the sixteenth century, however, it was ordained that these strangers or unfreemen, who could show that they were properly qualified workmen, were to be admitted as freemen upon the payment of the sum of 20 pounds Scots. Towards the end of the century this sum had been doubled; in 1654 it was again doubled; in 1663 the admission money for this class of craftsmen was increased to 200 pounds Scots, but thirty years later, in 1687, the amount was reduced to 100 pounds Scots.

The first mention in the Perth records with regard to the presentation by a craftsman of an essay, in order to qualify as a master, is in 1560, when the Incorporation passed a statute that no apprentice should become a master without first of all presenting an essay piece; he was also to pay the sum of 20 pounds Scots, or give silver pledges worth that amount. There were also two further requirements from the apprentice on admission as a master, both of which are strange to modern ideas, and one of which is not a little curious: he had in addition to his other dues to provide his new brethren with a *banquet* and a *football*! The "banquet" may presumably have been meagre, but it would at least consist of some form of liquid refreshment which might suffice to encourage and to fortify the staid and portly brethren for their romp upon the Inch after the "baa." The "banquet," as will be found noted in the chapter upon the incorporation of hammermen of Dundee, was not an unusual accompaniment to the admission of a master, who might be well excused for indulging in a feast of the kind with the other members, upon his entry into what was in reality his start in life's struggle.

The football mentioned as part of the fees of the aspirant to the honour of the dignity of master, is rather more difficult to understand, with our knowledge of the customs of our own time. Perhaps the budding craftsman played his last game with the companions of his boyhood and late

youth, as a symbol that he had now arrived at man's sober estate and must do a man's work; but what is more probable still, the ball was presented to the Craft in general that all and sundry of its members might take part in the game upon high days and holidays. The custom of limiting the number of opponents upon either side in the game is purely a modern innovation, and even to-day in several towns of Scotland and England games of football take place upon certain days in the year, which are played without any specially organised set of rules and regardless of the number of players on either side.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the rules of the hammermen in the other towns of Scotland were very precise as to a workman practising only one craft, it is rather surprising to find that the Perth Hammermen so early as 1607 had admitted one William Bell as a freeman craftsman in no less than three different trades, namely the gunsmith, blacksmith and locksmith arts. Perhaps these arose from the fact that the gunsmith and locksmith and, in a small measure, the blacksmith arts were identical, and therefore did not encroach upon any other craftsman's province, or it may be that at that time there were not enough gunsmiths and locksmiths to supply the demand for weapons of defence and offence within the burgh of Perth. That it does not appear to have been very common even in Perth for a craftsman to practise more than one craft, may be gathered from the fact that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, in 1718, one Ninian Grey was admitted as a freeman of the coppersmiths' art, but in so doing the brethren especially enjoined him that he was not to work or deal in pewter; but some six years later, 1724, we find the same Ninian Grey, who by that time was holding the high position of Deacon of the Incorporation, being indicted before the whole brethren for breaking his oath of admission as a freeman, by selling and dealing in pewter-ware. Ninian Grey, worthy man that he was, did not deny the charge; perhaps he had been caught red-handed. Whatever punishment was inflicted, and it was probably a small fine, though the records are silent upon the point, it certainly did not affect Grey's standing in the Incorporation, for after two years we find him still Deacon, and now admitted as a freeman to the Pewterers' Craft, having paid 200 pounds Scots for this privilege. It may perhaps have been in consideration of the rather large sum of admission money

paid upon this occasion, that the brethren departed in Grey's case from what was at that time and previously a generally strict rule, but again upon this point the records do not enlighten us. Whatever the reason, however, it only needed the thin end of the wedge to make such an example, customary, if not regular, and in 1733 one Patrick Campbell was admitted as a freeman of both "the Coppersmith and Pewter Arts." Campbell was followed some four years later by Patrick Hally, who qualified as a freeman in the same crafts. In 1745, the most notable year for Scotland in the eighteenth century, James Cuthbert, who is described as a watchmaker and late bailie, in spite of the stirring times, was admitted as a freeman founder, and probably thinking that there was little difference between founding as then practised, and pewter-making, we find him qualifying as a freeman pewterer two years later. After the year 1747 we do not find a single instance in the Perth Hammermen Incorporation's records of a pewterer practising his own trade alone, but always in conjunction with some other craft, such as that of a founder or coppersmith.

Essay pieces, or as they were designated in later years, "mastersticks," were, as it has been noted before, required from an applicant or apprentice who might wish to become a master of the Perth Incorporation; but necessary as these essay pieces were, we are left very much in ignorance as to what they consisted of at different times, the only date at which they are specified in the records being in 1655, when each aspirant to master's honour of the Pewterers' Craft had to produce in the presence of the brethren "a basone, a stoup (measure), a plait (plate), and a chamber pot"—not a very difficult test of workmanship for one who was at all skilled in his work, as none of the articles seem to have been necessarily ornamental in shape or with any added ornament, though it would seem that such would be left to the discretion of the craftsman, who would naturally do his best at this particular time.

In the year 1712 John Gray, John Smith (younger), Andrew Hamilton, David Bell, and David Donaldsone, were appointed and formed into a committee to set essays to craftsmen who were pewterers and strangers, and to judge upon their work if they wished to qualify as freemen of the Incorporation, but there is no mention made in the records of what the essays were that they set to these "aliens." The only other entry that there is in the records in which the essay of an applicant for

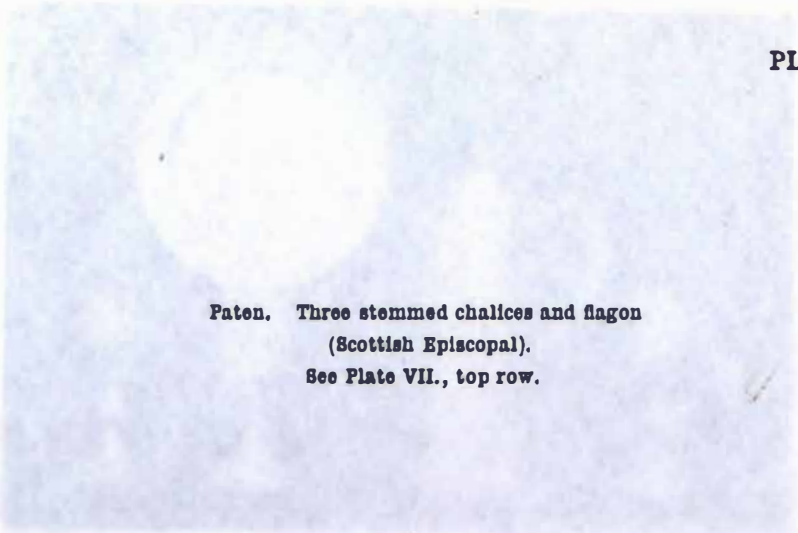
freeman and master's honours is mentioned is in the year 1750, when David Young produced a copper kettle as his essay, and was admitted as a freeman of the Coppersmiths' and *Pewterers' Arts*.

In 1718 another ordinance was passed which confirmed and insisted upon the practice of essay making, and ordained that before a man could become a freeman he had to make an essay with his own hands in the presence of masters, which work was to be presented before a meeting of the brethren. The ordinance was repeated in 1733, in which it was mentioned that strangers who might wish to become freemen pewterers of the Perth Hammermen Incorporation had first of all to present essay pieces.

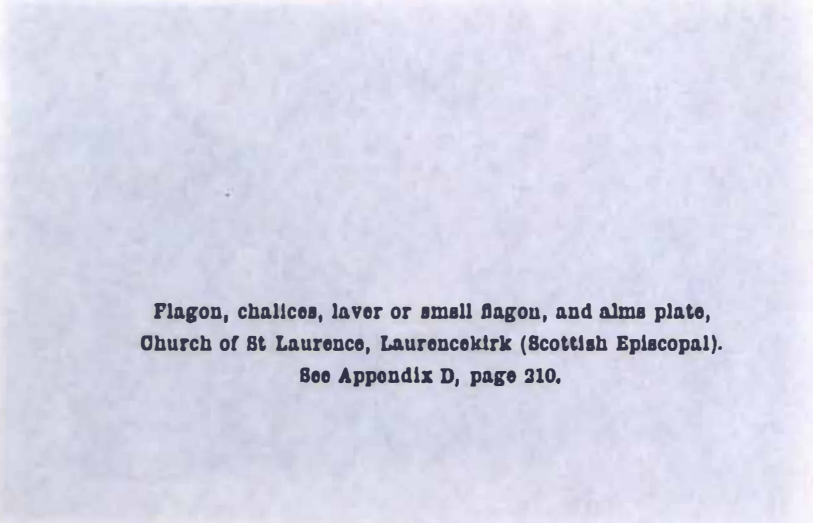
Tinkers and potters, who in their crafts were so closely allied to the pewterers, were members of the Perth Hammermen Incorporation from very early times, and although they were not supposed to practise any trade but their own, it is more than likely that in some cases at least they worked at that of the pewterer as well.

The earliest record of a tinker, or to use the old Scots term, a *tinkler*, being mentioned by name in the records was in 1594, when we find that one Robert Robertson, "tinkler," was fined for the very offence of practising another craft than his own, by doing a potter's work; but tinkers are mentioned before this date as being members of the Incorporation. That the potters at least did work in pewter there is a certain amount of evidence in the entry relating to this craft which appears in the records in 1603, when James Lefrench was admitted as a freeman pewterer of the Incorporation, as he was the son of Arthur Lefrench, who is described as being a potter; and as he had been apprenticed to his father and in consequence must have received his training in the pewterers' craft in his parent's shop, it is fairly safe to assume that the father must have worked to some extent at least in pewter. Again, in 1608 there is another mention which serves to confirm the theory, when George Massie, who is also described as a potter, was admitted as a freeman to the Pewterers' Craft. In the list of essay pieces fixed upon and specified in 1655, that of the potter's was "a brasine pott," or, in the English of to-day, a brass pot, whilst the tinkers had to present as an essay piece "an hepble (?) and a ladle"; in the last item it will be noted the material of which the "hepble" and the ladle were to be made is not specified, and as white-iron or tinned sheet-iron had not then made its appearance in

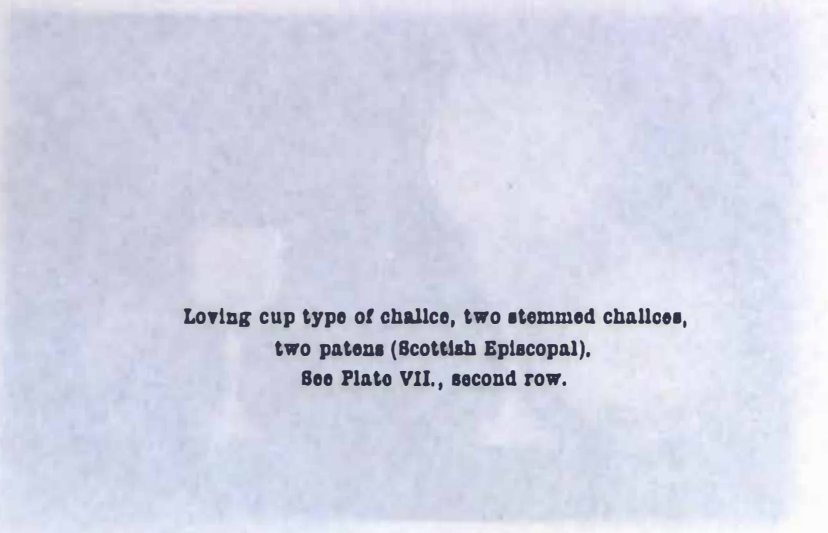
PLATE VIII



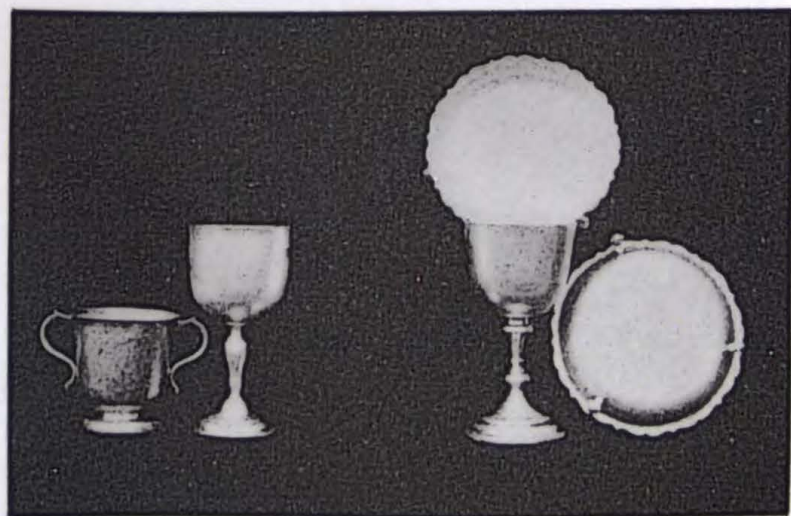
**Paten. Three stemmed chalices and flagon
(Scottish Episcopal).
See Plate VII., top row.**



**Flagon, chalices, laver or small flagon, and alms plate,
Church of St Laurence, Laurencekirk (Scottish Episcopal).
See Appendix D, page 310.**



**Loving cup type of chalice, two stemmed chalices,
two patens (Scottish Episcopal).
See Plate VII., second row.**



Perth, there is a possibility that the heple and ladle may have been made of pewter.

The first mention we have in the Perth Incorporation records of white-ironsmiths or, as they are called in these times, tinsmiths, is not until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century—in 1739, when, curiously enough, the word tinsmith is used instead of the older designation of white-ironsmiths. The record refers to the fact that charity was given to one "George Brown, tinsmith." This George Brown must have sunk low, for in 1708 he is mentioned as being one of the officers or searchers of the Incorporation, and a pewterer to boot. Whatever his reason for defection from the Pewterers' Craft, it does not seem to have done him much good, or he would not in 1739 have been receiving charity from his old comrades.

The next craftsman to take up the craft of a white-ironsmith was one David Young, who became a freeman in that trade in 1751; he had qualified in the previous year as a freeman in no less than three crafts, those of pewterer, coppersmith and founder. After this date the admission of freeman white-ironsmiths into the Incorporation was quite a common event. In 1771, the pewterers cease to be mentioned at all, and the white-ironsmiths bulk still more largely than hitherto; and as several of these craftsmen, together with coppersmiths and founders, had been apprenticed to pewterers, it is not improbable that some of them at least made small quantities of pewter-ware, and that as the pewterers as a separate trade decreased in importance, the other trades gradually usurped their former exclusive functions. The possession of bad metal and the use of it were punished by a fine, but be it said to the praise of the pewterers of Perth, there is in the records which extend over two centuries and a half only one conviction against them of using such metal. The entry is in 1665, when Thomas Thornebourne, pewterer, and Andrew Chrystie, who is described elsewhere as a founder, but who evidently did pewterer's work, were fined for being in possession of bad metal, which they had purchased from William Chrystie and another who was a pewterer in Dundee. This last mentioned craftsman was a master pewterer of Edinburgh, and as his name does not appear in the records of the Hammermen Incorporation of that city as ever having broken the ordinance against the use or possession of bad metal, it is probable that

he was an upright enough man, who thought it no sin, as long as he kept free from that particular offence in his own community, to cheat his relation in Perth!

Another serious charge was made and sustained against two pewterers in 1656, who were said to be from Edinburgh, William Scott and James Allan by name. Their offence was the bringing of pewter articles made of bad metal into Perth, to sell in the market held at certain times of the week in the High Street of that city. Amongst the pewter articles were some pint stoups (tappit hens), which latter were found to be of insufficient metal, and so were confiscated by the Deacon. For this breach of the statutes of the Incorporation these two craftsmen were fined the sum of ten pounds Scots in addition to the confiscation of the indifferent ware. It seems rather curious that William Scott should have been caught thus breaking the ordinances, as two years earlier there is another entry in the Perth Incorporation's records showing that he had been found guilty and fined for the very same offence. William Scott and James Allan, although described as being pewterers of Edinburgh, were evidently not, for their names do not appear in the hammermen's records of that city, though there is a touch upon the touch plates, with the initials W. S. and the date 1634, which might have belonged to the former.

Certain items of information that appear in the records of the Perth Hammermen and not to be found in the records of any similar body in the other towns show that some if not all the incorporations were in the habit of purchasing the moulds and instruments of needy and deceased pewterers and like craftsmen for the benefit of the body as a whole. Thus in 1709 the incorporation bought from one Mark Wood, who evidently was a pewterer, though the records do not tell us so, the moulds and instruments of the Pewterer's Craft for four hundred merks (Scots). A later entry in 1714 bears that John Strachan and Henry Graham bought from the incorporation the moulds and instruments purchased from the late pewterer John Ramsay, the sum the purchasers paid upon this occasion being four hundred and seventy merks (Scots).

As was the case in other hammermen incorporations, unfreemen who came into the town, and refused to join the Perth Hammermen Incorporation, and practised their craft in defiance of the ordinances of that body, were not looked upon with any friendly eye, and in 1732 we find the

THE INCORPORATION OF THE HAMMERMEN OF PERTH 51

Incorporation of Perth issuing an order to its members to be careful to observe if any of the burgesses of the town employed unfreemen, and a further command, most probably to that official known as "the officer," to seize any work that these "aliens" might have made. Again, in 1752 another order was issued to the effect that unfreemen practising their crafts or working in the town and not conforming to the Incorporation's rules were to be prosecuted. Forty years later, in 1791, burgesses who employed unfreemen and who had not registered them as servants and paid the necessary tax, were ordained to be prosecuted in the same manner as the unfreemen themselves.

CHAPTER VI

THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF DUNDEE

SCOTLAND in the time of James V. and Mary was not the well-populated country that we know to-day; its towns were very small indeed compared with what they are at the present time.

Edinburgh, the capital, was naturally, as may be supposed, by far the largest and most important city in the kingdom, yet its population in the middle of the sixteenth century was only some thirty thousand odd souls. Next in importance came Dundee, with a population of barely eight thousand, a great difference from that of the capital. From these facts it is obvious that such a small town would require but few craftsmen to supply the wants of the better class of its inhabitants, and it is not surprising to find that there are in the earliest list of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Dundee only thirty-five craftsmen. This list is dated 1587, and is contained in the oldest existing record book of the Hammermen of that city. There is little reason to doubt that the Dundee Incorporation was of much earlier origin; although the older of the two books now in existence dealing with the body dates only from 1587, there is evidence in this work that this was not the first of the records of the body. It is impossible to gather from the books any information as to how the Hammermen of Dundee were connected with the Church before the Reformation, but it may be taken for granted that just as the other hammermen bodies throughout the country had adopted St Eloi as their patron saint, and had maintained altars dedicated to his memory in the parish churches of the towns in which the incorporations held power, so the Hammermen of Dundee had probably in no way departed from what appears to have been an established practice amongst these bodies, and one that would in all likelihood be laid down and approved of by the Church before 1561.

The demand for pewter-ware in Dundee at the date that the records commence (1587) must have been very small indeed, and this may be

gathered from the fact that there is in the roll of thirty-five craftsmen only one pewterer or "peuderer," as he is described, one Martein Gray by name. This small demand for what was at the time in question an almost essential part of the furnishings of at any rate the better class burgesses' homes, may have been due to one or two causes, or probably both; one being that Dundee was at that period a comparatively poor town, and its inhabitants may have been only able to afford the rough pottery, treen or wooden ware, or horn and leather ware instead of the more costly pewter plate; or that they may have bought this class of goods from craftsmen other than those who belonged to the Hammermen Incorporation of the town, and who, as was stated in the case of Edinburgh, were allowed to bring and expose their goods for sale during certain fixed hours in the market place upon special market days of the week. But whether the worthy burgesses and their wives bought their pewter plates and stoups from freemen or unfreemen, the fact remains that at the end of the sixteenth century Martein Gray was the sole registered pewterer in the burgh of Dundee. Thus untrammelled by competition he evidently had a good business, and in 1599 we find his son Patrick Gray being entered as a freeman of the craft. From that date the Pewterers' Trade seems to have increased to some extent, but it never attained anything like the dimensions that it reached in Edinburgh.

The earliest ordinances or statutes of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Dundee are of the same date as the roll of craftsmen, *i.e.* 1587.

It is needless, and not my intention, to trouble the reader with the whole of the ordinances, some twenty-five in number, but merely to give such extracts from them as more directly bear upon the subject with which this book deals.

The first rule ordained that no one be admitted as a freeman until he had served a six years' apprenticeship and one year for meat and fee. He had to be well qualified in his particular craft in order that the King's lieges might be truly served. Before he could set up a booth or shop he presented an essay or "masterstick" to the Deacon and the other brethren of the Incorporation, to show that he was capable of carrying out such work by himself. This rule was similar to that ordained by nearly all the hammermen incorporations of the other towns, such as Edinburgh, the Canongate, and also those of the various towns dealt with in the chapters which follow.

Rule three contained an ordinance against a servant either working at other men's work in his own master's shop, or working for their own master at some craft other than that particular one he professed to practise.

Rule five deals with almost the same matter as the previous one, which seems to have been a very common grievance amongst the freemen of the different hammermen incorporations, only in this case it is the masters themselves who come in for the admonition. For breaking this ordinance the penalty was a fine of forty shillings (Scots).

The articles to which the different crafts of the Hammermen of this Incorporation were to confine themselves are given in considerable detail, those falling within the pewterer's sphere of industry being "stouppis (measures or drinking-pots), plettis (plates), and truncheris (trenchers) and siclyk" (suchlike).

Rule four deals with the punishment to be meted out to servants and apprentices who defrauded their masters in goods or gear. This rule was evidently passed to prevent servants and apprentices stealing materials or tools and selling the same to those persons who were, as has been the case at all periods of the world's history, only too ready to encourage and help the wrongdoer for their own unlawful profit. For the first offence the defaulter had to pay the sum of twenty-two shillings (Scots), but for the second lapse from virtue he was to be banished from the craft and was prohibited from ever at any time becoming a free-man of it.

The seventh rule ordained that no craftsman was to get the better of another, or try to get work that was not rightfully his own, and in order to prevent undue competition he was enjoined not to seek work in any way, but to wait until such work should be brought to him—rather a different picture from that of the present age of advertising and general underselling!

Rule eight contains somewhat curious provisions, not a little amusing, and which show that the men of these far off times were not unlike the men of to-day in their failings, albeit their modes of expression might sound quaint to modern ears. The brethren of the craft seem to have been somewhat given to the use of violent deeds and strong words, and rule eight enjoins that any craftsman or servant that goes to any markets in this realm (Scotland), and

who injures anyone through violent deeds or blasphemous words in the setting up of stands or getting of "rowms" (spaces to place the stands upon), for the market, would be subject to a fine of forty shillings (Scots). In those days swearing and blasphemy were crimes in Scotland which in some cases entailed capital punishment.

Rule ten was a very important one, ordaining as it did that every master was to make his work of good and sufficient quality, which quality was to be the same as that of his essay piece, and that no fault was to be found with the work—*i.e.* it must be of proper quality and workmanship—under the penalty of confiscation of the same and the imprisonment for one month or longer of the offender. This rule affected the pewterers as much as any of the craftsmen, insomuch as they were obliged to make their wares of good metal, true in form, free from air holes and all other imperfections.

Disobedience to the Deacon, or impeding an officer of the Incorporation in his duty was a very dire offence and was punished by a fine of forty shillings (Scots), and the offender might be, in addition, punished by being discharged from the freedom of the Incorporation as the Deacon and brethren might consider the special circumstances to justify.

Rule eighteen forbade any person to take an "alien" servant, *i.e.* any person who was not a native of Dundee, unless he had previously been apprenticed to the same trade at which the master himself worked, or else he had been apprenticed to the father or brother of the master and had thoroughly learnt his craft. When the master took such a servant he had to take him before the Deacon, and after satisfying that august official and two other masters as to his servant's qualifications, he paid a fee of six shillings and eightpence (Scots).

With the booking of an apprentice, rule twenty-two ordained that the master, upon the apprentice's name being inscribed in the "locked book," should pay the sum of twenty-six shillings and eightpence (Scots) "for the interests of the craft," and there was a still further charge of three shillings and fourpence (Scots) for inserting his name in the book.

The Book, or "lockit book," as it is usually spoken of in the old records, was one of the chief record books of the hammermen incorporations, and one in which the names of apprentices and the dates of their being bound were inserted, as well as the names and dates of craftsmen upon their admission as freemen of the incorporations; it

likewise contained any particular item of information, such as special ordinances, etc. ; it was kept by the Boxmaster along with the other books of the craft in a double and sometimes treble locked "kist" or box ; the book itself, in order to preserve its contents better from too prying and unauthorised eyes, was bound with iron bands, and furnished with one or two locks.

When an apprentice was booked, it appears that part of the fee paid by or for him was devoted to a "banquet" given to the brethren of the Craft ; but the term banquet was probably an imposing name applied to what was in all probability little more than a stoup of wine with some edibles, such as oat cakes and cheese ! The familiar cake and wine banquets with which the civic fathers of the various towns throughout Scotland delight so often to regale municipal guests, appears to be merely a survival of the old expression.

Before an apprentice who had served his apprenticeship passed his tests, and finally qualified as a freeman of the Craft or set up a booth or opened a shop of his own and so became a master, he had to pay the Incorporation the sum of ten merks, and two more merks for his fellow craftsmen. This was also an occasion for another banquet.

The son of a freeman, however, on becoming a master, was not bound to pay for this customary banquet, but only the sum of forty shillings (Scots) "for the benefit of the Craft" and twenty shillings (Scots) for drink, upon the occasion of the enrolling of his name in the "lockit book."

Besides the foregoing ordinances there were others which regulated more the social life of the craftsman than his trade, and possess some curious interest, a brief glance at which will not weary the reader.

To take a neighbour's house or booth, or engage another's servant without his leave, was punished by a fine of ten merks. Another rule ordained that no master was to take an apprentice unless he (the master) was married, and every time the master married he paid the sum of six shillings and eightpence (Scots) to the funds of the Incorporation.

In addition to these ordinances passed in 1587, there were two others which appear to have been passed about the same time. One ordains that only those unfreemen marrying freemen's daughters should be admitted as freemen of the craft, and the other states that if the Deacon broke any of the foregoing rules he had to pay double

PLATE IX.

Covered chalice and paten, late 18th century,
Old St Paul's Church, Edinburgh (Scottish Episcopal).
See Appendix D, page 212.

Photo by Guest, South Bridge, Edinburgh.



the ordinary fines; an excellent principle for ensuring the proper performance of official duties.

In 1606 the first of the additional rules was rescinded by the passing of an ordinance which ordained that unfreemen marrying freemen's daughters were *not* to be admitted as freemen of the Incorporation, whilst the freemen's daughters when they made such marriages lost all the privileges to which they would otherwise have been entitled.

It was not until 1663 that we find any further ordinances enacted by the Incorporation that deals with the Pewterers' Craft of Dundee, but at that date an ordinance was passed which affected not only this craft, but also similar crafts, and as it is so very important we have ventured to give it in full in the original Scots with annotation of words where necessary.

"¹One branch of the Trade not to perform the work of others 8th April, 1663.—With consent of the Deacon and wholl brethron of the hammermen Tred, It is statut and ordenied because of severall abwses that his bein comited among vs. That no brassier sall *midle (meddle) to chang (alter) pewter or mend pewter* or any petter, (potter) or tinkler, or any other member of ovr Tred sick lyk. That no *pewterer worker sall midill with bras or copper*, and that ilk member sall follow the same, and that ewry Deacon sall sie this Act fullfilled, and this to be and begine from the daitt for said, as witness our hands at dundie day and daitt forsaid, whilk day is the oicht (eighth) day of Apryll 1663 zeirs, and to be exactly followed, and this subseryvat by the Deacon John Hobert, and craft of the brethren, and this don according to the order of the Tred."

From the wording of the foregoing Act it would seem that others besides qualified pewterers worked in the metal, if not actually in making goods, at any rate in mending and re-casting such articles as were made in it and which required repairs. This statute would only apply to the town of Dundee itself, the hammermen incorporations having no jurisdiction outside the towns and their suburbs, so it is likely that the mending and even the manufacture of pewter vessels was carried on by the potters and tinkers in country districts round about Dundee, as there seem to have been no Acts passed at this or any other time to prevent their doing so.

¹ "The Burgh Laws of Dundee," by Alex. J. Warden, F.S.A.Scot.

Unlike the pewterers of Edinburgh, those of Dundee were forbidden at this date to work in brass and copper, a craft which they appear to have practised until the framing of this regulation.

In the year 1668 an Act was passed by which members were again, as by the statutes of 1587, required to prove their qualification before admission as freemen. It is as follows:—

¹ "Members to prove their qualifications before admission, 14th November, 1668.—The said day Robert Hamiltoune, Pouterer, and Deacone of the Hammermen Trade of Dundie, with the counsell of the said Trade, Actes and ordaines that no man heeirefter be admitted maister in any siz of the said Trade, without he give ane faithfull tryall of his profession, and ane practionen theirin; and that no man take in to serve him a serv^t (servant) bot (but) what his master can teach him."

Another Act was passed some twenty-eight years later regulating the sale of blacksmith and pewter work in the burgh of Dundee by unfreemen, who, it appears, sold ware of but poor quality (Chapter II.).

In the same year as the above, the Hammermen of Dundee passed another Act with regard to banquets upon the occasion of admission of freemen and unfreemen, and the Act of this date abolished this custom of former times, a sum of money being paid over to the Craft in lieu of the same.

But the brethren were not to be altogether done out of the jollification of the banquet, for besides the "oicht pound Scots money" which an "alien" or stranger master had to pay before becoming a freeman master, he had also to provide "ane quart of wyn" before the locked book was opened for the inscribing of his name. Free masters for some reason or other, not stated, had to pay rather more for the same privilege, the sums being five pounds (Scots) in place of the banquet and a quart of wine, and a further sum of five pounds (Scots) for a booking fee. Free apprentices had a sum of twenty merks to pay upon being booked, and when becoming a master twelve pounds (Scots) without any banquet. The last part of the Act contains a certain amount of unconscious humour and shows that the Scotsman of the seventeenth century was as fond of his liquor as his prototype of to-day. It runs as follows:—

² "And lastlie all banquets feasts an unnecessar drinking on the trades

¹ & ² "The Burgh Laws of Dundee," by Alex J. Warden, F.S.A. Scot.

expenses, be the Deacon present and to come, or anie others of the s^d trade, is hereby discharged in all tyme cuming."

In 1712 a new series of ordinances were passed by the Dundee Hammermen which affected generally all the crafts comprised within the incorporation; but as few directly bear upon the Pewterers' Trade, it will suffice to notice the most interesting of them in the briefest manner.

Rule two forbade anyone to be a freeman unless he were a burgess.

Rule three. No apprentice was allowed to work at anything in his master's shop save at his master's work.

Rule four. Every man to work at his own particular trade and no other.

Rule seven. No craftsman to take another's work.

Rule sixteen. No one but a married man to take an apprentice.

The above five rules are the only ones that really affected the pewterers' actual craft: the remaining ones regulated the social life of the craftsman as a whole, such as rule nineteen, which ordained that Sabbath-breakers had to pay a fine of two merks.

At the end of the seventeenth century, from an entry in the locked book of the Incorporation of the Hammermen of Dundee, it may be gathered that the demand for pewter was somewhat in excess of the supply, for in 1672 a craftsman, Thomas Ferguson, bound himself down not to import any pewter vessels into the burgh of Dundee, to the prejudice of the trade, under the penalty of a fine of twenty pounds (Scots). This Thomas Ferguson was not a freeman pewterer of the Incorporation, nor does his name appear in the Hammermen records, and the inference is, that he was an unfreeman who brought his work into the town and sold it clandestinely upon other than the appointed market days, at which unfreemen's work might be lawfully exposed for sale in open market.

The price of the craftsmen's wares was fixed by one of the town officials, generally the Dean of Guild, and any deviation from the fixed value was punished by the imposition of a fine; thus in 1792 we find that one William Doig was fined the sum of twenty shillings sterling for the benefit of the poor for this offence.

The first mention of the admission of a freeman white-ironsmith (tinsmith) into the Dundee Incorporation occurs in 1715, but after that date the names of white-ironsmiths occur frequently; indeed, in 1746 the

last pewterer seems to have been admitted, and after that date only white-ironsmiths appear in the book. As these white-ironsmiths in some cases appear to have worked at other trades than the making of white-ironware, it has been thought best to include their names in the lists of freemen, (Appendix B).

During the eighteenth century, in spite of the ordinances passed in 1587 and 1663 forbidding craftsmen to work at any branch of the trade other than that which they professed, it became quite the custom in Dundee for a craftsman to practise more than one craft; thus in 1739, Alexander Smith, a watchmaker, was admitted as a freeman pewterer and in 1715 James Williamson was admitted a freeman white-ironsmith and copper-smith. There are other instances of this practice, but the above two will serve to show that the rule as to practising one craft only was not closely adhered to in later times.

The Hammermen of Dundee, according to the roll of craftsmen in 1587 consisted of the following crafts: smiths, lockmakers, gairdmakers (sword-guard makers), goldsmiths, sword slippers (sword cutlers), lorimers (those who made the iron parts of saddlery), cutlers, gunmakers, pewterers and saddlers. Other trades were added as time went on, such as coppersmiths, white-ironsmiths and watchmakers.

Amongst the many rules passed from time to time by the brethren of the Incorporation for the regulation of the different crafts and the benefit of the trade generally there does not appear in any portion of the two existing books any ordinance with regard to the stamping of the pewter-ware with the craftsman's private mark or "touch." The various Acts of Parliament referred to in Chapter XV. would, however, apply equally to the Dundee craftsmen as to all others throughout the country.

The meeting place of the Hammermen of Dundee, as was also that of the other incorporated trades or crafts in that city, was, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in a somewhat singular spot, namely the common burial place of the town; but afterwards, in 1798, all the crafts or trades, the Hammermen included, met in a building called the Trades Hall, which has suffered the fate of so much that is interesting and historical, and has been demolished for the convenience, if not the comfort, of a latter-day race.

In 1778 the Trades Hall being completed, the different rooms were allotted to the various trades which served to make up the Nine Trades

THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF DUNDEE 61

of Dundee. The rooms were numbered and drawn for by lots. The bakers, cordiners, tailors, hammermen, and weavers occupying the five largest rooms, whilst the glovers, bonnetmakers, fleshers and walkers (fullers) were given the four smaller rooms. The Hammermen occupied the middle room upon the second floor. The rooms, from the records, do not appear to have been quite finished on entry, as each trade was obliged to plaster and fit up their own apartment. This arrangement, however, may have been advised, as it left each trade free to adorn its particular home according to its special character and fancy.

CHAPTER VII

THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF ABERDEEN

ALTHOUGH that part of Scotland known as the counties of Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire was the stronghold from the beginning of the seventeenth century down to our own times of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and as this Church in the course of its many changes, from prosperity to poverty, would presumably have used a certain amount of communion and other vessels made of pewter in the place of others of more precious metals, it is a curious and interesting fact that between the years 1581 and 1765 only eleven pewterers seem to have practised the craft in Aberdeen, the granite city. An examination of the existing pewter church plate of the Episcopal Church in Scotland may in a measure throw some light upon this scarcity of craftsmen of the pewterers' trade, for there is not, amongst a considerable number of church vessels, dating from the middle of the seventeenth down to early years of the nineteenth centuries, one single piece which can be definitely said to have been made by a pewterer of Aberdeen; all those pieces which are marked bear the stamps of either Edinburgh or, in some cases, of London workers in the metal. And what was the custom in the Church during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, may very well be said to have been taking place in the homes of the burgesses of Aberdeen, viz., that they were probably to a great extent dependent for their supply of pewter-ware from the two capitals just mentioned. There are also other reasons which might account for the scarcity of pewterers within the city of Aberdeen, one being that, like the people of Dundee, the majority of the inhabitants of the former city had not the means to buy the more costly pewter-ware, but were fain to content themselves with eating and drinking vessels made of more humble materials. Another reason may have been that in that part of the country the number of unfreemen practising the craft or importing pewter into the country from abroad was possibly very numerous. It is rather a singular

coincidence that both Dundee and Aberdeen, towns on the East Coast of Scotland, and both of which had a large Continental trade, should show such a small proportion of pewterers in proportion to the other crafts of their Hammermen Incorporations. It seems very probable that a good deal of illicit trading was done in pewter-ware, which would be imported from such places on the Continent as Bruges, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and the French ports, all of which places, at the beginning of the sixteenth and down to the end of the eighteenth centuries, made and exported large quantities of pewter utensils of all sorts. Such articles would be brought into the town by the vessels trading from these ports, and in spite of the strict statutes in force in all Scottish towns in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, regulating the importation of goods detrimental to the trades of the different craftsmen of the various burghs, would be sold privately by the owner or, in ports, by the skipper of the vessel to his friends and customers, who, although they might even be of the Town Council itself, would be blind enough not to observe a breach of the ordinances or of the law where their pockets were concerned. That large quantities of other goods beside pewter vessels were imported into Scotland from France and the Low Countries, through the various ports upon the East Coast of Scotland and even of England, one is quite aware, for even now in these days of the uprooting of everything that is old from the place where it has lain for centuries, from time to time in the old houses which still exist in the small towns and villages that line the Forth, or on other parts of the east coast, fireplaces set with Dutch tiles, candelabras, candlesticks, or candleboxes, often of Flemish or Dutch design, may still be unearthed. Much old foreign brass was to be found not many years ago in many homes all over the East Coast of Scotland, the importation of which into the towns must have been, under certain conditions, a distinct breach of the hammermen incorporations' rules; and if brass was thus imported, it is not at all an unreasonable deduction to say that many pewter vessels found their way into the houses of the burgesses from the same sources and by similar means. Aberdeenshire, too, was a great stronghold of the gypsies, who not only practised the trade of tinkers and potters, but mended brass and pewter-ware, and in all likelihood made to some extent the rough and smaller articles usually fashioned and sold in the metal, such as spoons, and even small plates and stoups. It is

probable, indeed, that not only the gypsies of Aberdeenshire but those of other districts were to some extent under the jurisdiction of the various hammermen incorporations; but this control, if it really ever existed, could only have been purely nominal at the best, except when the gypsies lived and practised their callings in the towns over the craftsmen of which the Hammermen had powers. But whatever the reason for the small number of pewterers existing in Aberdeen during two centuries, whether their trade was spoilt by the importation of foreign pewter, or whether by the gypsies, or by a combination of causes, it will probably never be definitely known, for the records of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Aberdeen give us all the information that there is to get to-day upon the craft, and that is of a more or less meagre character, and no mention is made of such articles as pewter vessels having been imported at any time into the town.

The earliest record book now in existence relating to the Hammermen Incorporation of Aberdeen, begins in 1633, though some years ago, when Mr Ebenezer Bain made the researches for his book, "Merchant and Craft Guilds and the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades," there appears to have been another record book which began at the earlier date of 1590, but this particular volume has since gone the way of so many valuable records, and has disappeared. In this earlier book the different crafts which served to make up the Hammermen Incorporation of Aberdeen were enumerated as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, skinners, pewterers, glaziers, wrights, potters, armourers and saddlers; afterwards, as time went on and new trades in which craftsmen used the hammer at their work came into existence, these were added as crafts to the Aberdeen Incorporation: cutlers, glovers, gunsmiths; braziers, hook-makers, white-ironsmiths, watchmakers and engineers, in addition to those just enumerated, made up the sum total of the different crafts admitted into the Incorporation of Aberdeen Hammermen during the two centuries and a half of its existence under the old conditions; for it still conducts meetings and does things much as it did up to 1846, though it is now without the privileges of exclusive trading in towns, and other privileges which were abolished by a special Act of Parliament at that date. It must, however, be noted that the last two crafts named in the list, the "watchmakers and engineers," were not admitted until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and consequently near the end of the interesting part,

PLATE X.

**Flagon, last half of 18th century, English type. Laver, middle of
18th century, Scottish make, Old St Paul's Church, Edinburgh
(Scottish Episcopal). See Appendix D, page 212.**

Photo by Quest, South Bridge, Edinburgh.



at least to us, of the Incorporation's history ; though, as far back as 1699 the hammermen claimed the right to regulate the trade and work of the former of these craftsmen.

The first "Seal of Cause" or Charter of Incorporation was granted to the Hammermen of Aberdeen in 1579, though there is reason to believe that they may have been in existence as a body, but not as a properly legalised one, prior to this date. One of the rules mentioned in the Seal of Cause of 1579 tells us that they still had, and worshipped at, an altar dedicated to St Eloi, and still extracted fines and fees from the journeymen and others in the shape of wax, which wax was manufactured into candles for the lighting of this particular altar. This points to the fact that the Hammermen of Aberdeen were in existence as an organised body before the date of the granting of their "Seal of Cause." Upon the sixth day of February 1632, the Hammermen of Aberdeen were granted a second "Seal of Cause," which contained various ordinances or rules relating to the proper government and working of the Craft. The first provision among other things deals with unfreemen, who, if they did not conform to the Incorporation's statutes, were declared liable to be punished. The second rule provides that no freeman was to be made a master of the Incorporation until he had been examined by the Deacon and his successors and found to be a good craftsman ; and, it also ordains that he was to present an essay piece or "masterstick" of work, and that no one was to take up a forge of his own until he had been made a freeman.

The admission of members of the craft as masters or freemen was regulated in the Aberdeen Incorporation with the same strictness as in the other hammermen incorporations. In the year 1677, another ordinance similar to the one in the "Seal of Cause" of 1632 was passed by the Incorporation, which enacted that no member was to be admitted into the craft unless he first produced an "essay piece" or "masterstick," which masterstick was to be set to him by the Deacon and masters of his craft, and if this "masterstick" was found to be sufficient he became a member after paying a certain specified sum into the common box for the good of the incorporation.

The "essay piece" at this date, for the Pewterers' Craft in Aberdeen, was ordered to be "a basin and a stoupe." In 1713 we find that the essay was altered to the following articles—"ane posset can with

two stoups (spouts) and two handles, and a church cup of pewter." This is the only instance of a church cup or communion cup being prescribed as part of the essay set to the pewterers by any of the hammermen bodies. The year 1765 saw a further change in the "sey," as the "essay" was sometimes styled, when it then became "six trenchers, a tankard, and a chamber pot."

The third rule of the second "Seal of Cause" is a very curious one, and, with the other just referred to, again shows the survival, or it may have been by that date the revival, of the old connection with the Church.

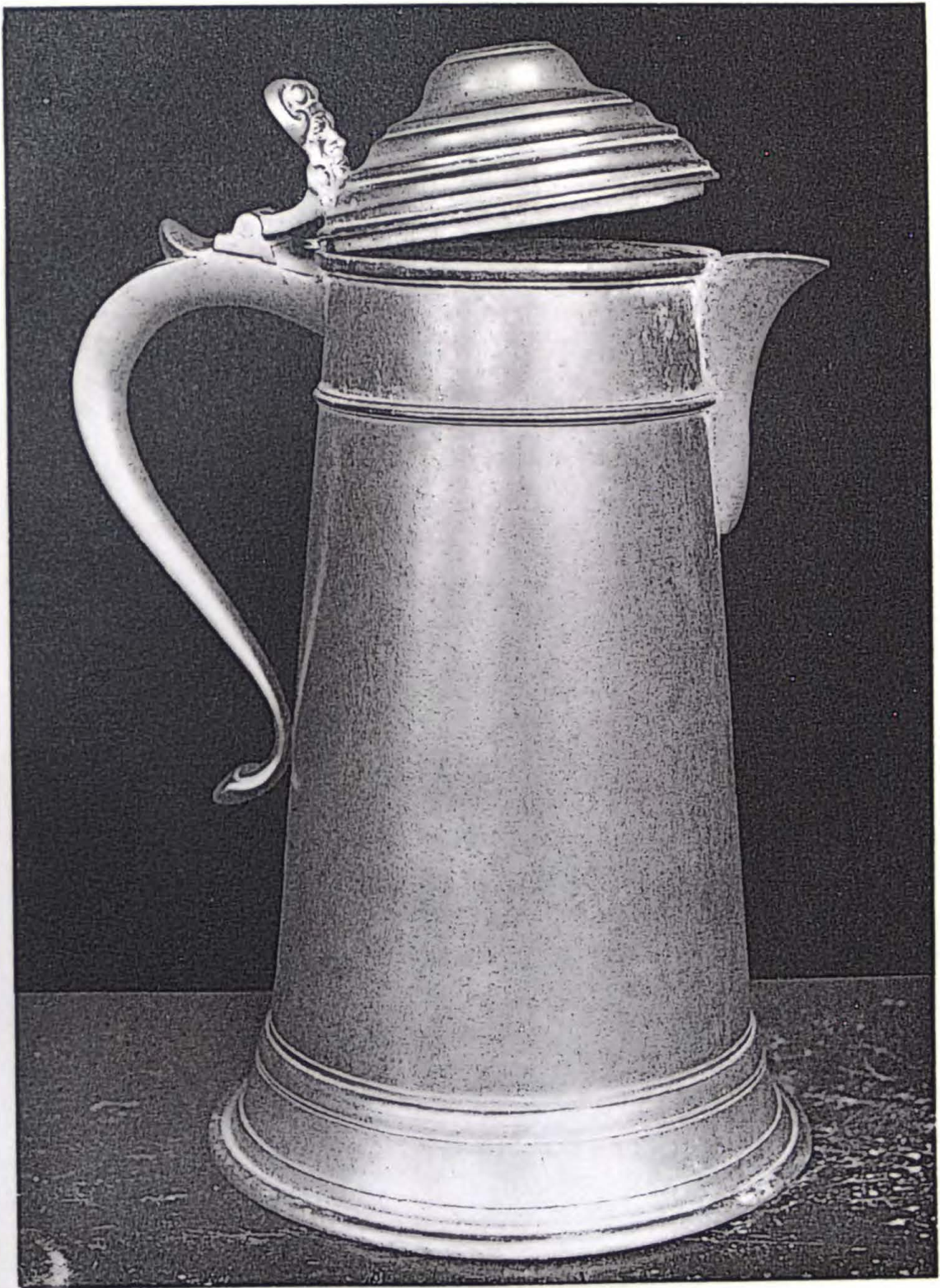
The rule runs: "That the Deacons and Masters of the Craft were to make statutes and ordinances to the honour of God and the patron "Saint Elen" (Eloi), and the common weal of the craft and town."

In another ordinance of the Incorporation passed in 1677, there may be noted the iron tenets of the stern Scottish faith, relaxed so little in either form of religion, Episcopal or Presbyterian. The ordinance referred to ordained that no apprentice or servant absent himself from the kirk under the penalty of a fine, which entry shows that the Episcopalians could be as arbitrary in their dealings as were the Presbyterians before and after them. Another ordinance passed at the same time as the former one only serves to emphasise this point, and gives one an idea with what disfavour the Church authorities of that age regarded amusement of any kind upon the seventh day of the week. The only recreation, if it might be called one, allowed upon Sundays at that time, and for nearly a couple of centuries after, was to engage in long and tangled theological discussions after the service of the church was finished, whilst such a harmless recreation as even a walk upon that particular day was regarded with the utmost horror. The reader may recall the old story of how, when it was being explained to an old woman of the old school of narrow views that even our Lord Himself had taken a walk together with His disciples upon the Sabbath, she astonished and shocked her visitor by snapping out: "Well! I diuna think ony mair o' Him for it." Such was the spirit of the majority of the Scots nation of that time, and for long after, and it is not surprising to find the Hammermen Incorporation passing such an ordinance which forbade all apprentices to play such games as "golf, futeball, kyills (probably a game not unlike hop-scotch), bowlis, cairts or dyce," or other pastimes upon the Sabbath day, under the penalty of a fine.

PLATE XI.

**Flagon, latter half of 17th century (English make).
Old St Paul's Church, Edinburgh (Scottish Episcopal).
See Appendix D, pages 211 and 212.**

Photo by Quest, South Bridge, Edinburgh.



At the same date (1677) another rule, which does not, however, refer to Sunday observance, was passed against what seems to have been a custom in Aberdeen, namely, that of masters playing with their servants, presumably at some of the games enumerated in the foregoing ordinance. The masters were forbidden under a penalty of a fine to play with their servants, or with any other person, at any pastime whatsoever upon any working day. It is rather a difficult matter, in these modern days when there is such a supposed social difference between the master and his journeyman, to appreciate the idea of a master playing a game at golf or football with his servant, but in earlier times the world was simpler, and the Scots "Jack" was often as good as his master, and enjoyed many privileges of a social nature that he does not now.

Among all the hammermen incorporations ordinances were passed from time to time to suppress and prevent any spirit of rebellion that might be felt against the commands of the Deacon, who was in matters concerning the welfare and management of the craft, lord over all the members, and any disobedience to his orders was punished with a heavy hand. Thus in 1677 the Aberdeen Incorporation of Hammermen passed an ordinance which forbade any member of that body to swear at or disobey the Deacon, and if he broke this law he was to be punished by means of a fine and an apology to the aggrieved Deacon before a meeting of the whole brethren.

That apprentices in general were well looked after both spiritually and bodily may be seen from some of the various ordinances. In Aberdeen as in other towns they had to serve their masters for six years, and one year extra for lodging and fee, which latter was paid by the master at the time the apprentice was "booked" to him in the Incorporation's book.

To prevent the apprentice falling into bad habits, an ordinance was passed in 1677, which, on the narrative that owing to the habit that apprentices had of drinking at night they were unable to rise and do their work in the morning, ordained that in order to prevent such a thing occurring again in future, apprentices were to be in bed by ten o'clock every night under the penalty of a fine.

Funerals have always been in Scotland occasions of a specially interesting character, and to the hammermen incorporations generally, as well as in Aberdeen, they were great and solemn functions. Absence

from the burial of a member of the Incorporation was punished in the usual way by a fine, as was also any failure on the part of a craftsman to conduct himself in a proper and devout manner in the "kirk" during the service. Although this latter rule would seem to have applied more to the younger members of the Craft, such as apprentices, and to a craftsman's servants, yet cases are not wanting in which men of discreet years did not show that reverence proper, when in the house of prayer, and there are even instances of pitched battles having taken place within the sacred building!

The sin of slandering one's neighbour or fellow-craftsman was also punishable as an offence, by the ordinances of the Aberdeen Incorporation.

Any practice that might bring the Incorporation into disrepute with its customers was sternly discountenanced, and we find the Incorporation of Aberdeen, in 1699, passing an act against the opening of locks with crooked irons. It appears from this act that it had been the custom of many persons, when they had lost the key of a lock, or, for a less harmless purpose, to open it with a bent piece of iron, or what would be known to-day as a skeleton key, and by so doing they very often spoilt the mechanism of the lock, and so brought the blacksmiths, who at that time practised the locksmith's art as well as their own, into disrepute.

A curious ordinance was passed in 1677, the meaning of which is rather difficult to understand; it ordained that no member was to take another's work out of his booth "except he spoiled the same." The word "spoil" in this case does not appear to have had exactly the same meaning then as it has now, and the act probably meant that one craftsman purchasing goods from another for household use, etc., was to put some mark of use upon them before he took them away, in order to prevent the possibility of his selling them over again, and passing them off as those of his own making.

The records of Aberdeen are, like those of some of the other towns, silent upon the point of a craftsman stamping or marking his goods with a private mark; and it is probable that, like the Hammermen Incorporations of Perth, Dundee, Stirling and Glasgow, the Incorporation did not think it necessary to make such a provision, as the pewterers throughout the country were legislated for upon this point by various acts of Parliament (see Chapter XV.).

Pewterers, as was remarked at the commencement of this chapter,

were very few indeed in Aberdeen, and even at the end of the seventeenth century, when they were more or less numerous in most other towns, there was only one registered pewterer in the whole of Aberdeenshire. In a list still in existence of "pollable" or assessable persons within the shire of Aberdeen, of the date of 1696, under the class of those pollable at four pounds (Scots), there is the entry "George Ross, pewterer, stock under 10,000 merks, for himself and wife, Patrick, Hugh, Francis, and Violet Rosses his children, servants William Ross, no fee, 4 female servants each 14 merks, and 1 no fee tax £8, 10s. 8d. (Scots)."

The white-ironsmiths joined the Hammermen of Aberdeen at a much earlier date than was the case in most other towns with the exception of Glasgow. The first entry in the records of the Hammermen's Incorporation of Aberdeen of such a craftsman, was in 1649, when Patrick Morgan was accepted as a journeyman white-ironsmith. But white-ironsmiths do not appear to have been admitted at that date as freemen of the Incorporation, and it is not until 1694 that there is an entry to the effect that those who might wish to become freemen white-ironsmiths were not to be admitted until they had paid the full fees, and any freeman who took a supplicant's part in such a matter as becoming a member without paying a fee, was to pay a fine of forty shillings (Scots.)

The arms of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Aberdeen in 1682 are described as follows: ¹ "Gules a dexter arm issuing from the sinister flank fessways the hand bearing a smith's hammer proper hafted argent, and over a crown or, in the dexter hornbill, a smith's anvil of the second and above the same in chief a tower of Aberdeen (triple towered argent). Motto '*Finis coronat opus.*'" Round the shield appear the different badges or crests of the various crafts belonging to the Hammermen Incorporation, that of the pewterers being a plate with a narrow moulded rim.

The last admission of a pewterer to the Aberdeen Incorporation as a freeman seems to have been in the year 1765. After the year 1783 there is no mention of a pewterer in the Aberdeen records, from which fact it may be inferred that the craft had died out in Aberdeen, at any rate in connection with the Hammermen's Incorporation.

¹ "Merchant and Craft Guilds and the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades." Ebenezer Bain.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INCORPORATION OF HAMMERMEN OF ST ANDREWS

LIKE the other towns upon the east coast of Scotland, with the exception of Edinburgh, St Andrews appears to have employed but few craftsmen who worked at the making of pewter vessels. This may have arisen from the same causes by which, it has been suggested, Dundee and Aberdeen seem to have lost so much of their trade; but at all times the laws of the Hammermen Incorporation were very strict, as were presumably the burgh laws as well, against unfreemen making or selling goods within the precincts of the city.

It might have been thought that St Andrews, as a seat of wisdom and learning, would have required, like the English University towns, large quantities of pewter plate to supply the tables of the professors and other dignitaries of the different colleges, as well as the humbler boards of the students; though in the middle of the sixteenth century, at which date the earliest record book of the Incorporation of Hammermen of St Andrews begins, the average Scottish student would be a much too needy individual to be able to afford such a luxury as pewter-plate at that time undoubtedly was; a "tree" bowl and plate, a horn spoon and drinking-cup, would suffice many of those who attended the University of St Andrews at the early period of which we speak.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century one pewterer sufficed to supply the inhabitants of St Andrews, a town of some three thousand souls, with all the pewter-ware they required. Where they obtained their pewter articles from before this date (1619) we can only conjecture, but it was most probably procured through the usual recognised sources of illegal supply, gypsies, potters, and other unfreemen, who would not hesitate to sell their wares in secret ways best known to themselves, besides bringing such goods into the weekly markets which were held in the town, but at which they would have to conform to the rules already mentioned. But whatever the sources of supply there is little doubt that

some of the inhabitants of the town, small as St Andrews was, possessed pewter-plate of some sort before the date 1619.

The castle with its large companies of nobles and their followers, together with the heads of the University, as well as the clergy who served the cathedral and the various churches in the city, would all require pewter for the purposes of table ware, and possibly in the latter instance for the furnishing of the church and its altars.

It is possible, as was the case upon the Continent, at a time somewhat prior to this date, that the monks of the Greyfriars and the other religious houses of St Andrews numbered amongst them craftsmen who worked in the metal, supplying themselves with what they required in the shape of eating and drinking vessels, and church ornaments, and turning an honest penny for Mother Church by selling a certain quantity of their ware.

The first ordinances of the St Andrews body appear to be of the date 1539, but as part of an older book, which has been written on vellum, has been bound up with that of a later date it is rather difficult to fix the exact age of these rules or ordinances as they are not in themselves dated. They are similar, though of rather different wording, to those of other hammermen incorporations.

The first ordains that no one was to take another's "calland" (lad or servant) "until the first worker and brother be payed for the labours wrought by him," under the pain of a fine.

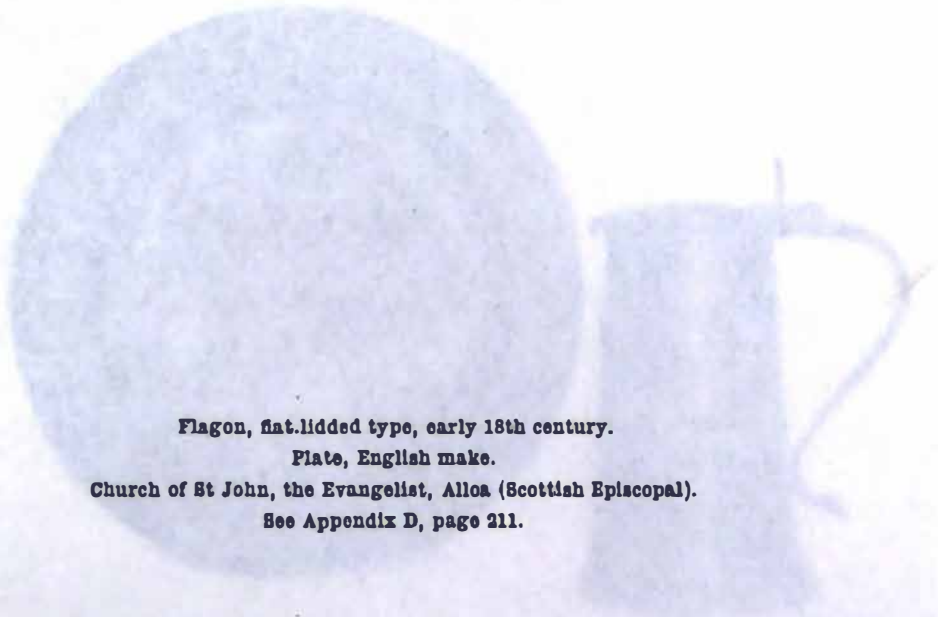
The second rule refers to the practice of one craftsman inducing another's workman or apprentice to leave his master and work for him without the leave of the first master being obtained. The fine for the breaking of this rule was the familiar pound of wax, which was turned to the usual use of keeping up and lighting of an altar dedicated to St Eloi, who was the patron saint of the St Andrews, in common with the other hammermen incorporations.

The death of any brother or sister of the Incorporation was the occasion of a tax upon each member, of the large amount of a "plack" (fourpence Scots), which "plack" was to be distributed (note the word!) amongst poor chaplains to pray for the soul of the deceased; as the "plack" was only equal to one third of a penny English, the poor chaplains do not seem to have been overpaid for their prayers, unless the members of the Incorporation were specially numerous at

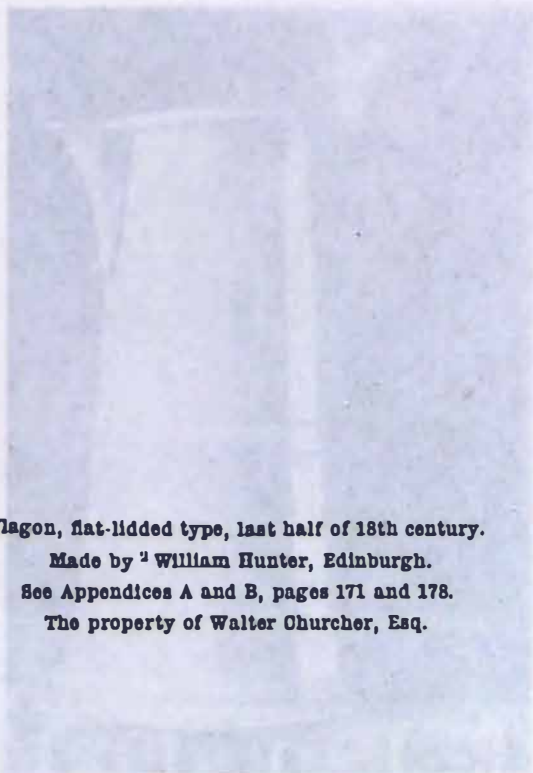
that time. Every brother had to obey implicitly the Deacon, who had full power over all the craftsmen; they had not only to obey him, but they had to meet with and support him when any craftsman was brought up before the Incorporation for a breach of the statutes of the craft. For disobeying the commands of the Deacon, Positor (boxmaster), and certain other brethren, or an officer of the city, the fine was a stone of wax for the benefit of the altar of St Eloi and the brethren, and besides this they had to pay a sum of money to the bailies of the city for their "unlaw" (offence).

Again in 1543 we find that the Incorporation passed a further ordinance for the proper working of the Craft in St Andrews. The ordinance of this date ordains that a craftsman who might wish to set up a booth had to go through the following procedure: Having served his full time as an apprentice, he had to present himself before the Provost and Magistrates of St Andrews, in open court, and had to satisfy these officials as to whether he was a perfect craftsman, as well as to the time he had served as an apprentice. After this ceremony the Magistrates were to appoint the Deacon and two of the most expert men of his craft to try and examine him as to his being able to do his work properly, after which the Deacon and the expert men were to give a faithful and true report, presumably to the Provosts and Magistrates, though the ordinance does not say so, whether the craftsman was an efficient enough craftsman and able to teach others. If he was found to have fulfilled all the conditions, authority was given by the Magistrates to have his name inscribed in the books, provided he found surety for his freedom of the town. The act further goes on to state that anyone attempting to set up a booth without conforming to this statute was to have his goods confiscated and applied to the common work of the town. This ordinance or rather act, for it seems in the first place to have been passed by the town authorities, was a revival of a much older one, which tends to prove that the Hammermen of St Andrews are of older incorporation than the date of the existing record book, which begins in 1539. This entry in the Hammermen's records finishes up by stating that the act had been re-enacted owing to the many abuses in the craft by the admission of craftsmen who were not entitled or competent to practise their trades, and those that they taught were obliged to go to other towns and serve other masters before they could learn the niceties of their craft.

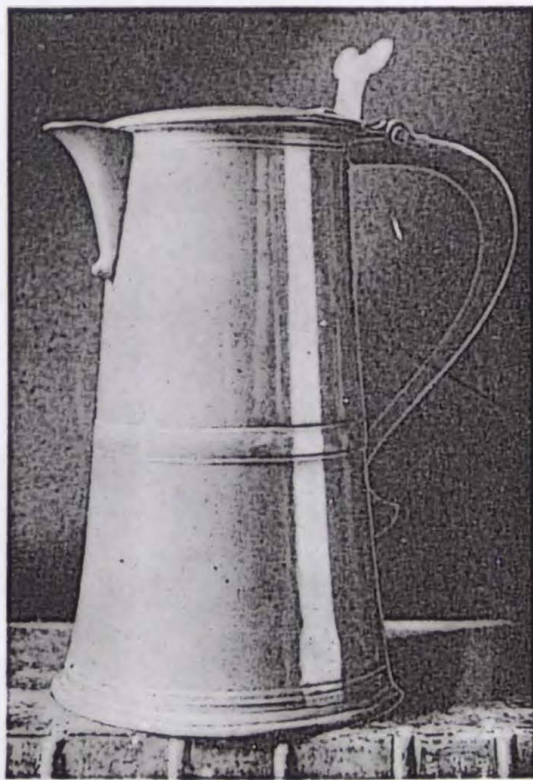
PLATE XII



**Flagon, flat-lidded type, early 18th century.
Plate, English make.
Church of St John, the Evangelist, Alloa (Scottish Episcopal).
See Appendix D, page 211.**



**Flagon, flat-lidded type, last half of 18th century.
Made by ² William Hunter, Edinburgh.
See Appendices A and B, pages 171 and 178.
The property of Walter Churcher, Esq.**



So zealous were the brethren that the St Andrews Craft should be a credit amongst the hammermen incorporations that in 1560 they revised and re-enacted the rules made in 1539, and those made between that date and 1560, as having been found inadequate. The first of the new ordinances was nearly the same as that passed in 1543, and ordained that no craftsman was to set up a booth or be admitted into the Incorporation until he had been approved of by the craft to be an efficient workman, besides which he had to pay the sum of nine marks, and give a "banquet" to the other brethren of his craft to celebrate the occasion. No mention is made, however, of his appearing before the Provost and Magistrates of the town, and the other tiresome procedure of the act of 1543, from which it may be gathered that the Incorporation had grown tired of the town's authority in the management of their business, and so had dispensed with it. As was the case in other towns the apprentices, or as they are styled in some old records, "the craftis bairns," belonging to the St Andrews Incorporation of Hammermen, were obliged to serve their masters for a space of six years and one year for "meat and fee."

Another rule deals with the sin of a craftsman taking another's servant from him without the first master's leave having been obtained.

One of the other ordinances is curious, dealing as it does with the buying of "smithy coals," or coals necessary for the forge or furnace of the metal worker. These were evidently bought and sold upon the seashore, brought there no doubt by ships from the coal-mines which existed at that time, and indeed do still, at different points along the Fife shoreline of the Forth. These coals were not to be bought by any member of the Incorporation unless the Deacon were present at the bargain, or unless his consent had been first of all obtained. The regulation of the sale of coal to the members was a special privilege of the Incorporation, and several ordinances passed from time to time are to be found in the records, relating to this useful but dirty mineral, but as these ordinances do not bear in particular upon the Pewterers' Craft, it will suffice if we notice the one above-mentioned.

In 1568 the ordinances of 1560 were again recast; many of the rules of the former date were retained and new ones added, but most of these new statutes refer more to the social life of the craftsman than to his trade.

The year 1574 saw an ordinance passed which defined the duties at

St Andrews of the Deacon and two of the brethren of the Craft, who were to pass through the market at certain times, and inspect the work of the craftsmen of the Incorporation there displayed for sale. If they found any work that was not of standard quality, being of bad material or of indifferent workmanship, they had the power to seize such work and fine the offender. Be it said to the credit of the pewterers of St Andrews, that though there are many entries in these records of other craftsmen being fined for bad work, there does not appear the name of a single pewterer convicted for this particular offence.

In 1598 one of the officers or inspectors of goods came in for severe censure from the Incorporation. He had it appears been caught, poor sinner, in that rigid time of distorted moral perspective, playing at cards and dice, and other "extraordinary games"; for this lapse from virtue he was fined the sum of forty shillings (Scots), and warned that if he again offended in this way he would incur the censure of the kirk, a by no means trifling threat in those days of stools of repentance and sackcloth, and it is to be hoped for his own sake that he eschewed such dangerous pastimes in the future!

In the same year (1598) there was another ordinance passed which regulated the admission of unfreemen journeymen into the Incorporation. The master who employed an unfreeman servant was liable to a fine of ten pounds (Scots), unless he had first of all had such a servant properly booked to him before a meeting of the Incorporation, and the ordinance goes on to state that this was for the prevention of theft in the booths.

A "tinkler" or tinker, as they are more familiarly known to us to-day, was brought up in 1599, before a meeting of the brethren, to answer a charge of breaking open a "kist" or box to get at some papers belonging to his father. Whether this particular tinker's purpose was a moral one or not, or whether he merely wished to get at the papers, the key of the box having been lost, the records do not say, but in the eyes of the Hammermen Incorporation of St Andrews, like that of Aberdeen, such a way of opening locks was a dire offence, however innocent the purpose, and the unhappy wight, *together with all other tinkers*, was debarred from the liberties and privileges of the Craft "for all time coming,"—a hard sentence, especially upon the other tinkers, who were presumably guiltless of the particular wrongdoing, and whose only offence lay in being "tinklers."

Three years afterwards this ordinance was rescinded, and tinkers were again admitted to the privileges of the Incorporation ; though they and the pedlars seem never to have enjoyed the full rights of freemen, being admitted only as what was known as "pendicles" of the craft. Thus in 1671 Alexander, David, and John Lindsay were admitted as "pendicles to the trade as tinklers," and to no other art in the trade, neither were they allowed to use the name of hammermen or coppersmiths.

It was possible that these two men and others of the "tinkler" craft were, as the name "pendicles" seems to imply, "hangers-on," as it were, of the Incorporation, and performed all the odd jobs that were going, and to which the freemen proper were too busy or thought it beneath their dignity to attend, such as the mending of all iron, copper, brass and pewter utensils ; and the making of small trifles such as spoons, toys, etc., in either pewter, copper or brass.

Another offence by which a craftsman was liable to lose the liberties and privileges of the Craft, was that of working at any unlawful work, being work that did not belong to the craft which he practised, or the working of any stolen iron. He was not only to be deprived of the liberties of the Incorporation, but he was never to be received as a brother, which meant, in other words, that his career was spoilt, so far as concerned the Hammermen.

A very important ordinance was passed by the St Andrews body in 1593, which related to the marking of goods, and which is as follows : "na servand stryk ane mark, vthir nor his maisters mark vpon ony vork ; and ye said mark be to ye vtilitie of his maister allenarlie (only), vndir ye pane of xl s.," which being rendered into the English of to-day means that, no servant was to put any mark or stamp upon any work except his master's private mark, and which mark was to be used only for his master's benefit, and not to be struck upon any goods except those made by the master. This act was passed some few years before the pewterers appeared to have become members of the Incorporations, though of course when they did join they would have to conform to it in the same way as any other of the crafts. Whether the Pewterers' Craft of St Andrews like their fellows in Edinburgh kept touch-plates or not it is impossible to say ; if they did, it is to be feared that the melting-pot has claimed them as its own.

¹ "An Account of the Hammermen of St Andrews," by D. Hay Fleming, LL.D.

The first pewterer mentioned as such in the records of the St Andrews body was admitted as late in the history of the Incorporation as 1619, and even then the demand for pewter-ware in St Andrews seems to have been very small indeed, or was, as has been indicated at the beginning of the chapter, supplied in other ways.

Thirty-two years elapse before the name of another pewterer is to be found in the records, and then again another thirty years go by before the next craftsman practising the pewterer's craft makes his appearance. It is true that after this date there are a greater number of workers in this particular craft, but at no time were they numerous, and it is not surprising that the Incorporation of St Andrews admitted the last pewterer to their liberties, in 1720, one Patrick Sampson, who was either a native of, or had been trained in Dundee. So poor a place for the pewterer's craft did Patrick Sampson find St Andrews, that in 1729 an entry in the Dundee Hammermen's records tells us that he had returned to his native town, and had been entered as a freeman of the incorporation there.

So poverty-stricken a place was the town of St Andrews that even at the end of the eighteenth century, when Scotland was beginning to grow prosperous and wealthy, this city, then of some four thousand inhabitants, was only able to support twenty-two members of the Hammermen trades, amongst whom were one watchmaker, two tinsmiths, two workers in brass, three glovers, one saddler and no pewterers. This perhaps to-day would seem a very fair proportion of craftsmen to a town of the size of St Andrews, but it must be remembered that we are writing of the days when towns had the privileges of exclusive trading, and when it was a more or less difficult matter to procure articles of any sort from outside craftsmen, except upon market-days; a state of affairs which gave the town's craftsmen a great hold over their customers, and would encourage an increase in their numbers.

It may have been that the two tinsmiths and brass-workers made a small quantity of pewter-ware, for the demand for such ware had not altogether died out by the end of the eighteenth century.

Tinsmiths or "white-ironsmiths" were not admitted as members of the craft at St Andrews until about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The first admission of a white-ironsmith as a freeman of the craft in St Andrews was in 1787, when David Cuthbert, son to John Cuthbert,

was admitted as a freeman white-ironsmith. John Cuthbert is here also described as being a white-ironsmith, but there is no evidence that he had qualified as a freeman of that craft; his name is first mentioned in the records in 1759, when there is an entry of his having paid the sum of thirty pounds (Scots) for the offence of "calling the Deacon and other members of the craft opprobrious names and uttering many horrid oaths and imprecations" ! He had in all probability been admitted as a freeman of the Incorporation prior to the date of this offence.

In 1729 it appears that the craftsmen were much too numerous for the size of the town and there was a good deal of poverty amongst them, owing to many of them not being able to make a living at their trades. One of the causes of this arose from the fact that six years previously the fees for the admission of unfreemen into the craft had been reduced, and the Incorporation had become inundated with such craftsmen, who had taken advantage of these low fees to become members.

It is not therefore surprising to find that in 1729 an ordinance was passed by the Incorporation that none but freemen's sons and those marrying freemen's daughters were to be admitted into the Craft in future. As was the case in some of the other hammermen incorporations, a freeman upon his admission into the St Andrews Incorporation had to give the rest of his brethren a "banquet," and besides this he had to provide them with some sort of drink such as wine or ale, when he made his application, which was known as the "speaking-drink"; the presenting of the essay piece being another occasion upon which the brethren again required liquid refreshment.

The crafts that the Incorporation of Hammermen of St Andrews comprised were in the early years of its history as follows: armourers, saddlers, cutlers, pewterers, glovers and blacksmiths; later on, white-ironsmiths, watchmakers, and even dyers, painters and stationers were admitted, but it was probably owing to a shortage of funds that these three last trades obtained admission. Blacksmiths and other smiths seem to have been by far the most numerous of the craftsmen, as during the eighteenth century and earlier the Incorporation had come to be spoken of as the "Smith Trade."

It is not until 1789 that we find any ordinance relating to the particular nature of an essay piece required from an applicant for freeman's honours, though it seems to have been the custom at all times

to present one, but at that date a proper "sey," or essay piece was decided upon for all those who might wish to become freemen. Before the year 1789, however, mention is made now and again about the "sey," though at no time in any part of the records is there any description of what the articles required from the craftsmen of the different trades comprised.

The Incorporation of St Andrews had no hall or chapel for meeting in, such as most of the other hammermen incorporations seem to have possessed, but held their meetings in the open air upon a hill behind the town known as the "Gallow Hill." After the Reformation, from 1569 to 1589, they used the parish church for this purpose, and at various other dates the council-house of the parish church and several other places are mentioned.

While much more might be written about the Incorporation of Hammermen of St Andrews in general, what has been said is practically all that relates to the particular Craft of the Pewterer and the kindred trades in that ancient city.

CHAPTER IX

THE INCORPORATIONS OF HAMMERMEN OF GLASGOW AND STIRLING

UNTIL the latter half of the eighteenth century the town of Glasgow was little more than a village or a very small town at best. Even in the latter years of the eighteenth century it was only possible for so small a vessel as a fishing boat to get up the river Clyde as far as the city, and that only at high tide. This was the condition of things a little over a hundred years ago, upon a river which is now perhaps with only one or two exceptions the busiest in the world. Although Glasgow was so small it was not lacking in some importance in pre-Reformation times, for there was the cathedral of St Mungo or, as he is elsewhere styled St Kentigern, which many would visit upon a pilgrimage, and in later times the University would attract a certain number and so give employment to various craftsmen.

Unfortunately we have little or no information upon the doings of the Hammermen of Glasgow during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as their records of these times, like so many of the other trades incorporations, have in a great measure been lost and presumably destroyed, and there only remains to us those pertaining to the eighteenth century.

As was the case in many of the other smaller hammermen bodies, these records have been somewhat loosely kept, and the craft at which a member worked has been, in only a few cases, added to his name in the entry of his admission as a freeman or when he is otherwise referred to, and it has thus been rendered almost impossible to know the particular craft to which very many of the members of the Glasgow Hammermen Incorporation belonged. This omission upon the part of the clerk who kept the book is particularly unfortunate in the case of a list of Glasgow craftsmen beginning about the year 1600, which has evidently been copied from an older book or books into one belonging to the nineteenth century.

The only information at all about the Hammermen of Glasgow in pre-Reformation times is contained in a "Seal of Cause" given by the

magistrates and town council of that city to the Hammermen in the year 1536. The trades which are included in the "Seal of Cause" just mentioned are described as blacksmiths, goldsmiths, lorimers (those who made the metal parts of saddlery), bucklemakers, armourers, "and others (craftsmen) within the Burgh."

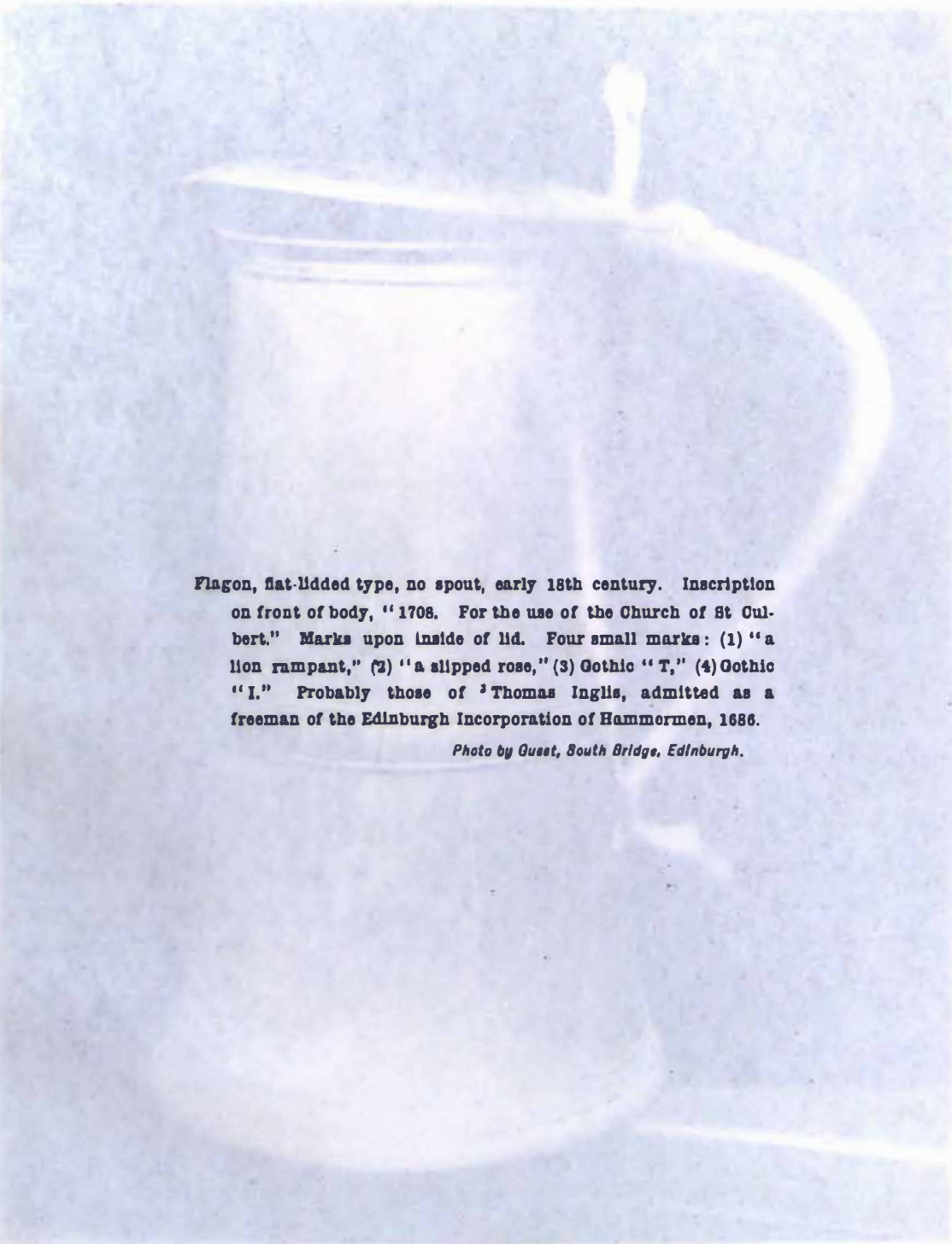
It will be observed that the pewterers are not mentioned as being one of the recognised trades belonging to the Incorporation at that time, though it is quite possible they may have been included in the phrase "and others within the Burgh"; but whether they were independent workmen or belonged to the Hammermen Incorporation, in any case they would be far from numerous, and probably at the most, if we may judge from the number of such craftsmen at about the same period in other small Scottish towns, not more than one or two. This "Seal of Cause" of 1536, like similar documents of other hammermen incorporations, contained the ordinances of the craft which applied to one and all the members of the Glasgow Incorporation, and when the pewterers did become members they would have to conform to these ordinances or rules in the same way as did the other trades.

The first rule is very similar to that contained in the Canongate Hammermen's "Seal of Cause" which was issued at about the same date (1535). It ordained that no member of the Incorporation was to open a booth or shop until he had first of all been made a freeman, and for the privilege of opening a shop and becoming a master he had to pay the sum of twenty shillings (Scots) for the keeping up of, and paying for services at an altar dedicated to St Eloi, which altar was most probably in the cathedral of St Mungo; and when he took an apprentice he had to pay another sum of ten shillings (Scots) as a booking fee, which went to the same object.

The second rule forbade a craftsman to employ any other man's servant or apprentice until that servant had served his proper time, or the apprentice had completed his apprenticeship.

The third rule forbade a master to allow any but his apprentice or his properly hired servant to work in his booth; this rule was made in order that the master might be personally answerable for the proper quality of the work turned out of his shop, as well as for any fines these apprentices or servants might incur in the course of business by breaking one or more of the ordinances enacted by the Incorporation.

PLATE XIII.



Flagon, flat-lidded type, no spout, early 18th century. Inscription on front of body, "1708. For the use of the Church of St Culbert." Marks upon inside of lid. Four small marks: (1) "a lion rampant," (2) "a slipped rose," (3) Gothic "T," (4) Gothic "I." Probably those of ³Thomas Inglis, admitted as a freeman of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen, 1686.

Photo by Guest, South Bridge, Edinburgh.



The fourth rule ordained that only the best material and workmanship should be put into any article that the craftsmen might make, and to ensure this ordinance being carried properly into effect two or three masters were to be chosen for the purpose who were to inspect the goods every Saturday afternoon.

Rule five is very similar to the above and forbade the selling of faulty work under the penalty of such work being forfeited.

The sixth rule ordained that the members of the Incorporation should meet together when ordered to do so by those in authority over them.

Rules seven and eight ordained respectively that upon any infringement of the ordinances, the magistrates were to be informed of the fact ; and that anyone breaking any of the foregoing rules was to pay a pound of wax towards the upkeep of the altar of St Eloi, that being the fine usually exacted in those times.

The ninth and last rule ordained that if any of the masters and others at the head of the Incorporation failed in their duty by not properly enforcing these rules they were to be punished by the magistrates.

As will be seen by the foregoing, the above ordinances are very similar to those of the other hammermen incorporations which have been dealt with in the foregoing chapters, the only difference being that the rules requiring the use of good material and the application of proper workmanship in the goods made by the craftsman are, if anything, more explicit than those of similar incorporations.

The trades or crafts which belonged to the Incorporation of Hammermen of Glasgow between the beginning and the end of the seventeenth century are very numerous and show a large increase upon the numbers of those mentioned in the original "Seal of Cause." They include blacksmiths, goldsmiths, armourers, dag-makers (dagger-makers), lorimers, clockmakers, bell-makers, pewterers, brass-smiths, locksmiths, white-ironsmiths, saddlers, potters, tinkers, sword-slippers, plumbers, and later in the history of the Incorporation, coach and harness makers.

There does not appear to have been in Glasgow any rule against a hammerman working at more than one trade, and this was particularly the case amongst the craftsmen who worked in pewter, copper, brass, and white-iron, and in very many instances it is quite usual to find that

a worker in these crafts in Glasgow practised two or even three different trades. Thus in 1681 one Robert Browne was admitted as a freeman pewterer and white-ironsmith; and again, in 1776, Robert Graham and James Wardrop were admitted as freemen copper-smiths and white-iron-smiths, and later on we find them adding the art of the pewterer to their business.

It is somewhat difficult to make out from the records what some of these particular craftsmen really were, as it is not an unusual thing to find a man referred to as being a pewterer or white-ironsmith by occupation as the case may be, when there is no evidence elsewhere in the records to show that he was ever admitted as a freeman into either of these crafts. In fact the only supposition that one can arrive at is, that the members and heads of the Incorporation looked with a lenient eye, in the closing years at least of the eighteenth century, upon a craftsman working at more trades than one, and not registering himself as doing so. For this reason I have thought it advisable to include the various copper-smiths, white-iron-smiths, founders and braziers, who are not particularly mentioned as having practised the craft of the pewterer as well as their own, but who may in some cases have done so, in the lists of freemen pewterers and others of the various hammermen incorporations (see Appendix B).

The first pewterer, designated as such, appears in the list, before mentioned, as having been admitted into the Glasgow Incorporation in 1648, a somewhat late date for the pewterers' craft to take its place amongst the other trades, though it is more than likely that they had joined the Incorporation at a much earlier date than this, but from the reason given earlier in the chapter it is impossible to speak with certainty.

Unfortunately for the collector and the student of history, there is very little information relating to the craft of the pewterer embraced in the hundred odd years of records of the Glasgow Hammermen which have come down for our enlightenment to-day, and it is difficult to form any notion of how the craft there really worked during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but we may safely assume that the rules for the general regulation of the different trades which were passed between the date of the granting of the "Seal of Cause," and the earliest existing records, which begin in 1700, differed very little indeed from those of the Edinburgh Hammermen or other similar bodies.

We have no knowledge whether it was customary or was obligatory by an ordinance of the Incorporation for the Glasgow craftsmen, and the pewterers in particular, to mark their goods with a private touch or stamp. But as pieces of pewter of eighteenth century workmanship occasionally turn up bearing the word "Glasgow" and a pewterer's name, we may take it at least that the Glasgow pewterers had rules upon the point similar to those of their brethren of some of the other towns, and of course they would be under the provisions of the Acts of Parliament referred to elsewhere (see Chapter XV.).

An essay piece was required from the craftsman when he wished to become a member of the Incorporation, but it is not until the year 1775 that there is any precise information as to what article or articles were required from an applicant for admission into the Pewterers' Craft; in Glasgow at that date, however, it was a "bulged decanter."

The first mention made of a white-ironsmith being admitted as a freeman of the Glasgow Incorporation is in the year 1652, and in 1664 another white-ironsmith made his appearance, and in the following century they became very numerous, until in 1794 there were no less than six white-ironsmiths to one pewterer admitted as freemen of the Incorporation in that one year. But although workers in this then "new-fangled" stuff threatened to oust the workers in the more genuine metal, the pewterers were very well able to take care of themselves, and soon after its appearance we find them taking measures to fight the tin-smith upon his own ground. In 1681 Robert Browne, who has been before mentioned, was admitted as a freeman pewterer *and white-ironsmith*; and as time went on, as has been already pointed out, it appeared quite the custom to take up two or even three distinct trades.

The white-ironsmiths do not seem for many years to have encroached upon the pewterers' particular ground, for in 1776 their essay was "a coffee pot with a half sphere lid and a triangular lantern," two of the things for which pewter is not very well adapted. In 1785 their essay became a "kale pot," but four years later we find a melon shape set by way of an essay to the white-ironsmiths. This seems to have been a distinct infringement of the pewterers' sphere, and one would have thought that an article of that description would have been much superior if made in pewter. But this infringement, if it was such, is

of little real importance, for the Pewterers' Craft was by that time in Glasgow practically extinct.

Like the other hammermen bodies, the Incorporation of Glasgow was very jealous of its rights and privileges, and bitterly resented any encroachments upon them. Thus in 1784 a motion was agreed upon by the brethren, to the effect that steps should be taken against some "strangers" in the town who had encroached upon the privileges of the Incorporation; and again in 1789 another motion was agreed to, to make unfreemen desist from work and leave the town. These measures appear to us to-day to be drastic enough, but the conditions of industry in the times in question rendered such methods of protection both reasonable and expedient.

Every member, in his oath of admission as a freeman into the Incorporation, undertook to keep the rules and not to "pack nor peele" with unfreemen, and for any violation of the obligations so undertaken in his oath, he had to pay a sum of money for the benefit of the Craft's poor, and suffer other penalties as from time to time might be prescribed by the Incorporation.

The records do not throw any light upon where the Glasgow Hammermen met to conduct their meetings and other business before the end of the eighteenth century, but from another source we learn that up to the date of the building of the Trades Hall in 1791, they met in a building called the "Almshouses" which was situated near the cathedral. In the year 1791, however, plans for the erection of a Trades Hall were drawn up by that great architect, Robert Adam, and it was built in 1793 at the cost of £5000.

Like the hammermen incorporations of Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen, the Incorporation of Glasgow is still a more or less flourishing body, and the members still continue to exercise the privileges and functions of their forefathers, though of course in a very much milder fashion and without many of the rights they once possessed.

Though the records of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Glasgow are meagre, those belonging to the Hammermen Incorporation of the royal and ancient burgh of Stirling are still more so, and the only two books relating to the doings of the craft who worked with the hammer in that town, which are of any interest to us, date from the year 1596 to that of 1620-1, and for this reason we can but get

a glimpse of the rules which must have been passed from time to time for the proper working of the different trades of that particular incorporation. Unfortunately there are no actual references to the Pewterers' Art, though there are instances in which the names of some of those belonging to this particular branch are given; and we must be content with what can be gleaned in this way from these existing books of the Stirling Hammermen.

In a list of the craftsmen given in 1605, the following trades seem to have been members of the Stirling Incorporation, namely, pewterers, lorimers, cutlers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, saddlers, tinklers; and some years later armourers are included.

White-ironsmiths are mentioned in a much later book which begins in 1796, but there is no evidence in the records at what time these craftsmen joined the Hammermen of Stirling. Pewterers appear to have been fairly numerous in Stirling, considering the size of the town, for between the years 1599 and 1620 there is mention of no less than four craftsmen who practised this trade, a greater number than that existing at the same period in the towns of Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee and St Andrews.

The first rule that appears in the Stirling records enacts that any "brother" who was called to "the Hill," which appears to have been the meeting place of the Incorporation, and who kept not the hour, in other words, was late, had to pay a fine of eightpence (Scots), a truly useful means of ensuring punctuality amongst a poor and thrifty people!

In 1610 there are several instances of brethren who were fined for disobeying the commands of the Deacon.

In the year 1613 a craftsman's servant, James Baird by name, was fined for an infringement of the rules, by having, contrary to all precepts, Biblical and utilitarian, served two masters; and in 1619 an "Act" was passed which forbade any master to allow his servant to work later than ten o'clock on a Saturday night.

The tinkers appear to have been one of the regular crafts of those belonging to the Stirling Incorporation, for in 1605 mention is made of one Andrew Cunninghame, "a tinklair," having been admitted as a freeman, and some seven years later another entry tells us that this Andrew Cunninghame had brought an action against a certain Peter Gib for slandering him by calling him a "sutar and not worth

to come in amongst the hammermen." For this offence Peter Gib was fined, but it does not seem to have had much effect, as his name appears frequently as having committed all sort of misdemeanours.

The "sey" or essay piece is merely mentioned, and no information is afforded as to what were the articles required from the various crafts of the Stirling Incorporation.

With this scanty knowledge upon the work and doings of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Stirling we must, in the meantime, be content, merely hoping that as time goes on the lost records both of this body and of other similar ones may come to light; but it is greatly to be feared that such a wish is in vain, as many of them must in the course of things have long since been destroyed.

CHAPTER X

PART I

SCOTTISH CHURCH VESSELS BEFORE AND AFTER THE REFORMATION

IT is a singular but yet not surprising circumstance that there is to-day in Scotland an almost entire absence of vessels belonging to the Church, which were in use prior to that great religious upheaval known as the Reformation.

That there were many valuable vessels in use in the Church of Scotland at that time is undoubted, for the Christian religion was of ancient establishment in the country. Many centuries had elapsed since the majority of the churches were founded, and each year saw an addition to their store of precious wealth; for although the people might be poor, yet they could always spare something towards the Church.

When the black cloud of the Reformation burst there was a general exodus of the ecclesiastical portion of the population of the country, priests and others, to France and other countries upon the Continent, and many of these priests carried off what was dearer to them than their own goods, the sacred vessels of the altar, and as much more of the church plate as they could, much of which found new resting places in some quiet abbey or parish church in a foreign land where the religion of Rome was recognised.

But what became of the beautiful pieces of gold and silver, and even pewter plate, which were left behind and were of no inconsiderable quantity? They were melted down, and thereby probably met with the fate which would have been to the minds of the priests and others a far better one than that of being used again for the purposes of a reformed religion. The Rev. Thomas Burns, in his excellent work upon old Scottish Communion vessels, states that at this time (1560), and after, there was an entire want of reverence amongst the people of both the upper and lower classes, and this, coupled with a greed of gain, accounts for the absence of by far the greater portion of the pre-Reformation church plate,

both of gold and silver, as well as that made of pewter, which was not carried off abroad by the priests.

In 1567, an order was sent by the Confederate Lords to Servan La Conde, Queen Mary's chamberlain, that all church plate, without distinction, was to be melted down. This would account for many of the church vessels which might be within the city of Edinburgh, and would include those made of pewter as well as those of more precious material; and what was taking place in the capital would certainly not lack for want of imitators elsewhere.

That pewter was used for the making of ornaments and plate in the pre-Reformation Church in Scotland, there is little doubt, and what has been written about the disappearance of the more valuable gold and silver plate, would in a measure apply equally well to those pieces made of the more humble metal.

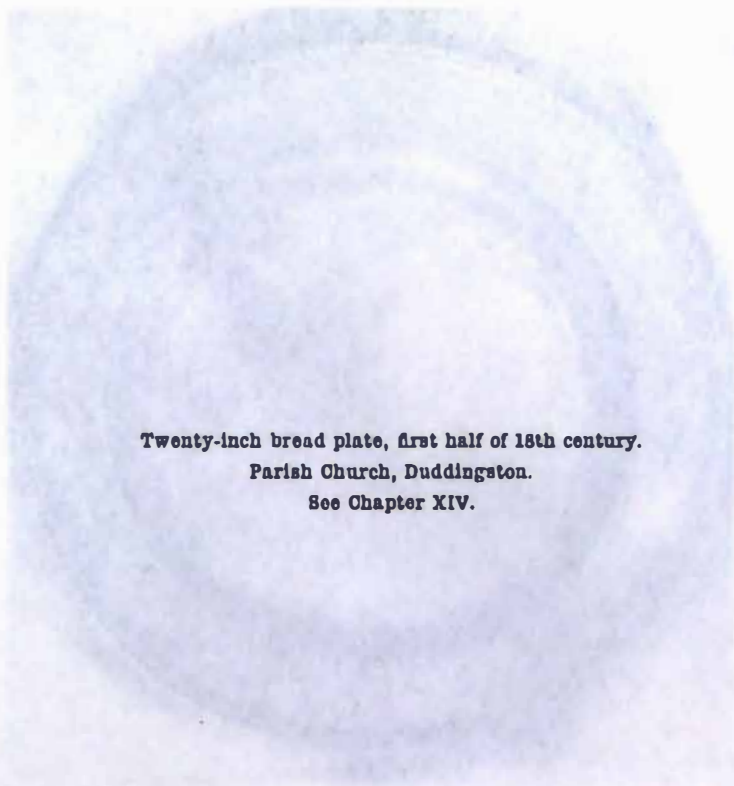
The oldest known pieces of ecclesiastical pewter existing in Scotland to-day are a chalice and paten belonging to the fifteenth century, which were found in the churchyard of the parish church of Bervie in Kincardineshire. These objects, however, were probably never in use upon the altar, as they are believed to be merely sepulchral vessels; for it was the custom in Gothic times to bury with a dead priest, or other ecclesiastic, some token of his office, such as a chalice and paten, or, if he were a higher dignitary in the Church, a crozier in addition, but which articles were never in use during the lifetime of the dead man with whom they were buried. Such objects were made solely for this purpose, and were enclosed in or near the coffin of the dead churchman merely as a symbol of his rank in life.

This pewter chalice and paten, through the action of time, have nearly crumbled into dust, but a drawing made of them at the time of their discovery gives us some idea of the appearance of the chalice itself. It was a rather dumpy vessel with a ball-like swelling in the middle of the stalk, which finishes in a plain, wide, spreading base, the bowl being of the shallow type.

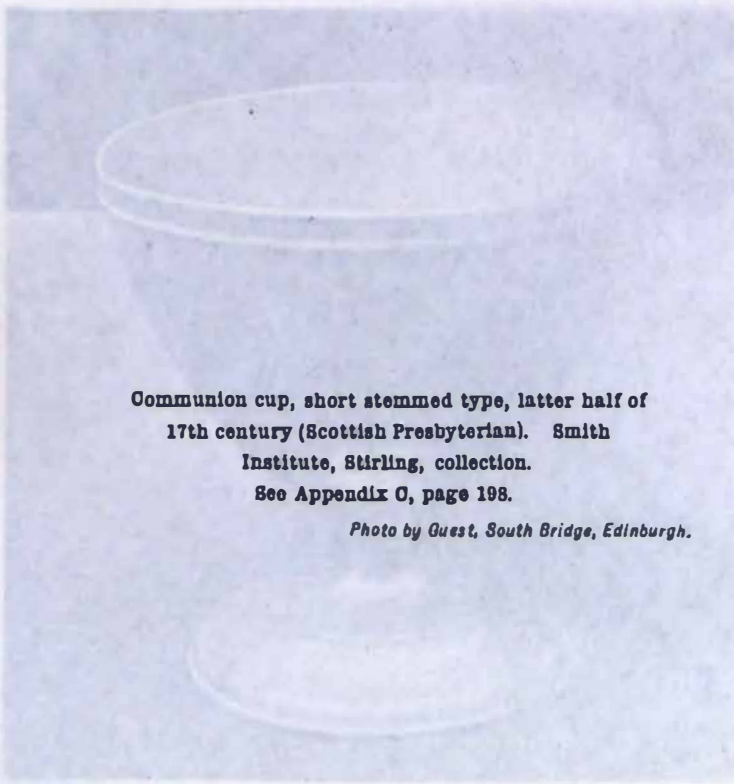
There seems little doubt, however, that pewter was frequently used in the making of the actual church vessels, and probably for the chalice and paten, in Scotland before the date of the Reformation, as it was employed for this purpose at and previous to that time upon the Continent.

In the burgh records of Edinburgh, dated 1559, there appears an

PLATE XIV.



**Twenty-inch bread plate, first half of 18th century.
Parish Church, Duddingston.
See Chapter XIV.**



**Communion cup, short stemmed type, latter half of
17th century (Scottish Presbyterian). Smith
Institute, Stirling, collection.
See Appendix C, page 198.**

Photo by Guest, South Bridge, Edinburgh.



entry of the list of plate, vestments, etc., belonging to the church of St Giles. The entry is dated the 27th of June 1559, and states that, the times being very troublous, the vestments, plate, and jewels belonging to the church of St Giles were given into the keeping of various persons, who were to take care of them until such time as they should be called upon to give them up again. Amongst the list of vestments, plate, and other things, is the item "twa candelstykkss of tin (pewter) of the hie altar"; these candlesticks with the arras of the same altar were given into the keeping of "Johne Charterhous, elder, Dean of Guild." Upon the 21st of November of the same year all this plate, vestments, etc., were ordered to be returned and replaced in St Giles, and in 1561 they were all sold for the good of the town. There seems to have been considerable difficulty experienced in getting the temporary guardians of these treasures to part with them, and some indeed never appeared to have given them up at all. The keeper of the pewter candlesticks was one of the latter.

For fifty-seven odd years Presbyterianism held sway in Scotland, but in 1617 James VI. and I. introduced into the country the English form of worship, which afterwards came to be known by the name of Episcopalianism, a mode of worship which was utterly abhorrent to the greater part of his Majesty's Scottish subjects, though more in name than in actual form.

The clergy of the Episcopal Church of Scotland from 1617 to 1638, when they came into power, required somewhat similar vessels for their ritual to those employed in the Romish Church before 1560, such as the chalice and paten, though it is very doubtful whether they employed the other adjuncts to an altar such as candlesticks, the crucifix, etc., at this time.

The vessels of the Reformed Church were, of course, taken over, but there was a more or less general breaking up and re-melting of the older vessels, though a number of vessels were retained in their existing forms without any alteration, as in various ways the new form of worship does not seem to have differed essentially from that ordained by Knox.

It is doubtful, however, whether the Presbyterian Church from 1560 to 1617 had used much pewter in the making of their communion sets. Although most of the more valuable and sacred ecclesiastical vessels of the Roman Catholic Church had been taken away by the priests, or destroyed by the Reformers, yet these same Reformers found themselves

in possession of large stores of wealth and lands formerly belonging to the church of the old faith, and they could, in their turn, afford to have vessels of the most valuable materials.

Thus it is likely that Knox and his followers would find themselves in a position to give the best in the way of communion cups, flagons, basins and plates, to the churches in the towns, at least, leaving only the poorer and more outlying parishes to be provided with the proper vessels which would almost of necessity be of pewter, as the cheaper and at the same time an appropriate material.

If, however, the first Presbyterian Church did possess much pewter plate, little or none of it has come down to us to-day, and it is almost impossible to point to a single piece of church pewter of that period.

With the establishment of Episcopalianism in 1617 the vessels of the communion service of the previous period in the Church's history, when they were taken over by the Episcopal clergy, may in many cases have been altered to suit the ideas of those at the head of the new form of religion; yet, as has been before stated, the old ones would in many cases still remain in use though under different names. There seems to have been little difference in the two forms of worship, for, in the Episcopal Church the communicants were ordered, by the Articles of Perth, to make their communion kneeling as in the English Church of to-day; whilst in the Presbyterian Church the communicants sat at long tables covered with white cloths, and were served with bread and wine by the elders. But, in parts of Scotland during the times of the first and second establishments of Episcopacy, there seems to have been a revolt against this practice of kneeling, and there appears to be little doubt that in some parishes the clergy reverted to the Presbyterian form of administering the Sacrament, the communicants sitting at tables. In the Episcopal Church of Scotland, from 1617 to 1638, and again at its re-establishment in 1660 to 1688, the number of communicants attending communion was very large indeed, the communion Sundays only falling twice a year, generally at Easter and Christmastide. This was also the case in the Presbyterian Church, before the establishment of Episcopacy in 1617, and from 1638 to 1660 and after 1688. To supply the large demand at these communions several cups or chalices, as they were styled by the Episcopalian, were used, as indeed is the case amongst large congregations in the English Church of to-day.

In the churches of the Presbyterian form of worship it was and is still usual to have from four to six cups and two or three flagons, but in the case of large congregations as many as twelve cups, and sometimes six or more flagons, were employed. The Episcopalians would in all probability employ as many of these vessels in their form of service, but as the sets of older pewter pieces of that Church which are in existence to-day have either belonged to small congregations only, or as, in many cases, part of the sets have been lost, it is almost impossible to judge from these existing sets of communion vessels whether the Episcopal Church in Scotland ever actually used a greater number of the different vessels than four cups and two flagons.

In the year 1617 an Act of Parliament was passed which enjoined all parishes to provide amongst other things cups and presumably plates and flagons, for the proper ministration of the Holy Communion. Many of the congregations must have been hard put to find the necessary vessels for the ministration of the Sacrament, as the Act had to be carried out immediately, and in many cases the vessels of the preceding Church would not meet with the ideas of the clergy, or, as was more likely to be the case, were missing, and it is only natural that the first cups and flagons that could be got would be pressed into the service of the Church, after purification by the clergyman.

As the workers of silver and pewter must have had only a limited stock of these vessels in their shops or booths, many cups and flagons were also given by devout parishioners from their own houses. This fact may account for a somewhat peculiar type of communion cup, which seems common to all parts of Scotland and more particularly to the East coast, that of the beaker or tumbler type, which has, unlike the chalice type, no stalk or stem, but is made in the shape of a tumbler with tapering sides and often a somewhat overhanging lip; in many cases a few simple mouldings form the base, but other examples are quite plain.

Cups of this type (see Plates VI. and VII.), made both in silver and pewter, are still to be found in Holland to-day, and there seems no doubt that they were imported from that country into Scotland as the common drinking-vessel of the day, and through the passing of the above-mentioned Act they found their way into the churches. The theory that they were of Dutch origin is strongly borne out by the fact that there

was a constant service of sailing vessels during the summer season between the East Coast ports and towns and those of the Low countries. Some such silver vessels still in existence in some of the Aberdeenshire parish churches bear foreign hall-marks.

Though in all likelihood this form of cups thus presented to the churches were made in silver, they seem to have been copied by the pewterers soon afterwards, for cups of the tumbler shape of the middle-seventeenth century period are to be found made of pewter, in both the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches, and they continued to be made and used till about the middle of the eighteenth century, and in some parts of Scotland till an even later date. By that time, however, the type of cup with a stalk or stem had pretty well displaced them in most of the churches, though as ordinary drinking-cups the shape continued until the early years of the nineteenth century. This tumbler form of cup as made in Scotland averaged about six inches in height, and only differed slightly from those of Dutch workmanship in general outline of form, and in having an entirely plain surface, many of the Dutch examples being covered with engraved work, flowers and Biblical figures being the favourite subjects.

The first establishment of Episcopalianism in Scotland lasted until 1638, when the people rebelled against the rule of the bishops and signed the "National Covenant," and the country was again plunged into the horrors of civil warfare. Much, if not most, of the gold and silver plate of the preceding period of the Church's history was at that time melted down to provide funds for the Covenanters, and to replace the church vessels, no doubt a good deal of pewter plate was made. The Covenanters, being poor, naturally provided vessels for their services and sacraments made of a cheaper metal than gold or silver, and pewter was the kind of material which was at that time the cheapest, the most easily procurable, and the most readily adaptable. As time went on, however, and they acquired more power and wealth, these pewter vessels would in many cases be laid aside, particularly in the towns.

The restoration of Charles II. in 1660 saw the setting up again of the Episcopalian form of worship, which was established once more throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. The new clergy who came into the parishes naturally acquired with their churches the vessels belonging to the preceding form of religion, and such of these as they

considered unadapted to their ritual were, if of pewter, laid aside, or if of silver were melted down or were sold to provide the wherewithal for a new set.

In the country parishes at this time the vessels of the Church were in many cases made of pewter, and these would be either acquired from the preceding Church or newly manufactured. Some of these pewter vessels, more especially cups, are in the possession of the Episcopal Church of to-day, though it is a wonder, knowing the comparatively small value and the fragility of vessels made of pewter, that any of those belonging to the second period of the Episcopal Church of Scotland's history should have come down to us intact.

Cups of that period may be noted in Plates VI. and VII., such as the tumbler shape and that of the loving cup type with two handles.

As has been before mentioned, many of the parishes at the time of the re-establishment of Episcopacy were provided with silver vessels, but it was impossible to supply all with communion sets made of this valuable metal, and so it came to pass that many of those outlying parishes which were not already furnished with cups, flagons, etc., were given those which were made of pewter, upon the understanding that before long they were to be superseded by others of a more valuable material. But whether the Church and State were short of funds, as was probably the case, or those at the head of affairs were dilatory, the Revolution came in 1688, and Episcopacy was once again overthrown, without much of the pewter plate of these outlying parishes having been superseded by that made of more precious metal. Again the Presbyterians got possession of the church plate, and started altering and melting down, as upon previous occasions, but many vessels both of silver and pewter were saved from this fate, for the clergy of the deposed form of worship, profiting by the lessons which they had learnt from the previous history of their Church, carried off many of these vessels, particularly the chalices and patens, or else gave them into the keeping of those parishioners whom they knew they might trust.

The Presbyterians in many cases recovered much of the silver plate, but in all probability they did not think that which was made of pewter worth troubling about, and so it happens that some of these vessels have survived to the present day, and are still in the possession of the original congregations. Much of the silver plate and some of the pewter plate of

that period, now in the possession of the Presbyterian Church, has also survived the wear and tear and the vicissitudes of two hundred odd years, for when some of the Presbyterian ministers of 1688 took over the cups and flagons of their predecessors, they used them without any alteration at all.

Though Episcopalianism was a disestablished form of worship, it soon began to make way again, having many followers in such districts as Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire, and by 1745 these had many chapels and places of worship all over the country. But at that date (1745), another misfortune overtook them, for they suffered at the hands of the Duke of Cumberland, for having espoused the Stuart cause. To punish them for this, the Duke not only confiscated their church plate, but burnt their places of worship. Here, again, owing to the small value of the pewter vessels, only the silver ones would be carried off, those made of the former material would either be burnt with the chapels or otherwise left.

Of the subsequent history of the persecution of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, little need be said here, as it hardly affects the history of the church plate, with this exception, that after "the '45," despoiled of all their goods, the majority of the Episcopal congregations could only afford church plate made of pewter to replace that which had been confiscated. It was at this time and later, at the end of the century, when Episcopalianism, though not an established, was, at least, a recognised form of worship, that most of the congregations appear to have acquired much of the pewter plate which is in their possession to-day. Most of the pieces which they bought then were flagons and plates, the chalices or cups being, as a rule, still in existence, as many of the clergy of the time (1745) had hidden these pieces, leaving only the flagons, plates and lavers to the Duke and his followers.

About the middle of the eighteenth century a wave of desire seems to have swept over the Presbyterian Church of Scotland to alter their existing church plate to a more modern type. From about the year 1750 this craze, for thus it can only be described, continued in vogue with the most disastrous results, and much valuable silver plate was changed beyond recognition, either by altering or by melting down. It is needless to say that many of the pewter vessels met the latter fate, as they would not be thought worth the trouble of alteration.

The earliest form of communion cup in use in both the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches was, probably, the tumbler type, which has before been referred to, and, whether of silver or of pewter, the form was nearly always the same both at this time and later, for the pewterers were always ready to copy, where they could, the models of the silver-smiths.

The Church ritual before the time of the Reformation laid great stress upon the particular way in which the cup was to be held, and the draining of the wine to the last drop, and for this purpose the bowls of the pre-Reformation chalices were made small. But the Reformers cared nothing for this, their one idea being to get away from the chalice form altogether, and so they either used the tumbler type, or made their cups with a large bowl and practically no stalk at all (see Plate XIV).

In time, however, they returned to the type of cups with the stalk or stem, which were made in a variety of forms, all however having large bowls (see Plates XV. and XVI.), one type of the silver ones of the latter half of the seventeenth century having very large and shallow bowls with thick stalks, but it is doubtful whether cups of this sort were ever made in pewter, the material hardly lending itself to such a design.

The Episcopal chalices were at first very similar to the type of cup in use in the Presbyterian Church, and as it has before been pointed out, they sometimes continued to use the vessels of the preceding Church without any alteration, but on the whole the churches of that form of religion where they did not use the tumbler type would incline more to the type of cup with a stem. Some of the later cups belonging to this Church show a distinct return to the form of the pre-Reformation chalice with a small bowl and in some cases the stalk is octagonal in section.

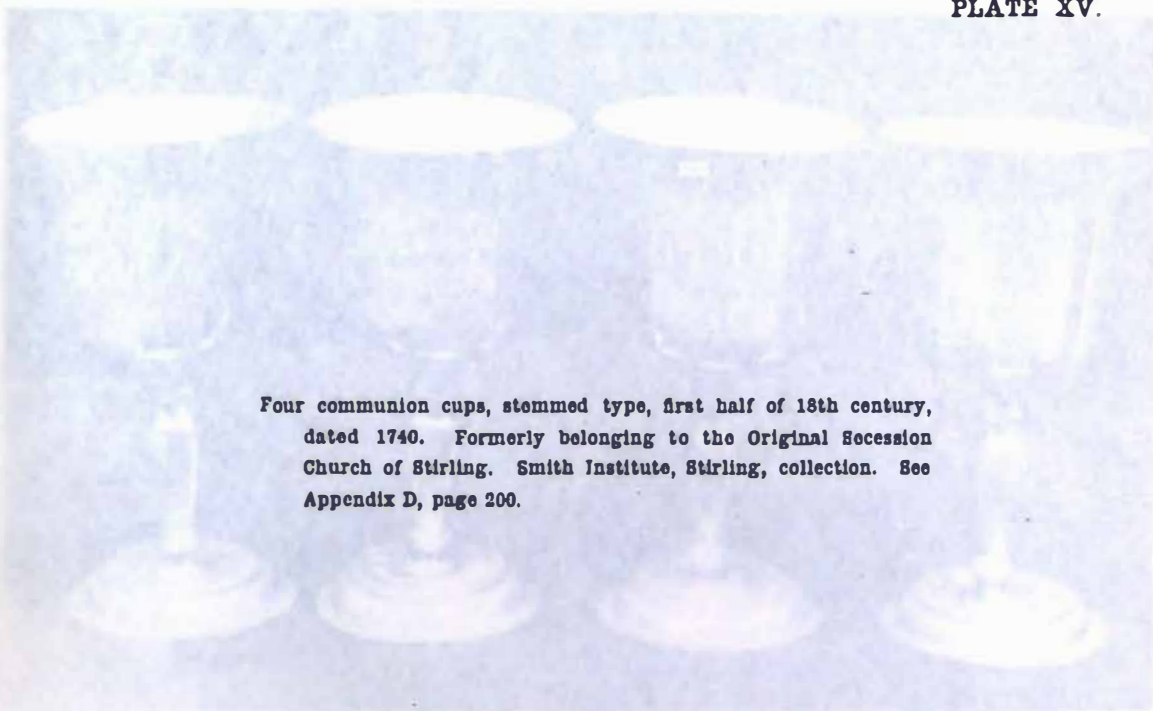
In many cases the Episcopal congregations were so poor that they had perforce to be content with the form of cup which the pewterer had in stock, or for which he possessed moulds, and these moulds might chance to be for a cup of the type in use in the Presbyterian Church of the previous period, or of the loving cup type as in Plate VIII., which undoubtedly belongs to the latter period of the seventeenth century, and which kind are very rarely to be met with. Episcopal cups or "chalices" as they should more rightly be termed were very seldom decorated in any way, all the ornament they possessed being in the mouldings of the base and stalk; some cups, however, have the sacred

symbols "I.H.S." enclosed in a glory, engraved upon the front of the bowl. This, however, seems in many cases to have been added at a subsequent date to that at which the cups were made.

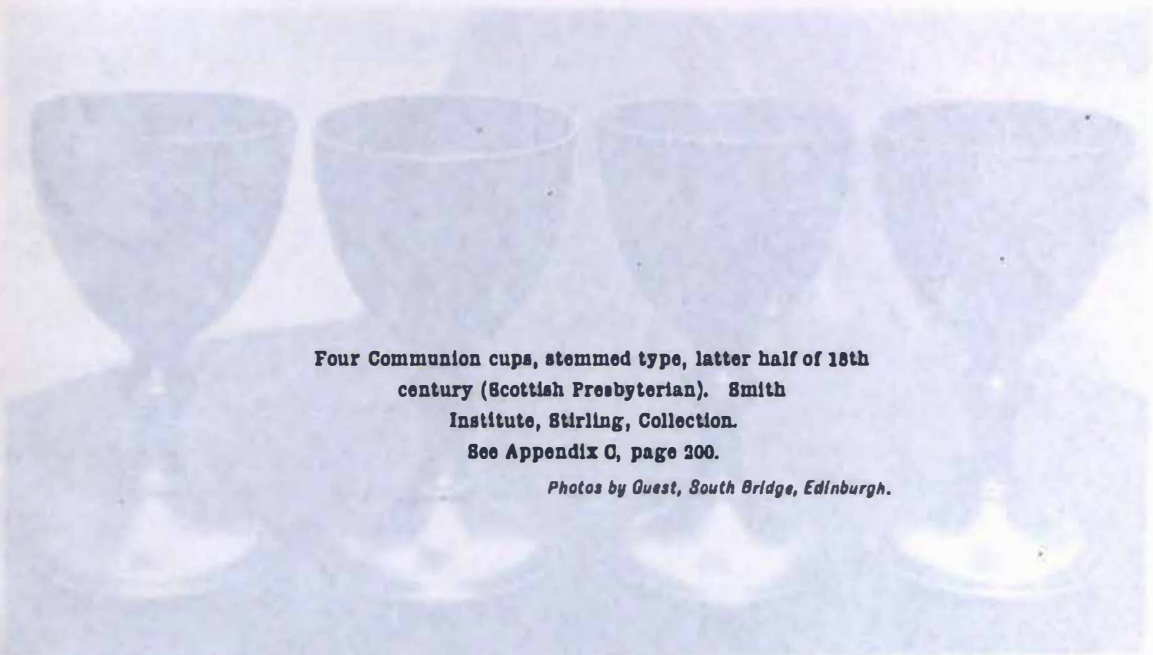
In the Presbyterian Church and its offshoots, it was often the custom to engrave the cups with the name of the minister, and the church to which they belonged, together with the date at which they were bought or presented, and sometimes a Latin or other motto was added.

Early Scottish pewter church flagons are of a very simple design, consisting of a body with slightly tapering sides, spreading out to form a base which is finished off with a few mouldings; about half way up there is usually another band of mouldings of a simple though always suitable type, whilst the top or lip of the vessel was finished off with other mouldings equally plain. The lid, if the vessel possessed one, and it did in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, was composed of a simple piece of pewter very slightly beaten up or "domed" (Plate XIII.), the hinge attachment being very simple, and the thumb-piece being in the shape of what is difficult to describe as anything except a double volute or two fern fronds, but a glance at Plates XII. and XIII. will clearly show the meaning. The lid was attached to the handle by means of a hinge, part of which was cast in the same piece as the handle, which latter was in some cases finished off at the lower part in a shape somewhat resembling a horse's hoof. The lower part of the handle in these early flagons was soldered on direct to the body of the vessel, but later on this part of the handle was fixed to the vessel by the addition of a small pipe-like piece of metal placed in between the handle and the vessel. As time went on the shapes of flagons of this type altered very little, for the craftsman still had the old moulds in his possession, and which being made of brass took a long time to wear out, and in the case of many of the vessels of this type it is almost impossible to tell those of an early date from those of late eighteenth century make. Many of the older flagons were without spouts, though this omission cannot be taken as an infallible proof that the vessel is of any age, as some of those made during the latter half of the eighteenth century are also without this feature, though of course the majority are not, but it greatly depended upon the whim of the pewterer. The addition of a little drop or ball just below the spout of a flagon seems to indicate that the vessel is either of late eighteenth or early nineteenth century make. The lids of the early flagons which were

PLATE XV.



Four communion cups, stemmed type, first half of 18th century, dated 1740. Formerly belonging to the Original Secession Church of Stirling. Smith Institute, Stirling, collection. See Appendix D, page 200.



Four Communion cups, stemmed type, latter half of 18th century (Scottish Presbyterian). Smith Institute, Stirling, Collection. See Appendix C, page 200.

Photos by Quest, South Bridge, Edinburgh.



without spouts, had a small projecting ear of pewter just where the spout ought to be, which feature is absent in flagons of a late date.

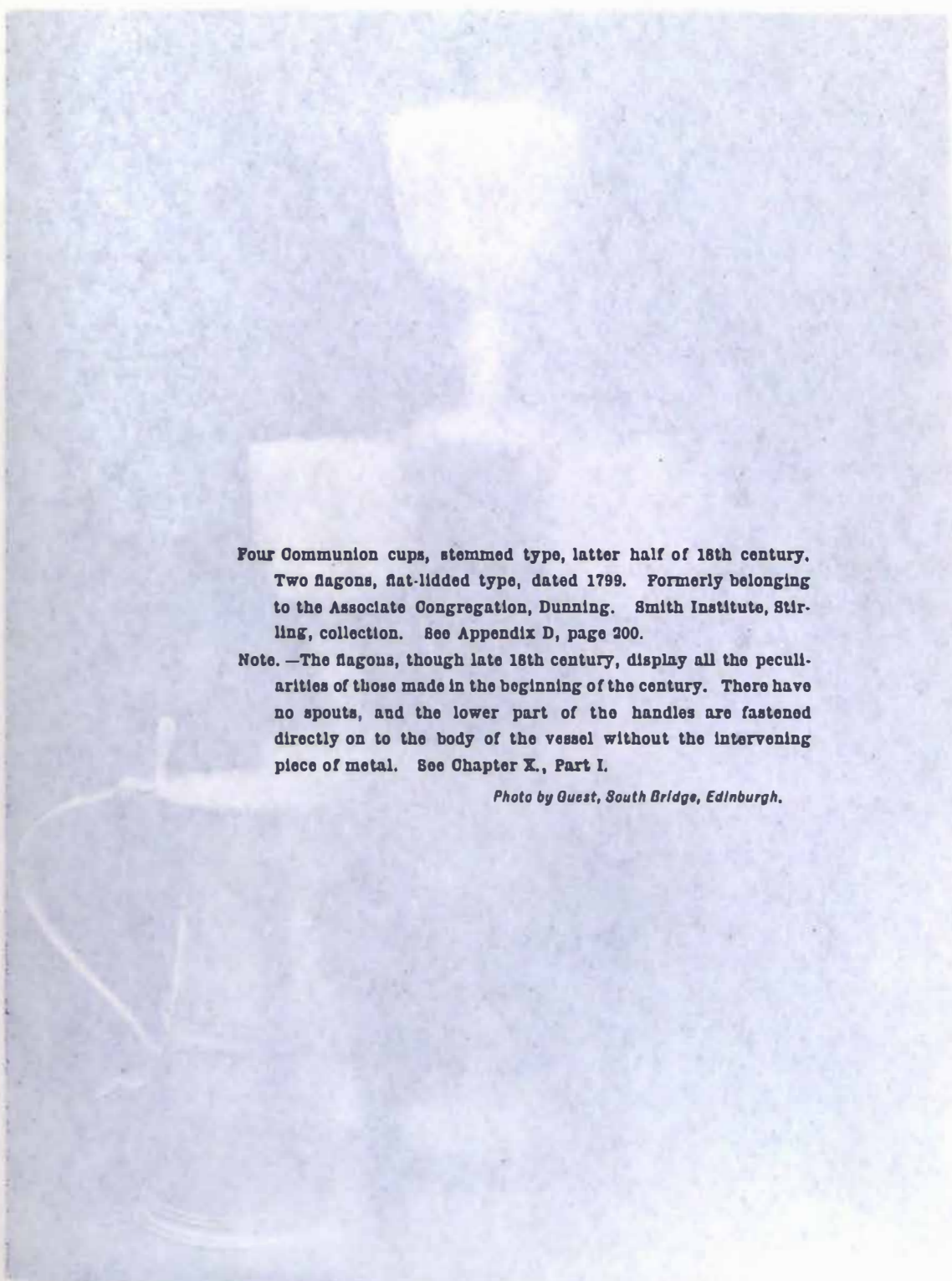
This flat-lidded type of flagon which has just been described seems to have been the kind most generally in use in the churches of both the Episcopalian and Presbyterian forms of worship—from the middle of the seventeenth century down to the early years of the nineteenth century. It does not however appear to have been an entirely Scottish form of vessel, as such flagons identical in shape, bearing London pewterers' marks, are occasionally to be met with. A pair of flagons of this sort made by a London craftsman are in use to-day at the parish church of Duddingston, a village near Edinburgh.

Much pewter of English and more especially of London manufacture seems to have been bought by both the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches of Scotland; why the Scottish clergy of the late seventeenth century and the eighteenth century went to the trouble of buying their pewter church-plate in London, when they could have got vessels of almost similar types, and certainly of quite as good metal and workmanship in the towns of their own country, it is difficult to see. It may possibly have been the desire for something new, coupled with a snobbish idea that by going to the capital of England they would be in the fashion, and in so doing they were but following in the footsteps of those above them.

Another type of flagon differing somewhat from the plain flagons with flat lids which have just been described, and which were for the most part made in London, and served as models for the Scottish pewterers of later times, are of a much more ornamented (but not more ornamental) design, than those of the earlier Scottish workmanship, and they seem to lose somewhat in dignity when compared with those of the plain-lidded type. This new English style of flagon appears to have first found its way North about the middle of the eighteenth century, and seems to have soon been copied, though not to any great extent, by the pewterers of Edinburgh and other towns (see Plates VIII. and X.). They were enriched with several bands of mouldings both at the base and the lip, as well as upon the body of the vessel; the lids, instead of being flat, were of a dome shape, made up of a series of mouldings, and the whole was finished off with a knob or crest, which in the late English ones was often somewhat *rococo* in character. The thumb-

piece was something of the style of an inverted comma when viewed from the side, the handle in the later ones being formed of a double curve in the shape of an "2," finishing off with another half "S," curve, which ended in a ball, or a hoof-shaped piece; the handles, however, in the earlier ones were made up of a single "2" curve, and the flagons themselves were generally plainer in appearance. The Scottish copies, or rather adaptations, of these English flagons were, on the whole, plainer and without the large number of mouldings upon the body and lid, whilst the crest was often of the type to be met with upon "tappit-hens." A very good idea of the difference between the Scottish and English type of flagons of the two periods will be got from a comparison of the two shown in Plate X., one of which is of English late eighteenth century, and the other of Scottish make of the older flat-lidded type. A very fine example of flagon made by a London maker at the end of the seventeenth century or beginning of the eighteenth, is Plate XI. This is of an earlier type than the English one which has just been referred to, but one that does not seem to have been copied by the Scottish Craftsmen, and a comparison of it with those of the latter half of the eighteenth century shows that the pewterers of both England and Scotland did not improve in breadth and taste of design as time went on. In compiling a set of rules for the identification of pieces, one is met with contradiction upon many points, and it is only by an observation of the general features of the majority of the vessels, that any general rules can be arrived at, but these more or less rough rules should help the reader to date a church flagon or cup within thirty or forty years of the actual date. One of the safest rules in dating a piece of pewter such as a flagon or a cup, is that the simpler and broader its design, and its freedom from "niggling" ornament in the shape of mouldings or crests, the older is the piece. The only ornament, in addition to mouldings, that the flagons of the Episcopalian Church bore, was, as on the cups, the addition of the sacred initials enclosed in a glory engraved upon the front of the body, whilst in the Presbyterian Church they generally bore the same inscription as did the cups.

During the time of the second establishment of Episcopacy, 1660 to 1688, as has been before pointed out, many of the pewter vessels in use in the Church were supplanted by those made of silver, and it seems to have been the custom for the donors of these silver vessels to receive the



Four Communion cups, stemmed type, latter half of 18th century.
Two flagons, flat-lidded type, dated 1799. Formerly belonging
to the Associate Congregation, Dunning. Smith Institute, Stir-
ling, collection. See Appendix D, page 200.

Note. —The flagons, though late 18th century, display all the peculi-
arities of those made in the beginning of the century. There have
no spouts, and the lower part of the handles are fastened
directly on to the body of the vessel without the intervening
piece of metal. See Chapter X., Part I.

Photo by Quest, South Bridge, Edinburgh.



old ones made of pewter in exchange, which, in the thrifty spirit of the age, they sometimes sold in their turn to some needy parish church. Thus in 1677, the Duchess of Lauderdale presented to the parish of Lauder a set of silver church vessels, receiving in exchange the old set which was made of pewter, and in the "Kirk Session's" records of Bolton, Haddington, there is an entry to the effect that in 1687 the minister of that place had purchased from the Duchess of Lauderdale two fine English pewter flagons, which appear to have been the identical vessels received by the Duchess from the parish of Lauder in 1677.

The flagons in use in both the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches in the seventeenth century and until the middle of the eighteenth century appear to have been of very large size; that shown upon Plate XI. is no less than thirteen and a half inches high to the top of the lip (outside measurement), and would hold about two gallons, whilst those belonging to St Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh (Plate XIII.), hold six bottles of wine apiece though they are of a smaller size than the one just referred to. As time went on these very large flagons were found inconvenient and many of the congregations either sold or exchanged them for those of a smaller size; this was the fate of the two English flagons belonging to Bolton Parish Church which were bought from the Duchess of Lauderdale in 1687.

Pewter patens in the Episcopal Church in Scotland were of various sizes, ranging in diameter from about three and a half to nine inches. There is no doubt that, in many cases in the early history of that Church, they were simply pewter plates of a small size, but where they were specially made they had very narrow moulded rims, and in some cases had the addition of small feet. Like the cups and flagons they bore the sacred initials in a glory engraved in the centre.

CHAPTER X (*continued*)

PART II

SCOTTISH CHURCH VESSELS BEFORE AND AFTER THE REFORMATION

AFTER the wine flagons and cups of the communion service, the two most important vessels in both the Episcopalian and Presbyterian forms of worship, were those known as the "laver" and basin which were used in the sacrament of baptism.

The laver which was generally made either of pewter or of silver, but more often of the former, was in the same shape as the wine flagons with spouts described in the first part of this chapter, and was intended either as a vehicle to carry water to fill the font or basin, or to be used by the clergyman to pour water over the child's face.

There seems some doubt as to which was the correct way of using the laver, and the Rev. Thomas Burns in his book "Old Scottish Communion Plate" is inclined to think that both ways were used in both the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches at first, though in later times the act of pouring the water on the child's face would be confined to the Episcopalians.

Knox in his liturgy enjoins the minister to take water and lay it on the child's face, but no mention is made of the laver at this date.

At the time of the Reformation the fonts in all the churches were cast out, the Reformers having a dislike to them, because of their supposed Papistical suggestion. Their place was taken by plain basins sometimes of silver but more generally of pewter; and the laver, as far as is possible to learn, was not in use in the Church at that time.

In all probability the laver was introduced into the Church of Scotland during the first establishment of Episcopacy in 1617. The act of Parliament of that date, (referred to in Part I. of this chapter), required all congregations to provide amongst other things a laver and basin for the Sacrament of Baptism. As there is no mention in any records of the Church of Scotland before that date of lavers being

required for that Church's service, it seems to have been an Episcopalian innovation, and one that was retained by both the succeeding Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, though they might differ in the methods of using it.

There seems little doubt that some of the lavers were made especially for the act of pouring water over the child's face and not for merely conveying the liquid to the basin, as a few examples have very small orifices to the spouts.

Such a vessel still belongs to the Parish Church at Kingsbarns, the orifice of its spout being only one eighth of an inch in diameter, and a laver belonging to Old St Paul's Church, Edinburgh, has a very much more contracted spout than a wine flagon of the same period.

With the exception however of the narrow spout and the fact of its being smaller, lavers do not differ in any way from wine flagons of the period in which they were made. All lavers are more or less of the same type, some have lids, others are without, and others again have closed-in spouts to regulate the flow of the water. The laver is frequently spoken of in old records, and the word itself is the Scots for a water jug; and as they appear to have been an article of every day use in Scotland from the sixteenth century down to the middle of the eighteenth century, it is unlikely that at first any special form of laver was made for church use.

What may be considered an exception to the ordinary type of this vessel is the pewter laver belonging to the Parish Church of Biggar (Plate XVII.); as will be seen from the illustration, it is more of the Roman amphora shape. Tradition says that this particular vessel belonged to the church before the Reformation and that it was used to contain the holy water. This may or may not be true, but there is no evidence one way or the other. It is possibly, however, of a little later date than the sixteenth century, for on comparing it with a French pewter jug of seventeenth century workmanship now in the Cluny Museum at Paris, one is at once struck with the strong resemblance. That in the Cluny Museum has a somewhat different handle which is perhaps the least graceful part of the Biggar vessel; but in other respects the Cluny jug is very similar, though of much more graceful lines than that at Biggar, which though showing a great deal of character in its design, is of a somewhat squat appearance, with high shoulders, whilst the other has the more general sloping "bottle" shoulders. There seems very little doubt that this laver at Biggar, though

not of French make, was most certainly made under French influence, possibly from some vessel brought over from France and used by the Scottish pewterer as his model. This laver appears to have had a lid at one time, as part of the hinge still remains upon the handle. The handle itself is the weak point of the whole vessel, and looks as if the craftsman had lacked inspiration, and contented himself with putting on a handle cast in one of his stock moulds.

Baptisms in the Church of Scotland in the old days were always regarded as great occasions, and as early as 1581 an act of parliament was passed, which limited the number of people who were allowed to be present at these functions. This act was passed to prevent the people spending too much over the feasts held on these occasions, and amongst other things it ordained, that only fruits with other edibles grown in Scotland were to be used at the feast, which, supposing the season of the year to be winter, would limit the giver of the feast as well as the guests to rather meagre fare!

After the Reformation, baptisms only took place in the churches upon fixed Sundays, intimation of which were given to the congregation by the minister from the pulpit upon some previous Sunday or in some other way. Thus in 1588 it was the custom in Glasgow to ring the church bell in a particular fashion when the Sunday for baptizing came round. But these fixed Sundays were found in time to be very inconvenient and a few years later it was changed to every Sunday.

Before a child could be baptized in the Reformed Church of Scotland the parents had to show a certain amount of religious knowledge, and had to appear before the minister and elders and answer what questions the former might chose to put to them; these questions not only bore upon their religion, but upon their social lives, and before their child could be baptized, the parents had to satisfy their Minister that they were leading good lives, went regularly to church, and that no such vices as "swearing and banning" were practised in their homes.

In 1599 those parents whose children had died without being baptized had to appear at the church the next Sunday and sit in the penitent's seat clothed in sackcloth.

The Ministers sometimes made great difficulties about baptizing children, but in 1616 an act was passed which threatened with deposition any Minister refusing to baptize a child.

Baptisms of a private nature were always a vexed question in the Church of Scotland, the usual way being for the minister to baptize the infant in church in view of the whole congregation ; the spot chosen was usually below and in front, or just at the side of the pulpit.

The desire for the publicity of baptisms had a great deal to do with the dislike of the Reformers against the fonts of the Roman Catholic Church, which were generally situated in a part of the building where it was impossible for every member to have a view of the ceremony, and it seems probable that the congregations of the first and second establishments of the Episcopal Church and even later shared this idea, for the water for the sacrament of baptism was contained either in a basin or laver, and not in a font, down to comparatively recent times.

Baptisms that did not take place in a church were looked upon with horror by the majority of Scotsmen of the seventeenth century, and this view was fostered by the clergy and ministers. But in 1621 an act of Parliament was passed which compelled the clergy to baptize in private houses where required and not only in the churches. Whether this was a very obnoxious act or not, it is difficult to say, but a few years later, in 1636, another act was passed which only gave the ministers power to baptize in private houses upon occasions when the child was too weak or ill to be brought to the church.

Water seems the usual fluid with which the ceremony of baptism was performed in Scotland after the Reformation as well as before, but Mr Burns notes that at the time of the Reformation such fluids as oil, wine, and even spittle, were used for this purpose. The same writer mentions that in 1241 at Trondhiem in Norway the use of ale was forbidden as a baptismal fluid. In the early Irish Church milk appears to have been the usual fluid with which to perform the ceremony.

The basin which was the companion piece to the laver, was, like that vessel, usually made of pewter or silver ; it was generally quite plain, and individual pieces of the same period differed very little from one another in shape. These vessels were of two or three different types belonging to the various periods at which they were made. The earliest type, which seems to have been the kind introduced at the same time as the laver in 1617 or possibly before, is one which is about nine or ten inches in diameter and about two and a half to three inches deep, with almost perpendicular sides, the rim being very narrow and finished off with a

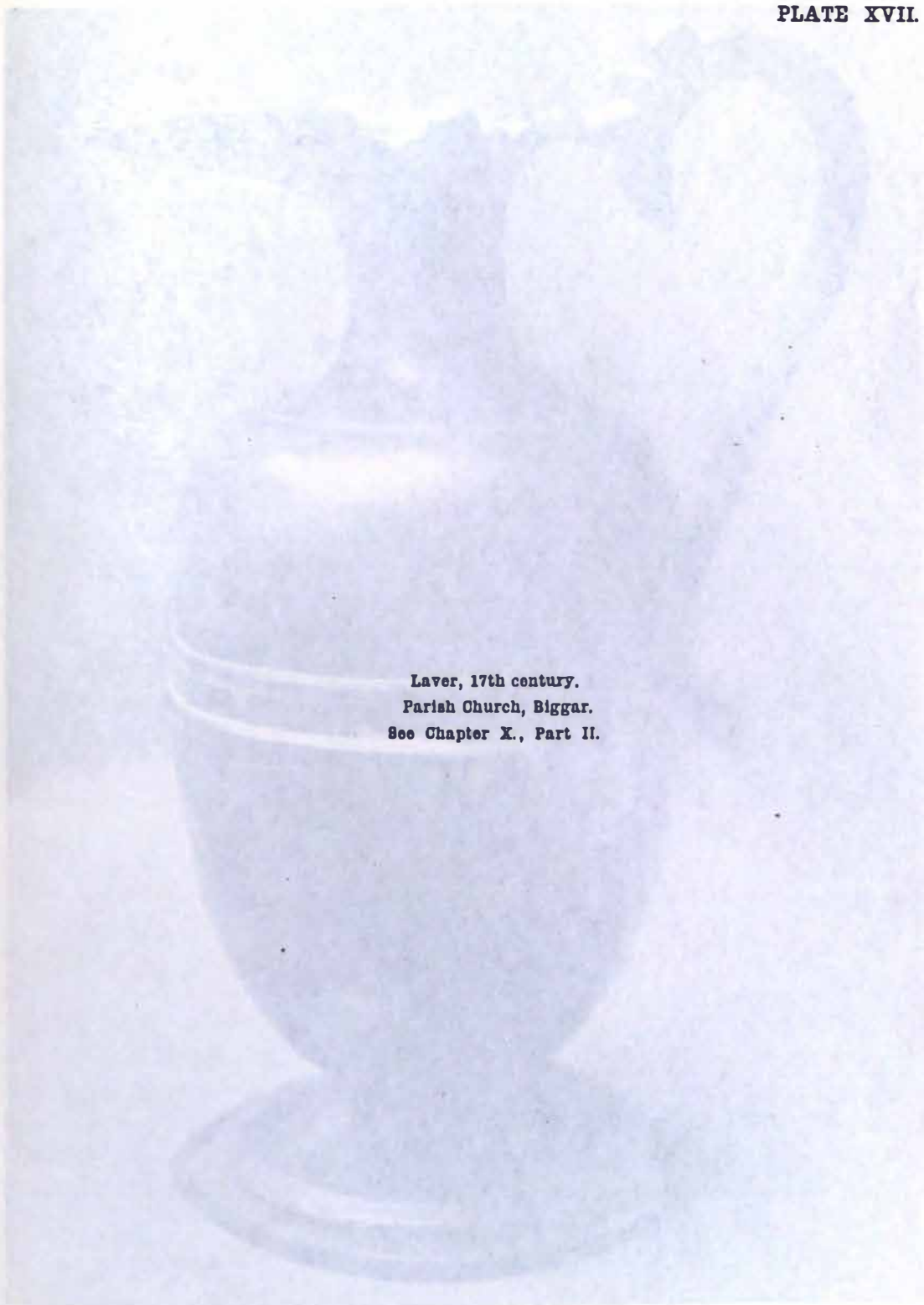
few plain mouldings. This type (Plate XXXV.) continued to be used with other kinds until nearly the end of the eighteenth century.

Another and later form of vessel was that which was more like the modern type of earthenware or china wash-hand basin, with sharply sloping-in sides, and finishing off in a sort of base or foot at the bottom. The rims or edges were perfectly plain, still more or less narrow, but drooped down and overhung the sides (Plate VII.). Many of those belonging to the Episcopal Church are ornamented in the same way as are the cups and flagons, with the sacred initials "I.H.S." in a glory engraved on the bottom. Two examples of this kind of vessels may be noted at the foot of Plate VII.

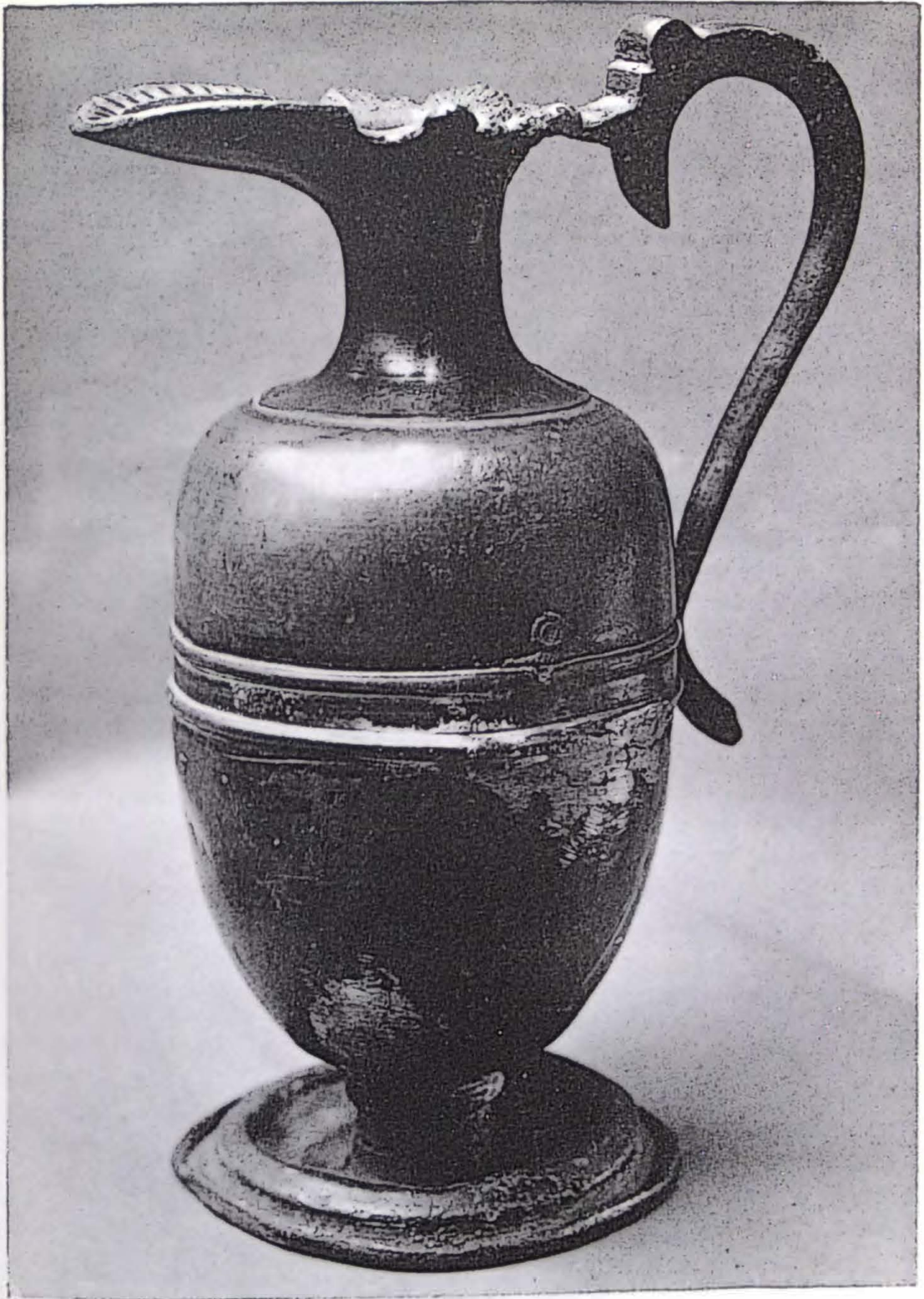
There is yet another type of basin which is not at all unlike that just described, but which differs from it in having no base or foot and a perfectly plain and rather broad rim, which, although it overhangs the side, yet does not droop down (Plate XVIII.). It is probable, that, like the cups and lavers, there was no particular form of basin made solely for the use of the Church at any period of its history, but that they were of exactly the same pattern as those of ordinary domestic use. In the Presbyterian and Episcopalian Churches, the basins were employed for collecting the tokens and sometimes the offerings of the Communicants upon the Sundays when the Sacrament was held as well as for baptismal purposes (see chapter on Tokens).

Other pewter utensils, which were put to several uses in both the Scottish Churches, were plates both large and small. The chief purpose for which they were employed was in the collection of the offertory. In the Presbyterian Church, the method was to have the plate placed upon a small table which stood just inside the porch of the church, and the members of the congregation coming in dropped their donations into it as they passed; every one was supposed to give some coin, and to pass the plate without at least putting in a halfpenny was considered little short of a crime. For the proper guarding of the plate a stalwart elder, or even two, were deputed to stand by and see that no unauthorized person dared to help themselves to its contents. This post was considered a dignified one, and was the ambition of many of the elders, who took it in turns to perform this duty. This method of collecting the offertory is still to be met with in many of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, but the practice is now mainly confined to those of the country districts,

PLATE XVII.



Laver, 17th century.
Parish Church, Biggar.
See Chapter X., Part II.



the collecting bag having elsewhere superseded this somewhat picturesque form.

In the Episcopalian Church the plate was sometimes used in the same manner as in the Presbyterian form of worship, but it was more usually placed inside the church and not in the porch: and the more usual method was to carry the plate round to each one of the congregation during some part of the service, as is done at the present day. The bowl or basin was also sometimes used for the same purpose.

These collection plates are generally of a large size, being seldom less than fourteen inches in diameter, and on an average about one and a half inches deep, absolutely plain, with the exception that, in many cases, they were engraved with the name of the church to which they belonged, and the date at which they were bought or given. Those in use in the Episcopalian Churches, for the collection from person to person, were a little smaller, as they could be more easily handled for passing around, and they do not appear to have been so deep. Like the Presbyterian Church plates they often bore the name of the church to which they belonged. A somewhat curious collection plate belongs to the Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity at Haddington (Plate V.). It is a large plate, seventeen inches in diameter, of the deep variety, and has the addition of a cup-shaped receptacle in the middle, which no doubt was meant to receive the more valuable coins of the offertory. As its weight would preclude its being carried round to each person in the congregation, it must have performed its function by being placed near the entrance of the church.

Another use to which the pewter plate was put in the Presbyterian Church was to contain the bread ready cut up in suitably sized pieces for the communion. Some of the plates used for this purpose were very large indeed, and one such is still used at the parish church of Duddingston near Edinburgh (Plate XIV.), measuring twenty inches in diameter, and is very massive in appearance, being made in very thick metal. Upon the rim of the plate appears a coat of arms, most probably those of the donor, and the outer edge is gadrooned.

Another use to which pewter plates were put in both the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches was to serve as a tray for the flagons and cups, but as such plates were generally of the flat type in use in all the houses of Scotland in the eighteenth century and before, it is unnecessary to describe them here.