The Seventeenth Century

John R Young

This is part of the series *Essays on the Local History and Archaeology of West Central Scotland*, commissioned for the Regional Framework for Local History and Archaeology, a partnership project led by Glasgow Museums, with representatives from the councils of East Dunbartonshire, West Dunbartonshire, Glasgow, Inverclyde, North Lanarkshire, South Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and East Renfrewshire.

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ISBN 978-1-908638-15-1

These three maps are from a series drawn by Timothy Pont, probably just before the beginning of the seventeenth century.

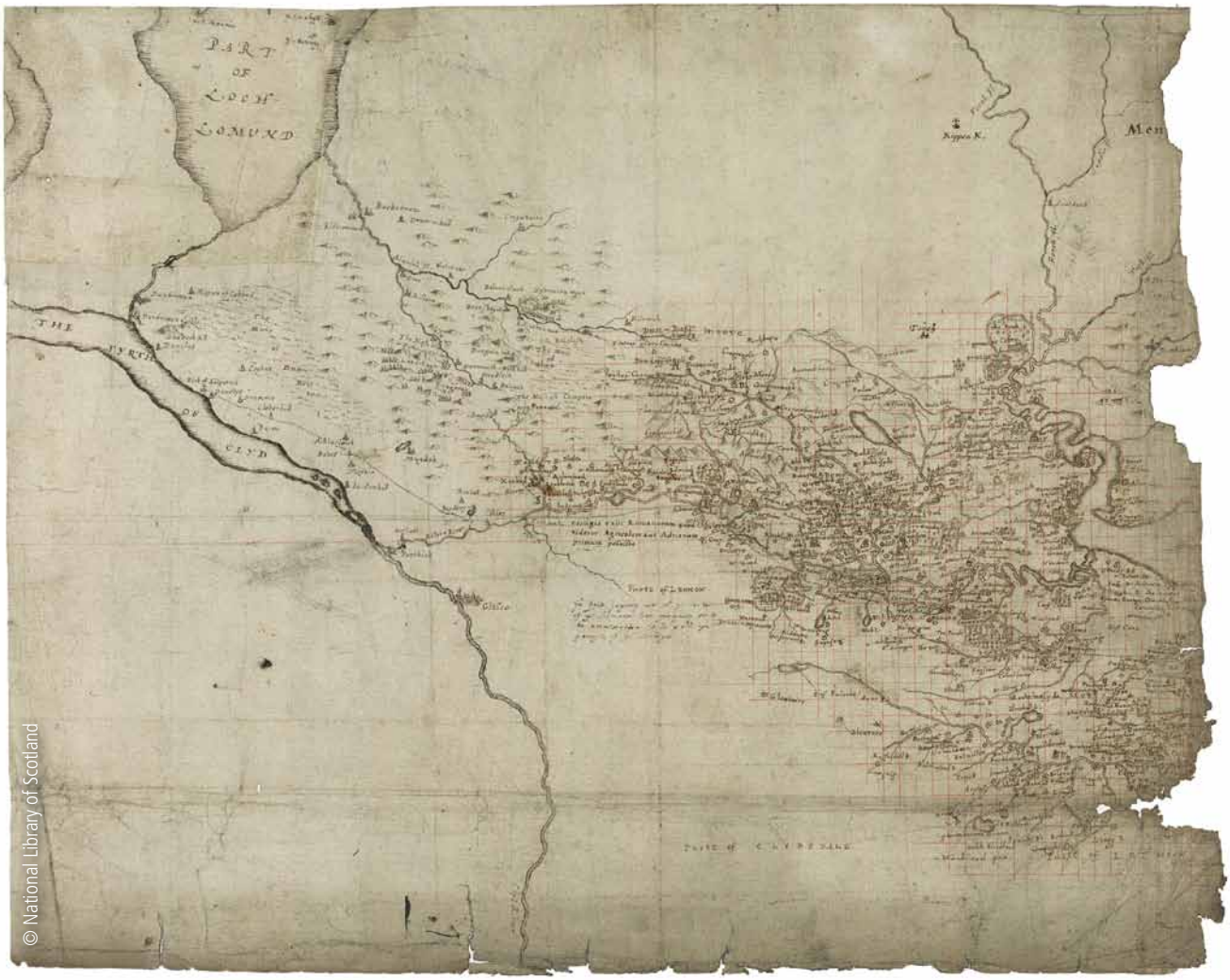


Figure 1. Pont map 32, showing the area to the north of Glasgow from the Clyde Estuary to Stirling and the Forth of Firth.

Figure 2. Pont map 33, mostly showing the area to the south and west of Glasgow, but also including Dumbarton.

Figre 3. Pont map 34, of the Clyde Valley, dated 1596. The map covers the area from the Southern Uplands to Kirkintilloch to the north of Glasgow.

Introduction and History of Research

This chapter covers the period from the Union of the Crowns of 1603, when James VI of Scotland secured the accession to the English throne and thereby created the Anglo-Scottish dynastic union, to the outset of the eighteenth century, when that dynastic union was undoubtedly in a state of crisis, which would ultimately result in the 1707 Act of Union with England. It would be fair to say that these years have often been neglected compared with other times in the history of the west of Scotland. The most important modern works have focused on Glasgow: *Glasgow, Volume I: Beginnings to 1830* (Manchester University Press, 1995), a collection of essays edited by TM Devine and G Jackson, is the leading authoritative work for the period. There is a lack of similar works for other parts of the west of Scotland during this era. Many older works from the nineteenth century contain excellent local information about different parts of Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire. These have often been neglected by academic historians, but have been quite rightly devoured by local enthusiasts committed to the history of their own areas and communities.

Topography and Landscape

Two sources are available which give excellent and important visual information relating to the west of Scotland during these years. Timothy Pont (*c.* 1564–1614) is regarded as having produced the first detailed maps of Scotland. Pont's father was an important Church of Scotland minister, lawyer and naturalist. Pont followed his father's footsteps into the Church, but his mapping of Scotland was probably undertaken first. Pont maps were the basis for the first atlas of Scotland, which was produced by the famous Amsterdam map maker Joan Blaeu (*c.* 1599–1673). Some years after Pont's death in the early seventeenth century, his maps were sent to Blaeu in Amsterdam and they were later published as the fifth volume of Blaeu's *Atlas Novus*, in 1654. Cartography experts have argued that with the appearance of this atlas, Scotland became one of the best-mapped countries in the world. Pont maps 32, 33 and 34 outline the different areas of Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire, with important landmarks identified (figs 1, 2 and 3). The maps probably relate to the late sixteenth century: Pont map 34, of Clydesdale, is dated 1596 and is the only surviving Pont map that carries a date.

Figure 4. Glasgow from the north-east, engraved by John Slezer in the 17th century.

Figure 5. Slezer's view of Dumbarton Rock and Castle from Kilpatrick.

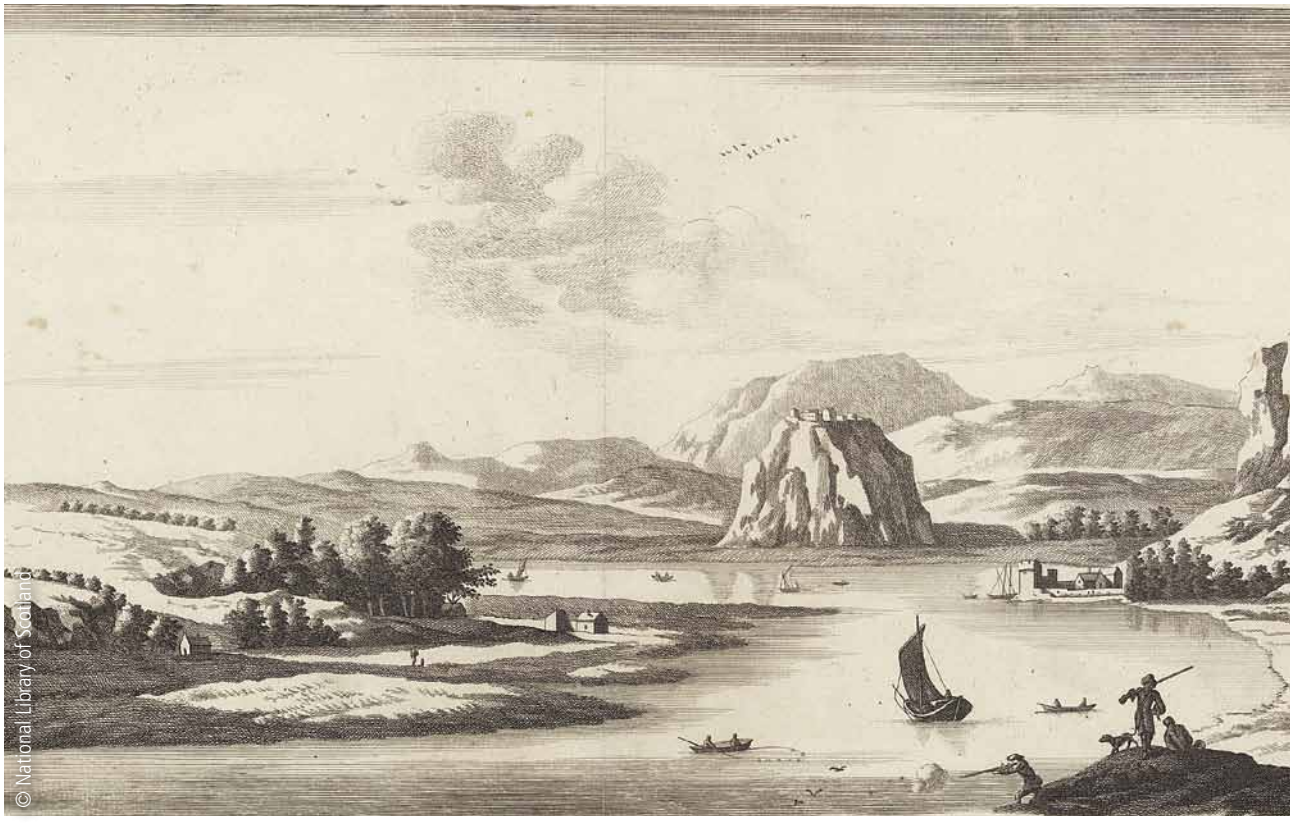


Figure 6. Slezer's view of Dumbarton Rock and Castle from the west.

Visual images of important locations in the west of Scotland are provided in John Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae* of 1693, a volume containing 57 engraved plates with written inscriptions. Slezer was a German engineer who had lived in Scotland from the 1670s. In 1671 he was appointed Chief Engineer for Scotland. He was also the Surveyor of the Royal Stores and Magazines and by the early 1690s he was the Captain of Queen Mary's Artillery Train in Scotland (King William and Queen Mary had been the monarchs of Scotland since 1689). As part of his duties he toured around the country and created his *Theatrum Scotiae*. The engravings are invaluable for giving us a visual insight into what Scotland looked like in the late seventeenth century.

Three images of Glasgow are presented: two 'prospects' from the north-east and the south respectively (figs 4 and 11), and an engraving of the University of Glasgow's 'Old College' on the High Street (fig. 8). The north-eastern perspective appears to be from high ground to the east of Glasgow Cathedral, which dominates this image. The Bishop's Castle is visible near to the cathedral and the spires of the Tron, the Tolbooth and Blackfriars can be seen in the distance. The view from the south also shows these locations from a distance, as well as the old eight-arched bridge over the Clyde. Glasgow Cathedral was the meeting place for the historic 1638 General Assembly, which abolished Episcopacy and established a Presbyterian Church under the Covenanters.

Other important engravings from the *Theatrum Scotiae* relating to the west of Scotland include ones of Hamilton (fig. 10), Paisley (fig. 14) and Bothwell Castle. Slezer also provided plates of Dumbarton Rock and Castle garrison. These views are from Kilpatrick (now called Old Kilpatrick) (fig.5), from the west (Dumbarton town side) (fig. 6) and the from the east. Dumbarton Rock and Castle was a key strategic location for regional and national defence (fig. 7). During the period of the Covenanting Revolution, 1637–51, control of Dumbarton Castle changed hands between Covenanters and Royalists, and in the later seventeenth century it was also used as a prison for religious dissenters and political prisoners, including William Carstares and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth. In 1690 the Scottish Parliament ordered that the guns at Dumbarton Castle, along with those at the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, be fired in celebration of the military victory of King William over the forfeited James VII at the Battle of the Boyne in Ireland.

Figure 7. A detail from Pont map 32, showing Dumbarton Rock's position on the north bank of the Clyde Estuary.

Development

Important building and architectural developments took place in Glasgow in the seventeenth century, a sure sign of growing prosperity. Elegant town houses, for example, were built in the Saltmarket, Bridgegate and Trongate areas. New public buildings included the rebuilt Tolbooth or Town House (1626), Hutcheson's Hospital (1641), the Merchants' Hall (1659) and the Hall of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons (1697). In 1656 the new buildings of the University of Glasgow were opened (fig. 8). These have often been regarded as the jewel in the crown of seventeenth-century architecture in Glasgow.

The fires of 1652 and 1677 in Glasgow had an impact on building development. The 1652 fire resulted in the loss of a third of the city; 80 closes were destroyed and 1000 families were left homeless. The 1677 fire resulted in the destruction of a further 130 houses. The fires took away much of the lumber of medieval Glasgow and they presented an opportunity for a new building programme for the city. Post-fire tenement construction, overseen by Glasgow Burgh Council, was built to a uniform pattern. The burgh records of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries indicate that there were council grants to help rebuild derelict property by building in stone, or to replace thatched roofs with ones made from slate or tiles.

This building programme provided the basis for the positive comments about the newly rebuilt city by eighteenth-century observers. Seventeenth-century visitors also remarked favourably on Glasgow's beauty and impressive street layout. For John Slezer, Glasgow was 'the most famous Emporory of all the west of Scotland' and 'the Chief of all the Cities in the Kingdom next to Edinburgh'. The 1636 *Travels* of the Englishman Sir William Brereton noted that Glasgow was 'famous for the church, which is fairest and stateliest in Scotland, for the Toll-boothe and Bridge'. An important contemporary economic source for Scotland is the 1655 report by Thomas Tucker, the Cromwellian Registrar to the Commissioners of Customs and Excise. Tucker wrote of Glasgow: 'a very neate burgh town … seated in a pleasant and fruitfull soyle, and consisting of foure streets, handsomely built in forme of a crosse, is one of the most considerablest burghs of Scotland, as well as for the structure as trade of it'. Glasgow's inhabitants were described as students, traders and dealers. John Ray, known as 'Ray the Naturalist' and one of the most well travelled Englishmen of his generation, undertook a journey to Scotland as part of a wider British tour in 1661–2. He wrote that Glasgow was 'the second city in Scotland, fair, large, and well built-cross-wise, somewhat like

Figure 8. John Slezer's 1693 engraving of the University of Glasgow's New College, built in the 17th century on the same site as the earlier medieval college.

Figure 9. A detail from Pont map 34, showing Hamilton Palace.

Figure 10. Slezer's view of Hamilton town, with a hunting scene in the foreground.

unto Oxford, the streets very broad and pleasant'. Ray passed through Hamilton and described it as a 'handsome little-market-town, where is a great house of Duke Hamilton's. The country all thereabout is very pleasant, and in all respects for woods, pastures, corn, &c., the best we saw in Scotland' (figs 9 and 10).

Similar observations were made seven years later, in 1669, by James Brome, a clergyman of the Church of England. Brown wrote that Glasgow was 'very eminent for its trade and merchandise' and that at Hamilton there was 'a famous palace then belonging to Duke Hamilton, which hath a fair and spacious park adjoining to it'. Thomas Morer's *A Short Account of Scotland* (1689) includes a detailed description of Glasgow. He wrote that Glasgow was 'a place of great extent and good situation; and has the reputation of the finest town in Scotland, not excepting Edinburgh, tho' the royal city'. Morer further wrote that the River Clyde conduced 'much to the riches of the inhabitants, and makes it the most considerable town of that nation' and that over the Clyde there was 'a very fine bridge, with a great number of arches'. In terms of communications, the Glasgow–Edinburgh road was one of the most important in the country and in 1678 stagecoach services were introduced between the two cities, although an effective service network was not in operation in the Lowlands until the eighteenth century.

Figure 11. A detail of Slezer's engraving of Glasgow from the south.

Economy

Throughout the medieval period economic power in Scotland had been concentrated on the east coast of the country. By 1700, however, the west coast of Scotland had become relatively more significant and Glasgow had become the second most important urban centre in Scotland after Edinburgh. In regional terms, Glasgow's economic standing increased at the expense of other western burghs, such as Ayr, Dumbarton, Irvine, Renfrew and Rutherglen (fig. 12). Economic historians have regarded the seventeenth century as a decisive phase for the expansion and development of Glasgow, and it is clear that by the middle of the century the city had become a pivotal regional centre. The population of Glasgow in 1600 consisted of roughly 7000 people; by 1640 it had increased to about 12,000. The 1640 level was still only a third of that of Edinburgh (with a population of 36,000), but it was around the same as that of Aberdeen and Dundee.

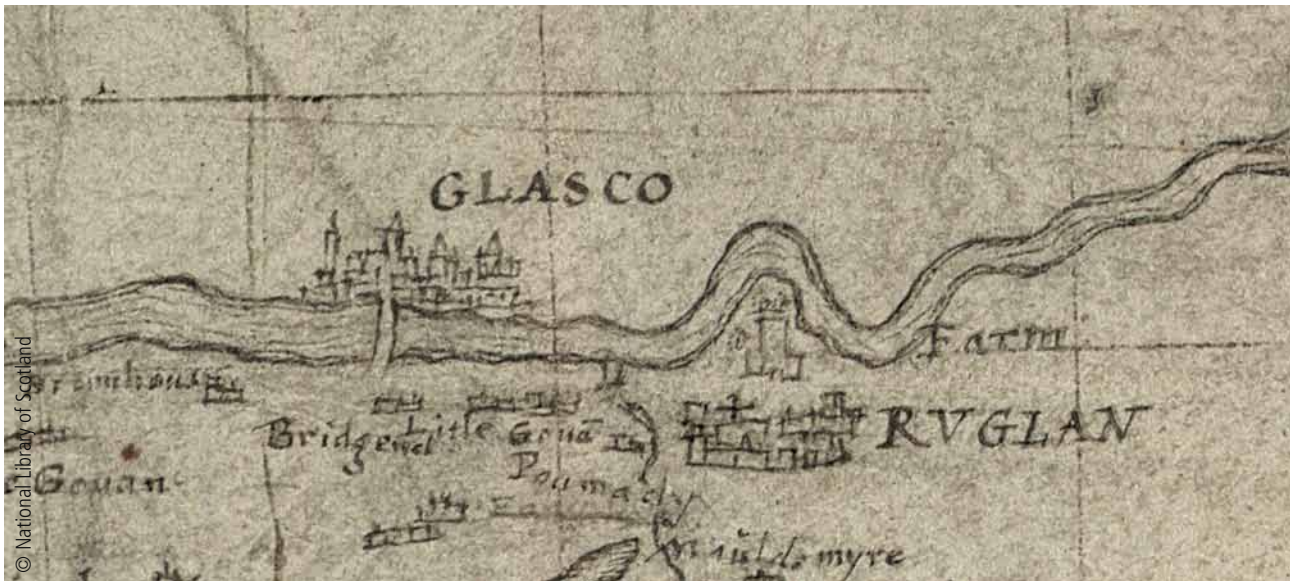
Taxation figures for 1649 indicate that Glasgow had emerged as one of the leading four major burghs in the country – along with Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee – having displaced Perth. Unlike important eastern burghs such as Aberdeen and Dundee, Glasgow was not particularly affected by the Covenanting wars of the 1640s, albeit it was occupied by a Royalist force in 1645 and hit by the plague in 1646–7. According to Tucker's report of 1655, Glasgow's location in 'a plentifull land and the mercantile genius of her people' were 'strong signes of her increase and groweth'. The rate of Glasgow's expansion continued in the post-Restoration years. Tax assessment figures for the burghs in 1670 indicate that Glasgow had surpassed Aberdeen and Dundee. At the start of the eighteenth century Glasgow's population was around 15,000 people.

New important manufactories were also developed in Glasgow, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century. Approximately 18 manufactories are estimated to have been established in Glasgow in the period 1660–1700, although not all of these were successful. As early as 1635 an old manse was purchased for the production of wool, and in 1682 a silk-dye works was established. The new manufactories were significant business ventures. They occupied sizable buildings, required expensive equipment and had a capital-intensive nature. The first large-scale business of this kind was the soap makers that opened at Candleriggs in 1673–4. Sugar houses were opened in 1667, 1669 and 1700, and by 1679 they were distilling rum. In addition to the establishment of a rope works in 1696 and a glassworks in 1700, several tanneries and small hardware and earthenware businesses were opened. The Broomielaw was Glasgow's main harbour in the period 1600–1700.

Economic and demographic studies have shown that not only were the fastest growing European cities in the period 1660–1750 ports, but they were also located on the Atlantic coast. Glasgow conforms to this European model, although it was not until the eighteenth century that Glasgow's geographic location became increasingly important. Historians have noted, however, that Glasgow exhibited stronger potential for domestic commercial growth than other parts of the country. This has been attributed to Glasgow's ability, due to its strong manufacturing base, to meet the increased demand for consumer goods in the rural lowlands. Other explanatory factors include the increased importance of the trading areas of Argyllshire and the Inner Hebrides, due to the expansion of the trade in Highland cattle and increase in landowners exporting produce from their lands in order to improve the revenue from their estates.

Migration from the Highlands to the Lowlands was also important demographically. By 1700, for example,

Figure 12. A detail from Pont map 33, showing Glasgow and Rutherglen.



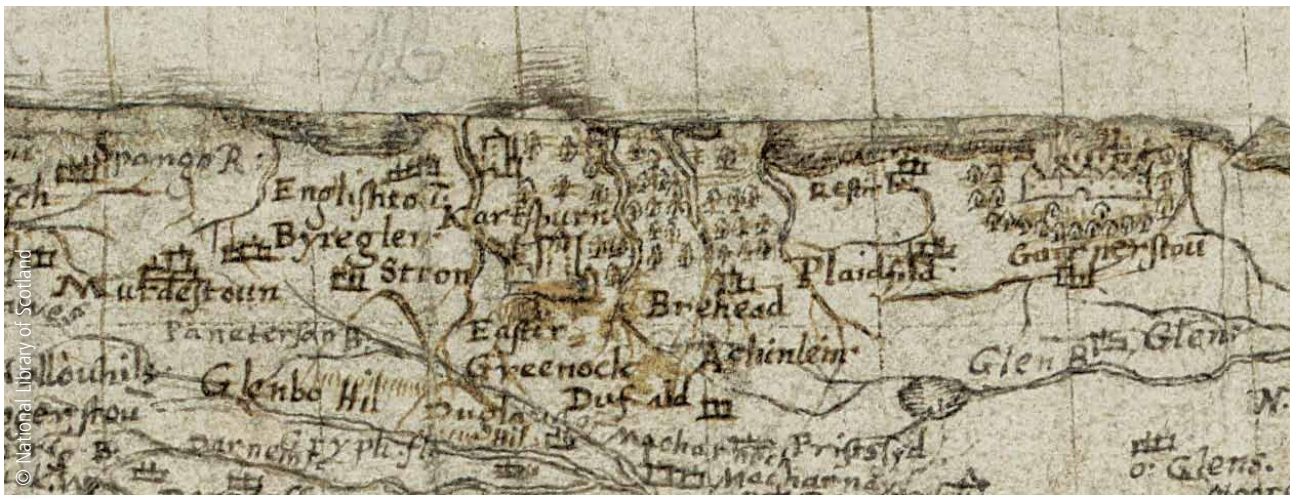


Figure 13. A detail from Pont map 33, showing the port of Greenock.

about six per cent of the population of Greenock originated from the Highlands. Migration from rural areas and nearby small burghs provided new blood for the Glasgow workforce. Only 70 out of 188 (37 per cent) of apprentices at the Trades House between 1625 and 1660 came from Glasgow. The rest came mainly from within a 25-mile radius of Glasgow; in addition some came from other parts of Scotland and from England and Ireland. Cattle droving from the Highlands to Lowland markets was important. Cattle raiding and thieving remained a problem: an important example of this being cattle raiding activities by the MacGregors in the Loch Lomond area.

As the seventeenth century progressed, the north of Ireland became of greater importance to west-coast commercial activity. Substantial Scottish migration to Ulster opened up new markets for trade in clothing, coal and metals, which Glasgow was able to supply. Close links also developed between the Belfast and Glasgow merchant communities. Thomas Knox, for example, was the son of a Glasgow merchant. By the mid 1660s he was active as a merchant and shipowner in Belfast. He was a burgess of Belfast by 1680 and a burgess of Glasgow by 1686. He later served as the MP for Newton and then Dungannon in the Irish Parliament in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Trade with England was also an important factor for Glasgow's growth. By the 1620s trade to England in linen and yarn was well established: it resulted in a healthy balance of payments as well as changing the occupational structure of Glasgow's workforce, with an increase in the number of weavers and linen merchants, especially between 1610 and 1660.

Trade routes still existed with Europe, but they were less important to Glasgow than its trade with Ireland, Argyllshire and the Hebrides. In this sense, European trade markets were limited. Exports to France included herring, fish oil, cloth and plaids, while foreign imports were mainly those of French salt. Clyde herring was exported to northern Europe and sold for up to 40 per cent more than herring from the east coast. French wine imports were an important part of Glasgow's trade. Tucker's 1655 report noted the Clyde trade with Ireland, the Highlands, France and Norway. In 1686–88 Glasgow imported 17 per cent of the wine purchased in Scotland. War with France in the second half of the seventeenth century, for example in the Nine Years War (1688–97), impacted on the French trade. The Norwegian timber trade was also important. Twelve ships from Glasgow entered the Baltic between 1620 and 1659, probably for grain, and returned home via Norway with timber. Tucker noted in 1655 that the Glasgow trade extended as far as the English colony of Barbados. Glasgow merchants had been involved in the tobacco trade with the American colonies since the 1630s. One Glasgow merchant, Andrew Martin, died in June 1640 leaving tobacco to the value of £1326 Scots.

It was during the second half of the seventeenth century, however, that trade with the Americas became increasingly important, and it would further accelerate after 1707. The English Navigation Acts that excluded the Scots from trade with the English colonies and regarded them as foreigners were difficult to enforce and illegal trading and smuggling was one of the strengths of Glasgow merchants. One expatriate Scot in his Jamaican plantation encouraged trade with Glasgow merchants in 1669, and trade began with the *Glasgow Merchant* in 1672. The estate of Newark on the south bank of the Clyde Estuary was purchased by Glasgow Town Council in 1668. It was called 'Newport Glasgow' (now known as Port Glasgow). As early as 1655, Thomas Tucker had observed that Glasgow's impressive growth was being hindered by the shallowness of the Clyde, 'soe that noe vessels of any burden can come nearer up then within fourteene miles'. In 1655 Newark was described by Tucker as 'a small place where there are (besides the laird's house of the place) some foure or five houses, but before them a pretty good roade, where all vessells doe ride, unlade, and send theyr goods up the river to Glasgowe in small boates; and at this place there is a wayter [waiter] constantly

attending'. Greenock (fig. 13) was similarly identified by Tucker – only 'the inhabitants are more' – and he noted that its seamen and fishermen traded with Ireland and the Western Isles. There was a pier at Greenock 'where vessels in stresse of weather may ride, and shelter themselves before they passe up to Newarke'. On the other side of the Clyde, however, Dumbarton was described as 'a small and very poore burgh'.

The new harbour at what would become Port Glasgow was established with a customs house and warehouse. The port was designed to accommodate larger ships and vessels and it was intended primarily to deal with trade to the Americas. Ships from Madeira and the Canaries sailed to the Clyde on a regular basis by the 1690s. American imports, consisting mainly of sugar from the West Indies or tobacco from Virginia and Maryland, came exclusively to the west coast. Most of these came to Glasgow and there were six or seven cargoes a year by the 1680s. By 1684 the Glasgow merchant Walter Gibson, who regularly sailed to Virginia and Maryland, was advertising for settlers for the plantations. The west of Scotland also had links to the Company of Scotland's Darien Scheme – the ill-fated attempt to establish a Scottish colony and trading centre on the Isthmus of Panama. In August 1699 four ships set sail from the Clyde, with about 1300 people on board, in the second expedition for Darien. Glasgow Burgh Council subscribed £3450 sterling (£41,400 Scots) to the scheme, which was later to fail. 'The Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow' later sent an address to the Scottish Parliament in January 1701, protesting against the treatment of the Company of Scotland and its settlement at Darien. The Glasgow address was composed without the support of Glasgow Town Council, but it included 474 signatures. This represented the largest number of signatures for any of the 18 addresses organized by the opposition Country Party, which were presented to Parliament from different parts of the country.

People and Society

Demography, death and disease

Diseases, including the plague, and famine had a major impact on people's lives and on human survival in the Scottish past. There were three national mortality crises in the seventeenth century that were regarded as severe. These were in 1623 and in the 1640s and the 1690s. In addition to these crises, severe famine impacted on particular regions at other times. This was the case in parts of the west of Scotland in 1634–5. Bubonic plague hit Glasgow and other burghs in the country in 1605 and 1606, but the last major outbreak of bubonic plague in Scotland took place between 1644 and 1649. This hit many towns and rural areas in Scotland. Paisley, Dumbarton, Lanark and Glasgow, for example, were hit by the plague between 1645 and 1647, and there may also have been outbreaks of 'war typhus' in Glasgow and Dumbarton in 1647 and 1648. The outbreak was particularly severe in Paisley, where the sick were removed to the town moor. Trade with

Figure 14. John Slezer's engraving of Paisley.

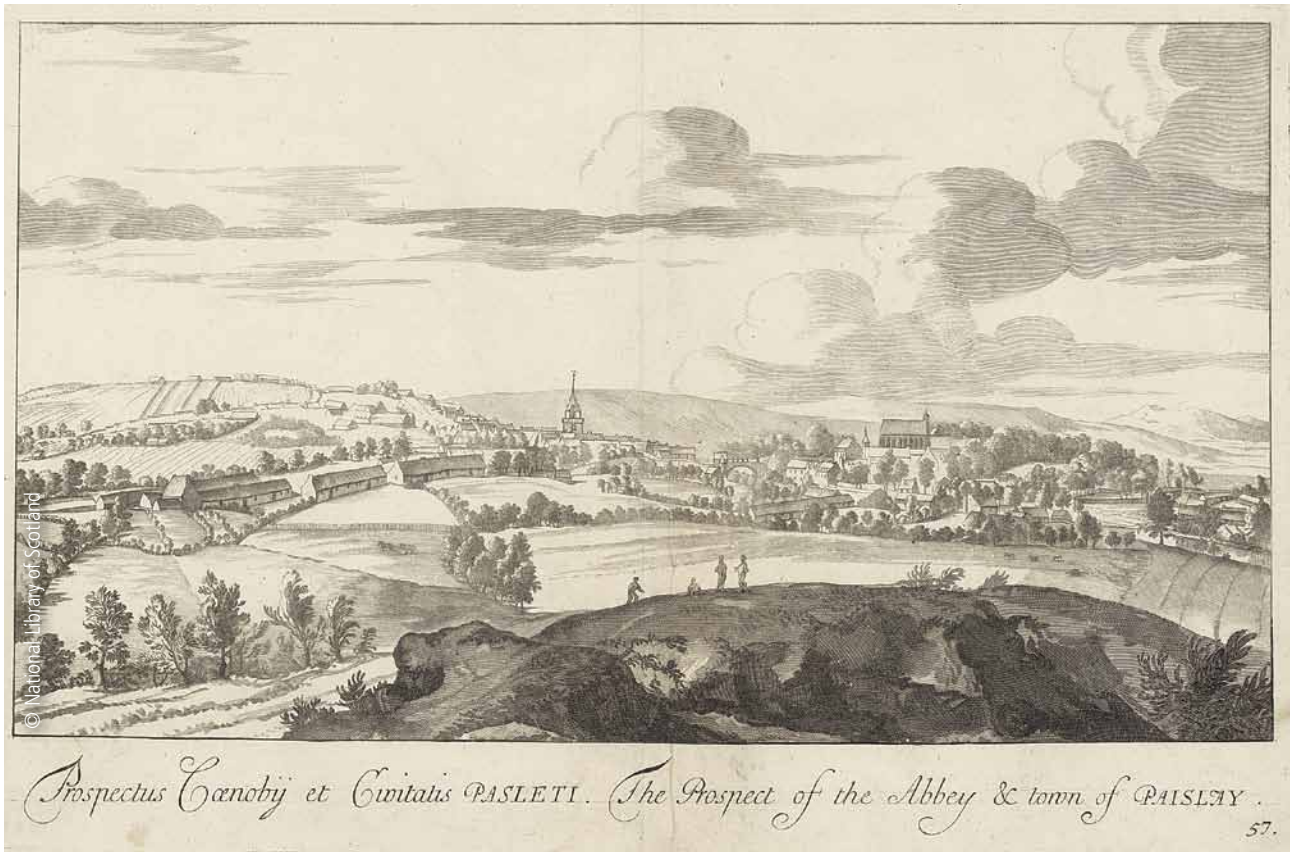


Figure 15. A detail from Pont map 33, showing Paisley in relation to its neighbour Renfrew.

neighbouring Renfrew was restricted to a defined point in the road between the two communities (fig. 15). Furthermore, all money passing between Paisley and Renfrew traders was put in a brass ladle and boiled in a pot before the Renfrew traders would physically touch it. Paisley received aid from Glasgow and on 6 December 1645 Glasgow Town Council donated 20 bolls (nearly 3000 litres) of meal to the poor of Paisley to alleviate their condition. Old Kilpatrick in Dunbartonshire was hit by 'the plague of pestilence' in the winter of 1647–8.

Neighbouring areas were obviously concerned by this. The parish of Kilmaronock in Dunbartonshire was one of these. On 30 January 1648, for example, the local population was warned that 'they sould watche over themselves diligentlie and be earnest with the Lord that he would protect them' from the plague in Kilpatrick and that they should beware of receiving strangers and Highland beggars. Poor weather conditions in the late 1640s may have been a contributory factor to near-famine conditions due to high grain prices. In 1649–50 Glasgow's council was concerned with the welfare of the vagabond poor, especially Highland boys who were looking for help. Highland migrants were also causing concern in Lanark in the same period. In May 1664 Dumbarton Burgh Council passed an act related to lepers, whereby local people were forbidden to eat, drink or have anything to do with the 'foull people' who were lepers and who resided in the burgh, with the exception of actions for charitable purposes.

There were outbreaks of smallpox in Glasgow in 1671 and 1672. This impacted on mortality rates and in the 1670s there was also a rise in mortality due to dearth and food shortages. In Hamilton there was a large rise in burials in the early 1670s. Child mortality rates were high in Hamilton and Dumbarton in 1680, part of a wider trend of increased mortality due to hot dry summers and dearth. Dumbarton experienced a further increase in child mortality in 1687, due to a combination of bad weather and another smallpox outbreak. Increases in grain and corn prices in the 1670s had also caused problems. The western lowlands were particularly badly hit, especially the south-west, from 1674 to 1676. In 1674 the Privy Council banned the import of foreign grain, but in June 1675 merchants were given permission to import grain for a three-month period in order to relieve dearth and scarcity in south-west Scotland, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, Dunbartonshire, Argyll and Bute, and also in Perth. Several months later in September 1675 boats were allowed in Glasgow with white peas 'for the supply of the starving poor of the West Country' and in December there were further imports of oatmeal and peas into the south-west, Ayrshire and Renfrewshire.

An analysis of the diet of orphans from Hutcheson's Hospital in Glasgow in 1649 indicates that 82 per cent of nutrition came from oat bread, five per cent from meat and eight per cent from fish. Glasgow was the most important single market for grain on the west coast of Scotland. For the bulk of its needs it drew on the lower Clyde Valley and the coasts of the Clyde Estuary, especially central and north Ayrshire. By the late seventeenth century, however, the capacity and ability of these areas to supply Glasgow had been outstripped by demand, due to Glasgow's population growth and industrial development. The expansion of the brewing industry, for example, led to an increase in beer consumption. In response to this, grain was imported from Ireland and there was an increase in smuggling. Glasgow merchants also focused their attention on the east coast grain markets. Caithness grain was important and accounts from the Panmure and Kellie estates in Angus indicate that large amounts of grain were being purchased by Glasgow merchants from 1689 onwards.

The horrendous famine of the 1690s was a national one that also impacted on west of Scotland communities. The famine of the 1690s is regarded as the last time that large numbers of people in the Lowlands starved to death. Reports from the Hamilton estates in Lanarkshire in April 1697 stated that 'This Counytrey is almost wholly broke…many of ye [the] tenants not able to sou ye [the] ground, there never was so great a calamity on this Countrey as nou'. Daily fatalities were being reported in Clydesdale by June 1699. Deaths were noted 'every day by the dyke sides and on ye [the] highway for mere want'. High wheat prices in Glasgow resulted in the smuggling of grain from Ireland and riots took place in Glasgow in 1697 in an attempt to force merchants at the meal market to lower the price of their stock.

Ideology, cults, religion, ritual and politics

Scotland was one of the countries in Europe where a lot of witch-hunting took place. There were five national large-scale hunts in Scotland between 1590 and 1662. Most of these were concentrated on the east coast and the Borders, but there were also cases in the west. There were smaller-scale regional hunts too, notably in Renfrewshire in 1697. In terms of the west of Scotland for this period, the main ones occurred in parts of modern-day Renfrewshire and Inverclyde. Parliamentary members for west of Scotland constituencies were often involved in witch-hunting during the period of the Covenanters in the 1640s. These included George Porterfield, the commissioner for Glasgow Burgh, who was a member of the witchcraft committee of the Scottish Parliament in 1650 that dealt with witch-hunting policy on a national basis. Despite the fact that witch-hunting declined in Scotland during the Cromwellian occupation (1651–1666), one John McWilliam, a slater, was convicted of witchcraft in Dumbarton in February 1656. He was subsequently executed by strangulation and burning. Witchcraft cases in the 1660s and 1670s are recorded for Greenock, Inverkip, Dumbarton, Paisley and Pollokshaws. Sir George Maxwell was a notorious witch-hunter in the 1670s and he was actively involved in the cases of six people who were condemned to death by strangulation and burning in 1677 for his 'bewitching'. One of these people, Annabel Stewart, was spared execution due to her age of 14 years.

Later cases in the 1690s are recorded for Inverkip, Inchinnan, Kilmacolm and Glasgow. The most famous cases are probably those of the Paisley or Bargarran 'witches' of 1697. Christian Shaw, the young daughter of John Shaw of Bargarran, experienced fits that were 'explained' by demonic possession and she accused various people of bewitching her. Four women and three men were tried and found guilty. Six were strangled and burnt and one committed suicide in Renfrew prison.

Accused witches were often held in local tolbooths. In 1677, for example, five accused witches were imprisoned in Dumbarton Tolbooth. Alexander Cunningham, servitor to the keeper of Glasgow Tolbooth, was given expenses for the maintenance of imprisoned 'witches' – £82, 14 shillings and four pence in 1697 and £66, eight shillings in 1698. Tolbooths could also be the venue for the legally approved torture of accused witches. This was the case with the Presbytery of Lanark in 1649. Eleven women in the parish of Crawford-Douglas had been accused of witchcraft by one Janet Cowts, a 'confessing witch' imprisoned in Peebles. They were transported to Lanark Tolbooth where they physically examined for the mark of the witch. George Cathie, a professional 'pricker' employed to find the mark of the witch, 'did prik pinnes in everie one of them' on 30 November 1649.

Whereas witch-hunting was a significant issue for Scots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, other issues usually associated with the modern age were apparent in Scottish society during this period. For example, there is evidence of domestic violence and wife beating in Paisley in 1684 and 1694. In 1684 James Algie, a Paisley merchant, was tried and convicted for assaulting his wife. According to the case presented against him, Algie 'did with his fists give her many blad stroks, dung her to the ground, draged her alanst the same, and did strike, oush and bruise her breast and other parts of her body with his foot and knees; and not being satisfied … he did proceed to ane higher degree of inhumanitie and innaturalitie, to witt, he did thrust and ding her furth of his house door, over ane high stair, in falling over qh [which] she was most daingrously hurt, blooded, & bruised, and by all which it is evident that the said James Algie had intended murder towards his said spous'. Algie was fined £200 Scots with imprisonment until payment and caution was made by him for future good behaviour. Another Paisley wife-beater, James Alexander, subjected his wife to a violent attack in 1694, by punching, kicking and dragging her along the ground, in a similar manner to the Algie case, before throwing her out of the house over a high stair, causing her injury and endangering her life.

Earlier in 1687, Robert Pow, an influential merchant and keeper of a shop on Paisley High Street, was fined £50 for throwing out of his shop Mrs Margaret Lochhead, the wife of the Robert Pirrie, Bailie of Paisley. Lochead had entered his shop in a violent rage and, in front of his neighbours who were present in the shop, shouted at and abused Pirrie's wife. Pow threw her out of the shop after she refused to leave the premises and she fell to the ground. Pow may have been fined as a result of the local bailie's dignity and status in the community being insulted and compromised.

Alcohol abuse was one of the issues dealt with by the kirk sessions and presbyteries of the Church of Scotland, as part of the wider drive for a godly society. Within a broader context, this was an important feature of post-Reformation European society. Church records therefore contain a lot of information about the sinful activities that ordinary people were deemed to have been involved in. These records also contain details about how people were punished. Some examples of this in the west of Scotland can be highlighted. John Tweeddale from Lesmahgow was fined £40 by the Presbytery of Lanark for excessive nightly drinking, especially on the Sabbath. On 10 January 1650 Lanark presbytery excommunicated James Thomson, John Jamie and Archibald Macquarrie for continued alcohol abuse. Thomson was 'found diverse times drunke' and John Jamie was 'found to continue in his impietie, neglect of duetie to his wife and mother, in continuall drinking'. Macquarrie continued 'in his sinne of drunkennesse, whereby he hath undone his state and familie'. Alcohol abuse on the part of both Jamie and Macquarrie had therefore resulted in the breakdown of the family unit and the neglect of their wives, children and mothers. Cases of drunkenness were also dealt with in the parish of Campsie in the later seventeenth century. In August 1700, for example, William Fergus was accused of 'drinking to

excess in Kirkintilloch after two o'clock on the Sunday morning and wandering through the street wanting the bonnet, and vomiting'.

The second half of the seventeenth century was notorious for religious dissent and opposition to the religious settlement at the Restoration that had constitutionally altered the nature of the Church of Scotland from a Presbyterian to an Episcopalian Church. There was much opposition to this in the west of Scotland and the west collectively became a problem for Charles II and then James VII in their government of Scotland from the royal court in London. Many ministers in the west were removed from their parishes for refusing to acknowledge the Restoration religious settlement. In the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr 75 ministers out of 121 parishes were deprived of their posts in the early 1660s for refusing to acknowledge the new settlement. The west witnessed a substantial growth in conventicles – illegal religious meetings – although most of these on a national basis were in Fife, Lothian and Tweeddale. The Restoration regime dealt with 383 cases of nonconformity that involved 809 conventicles. The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr contained 117 (14.4 per cent) of the illegal meetings that were detected. In Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire there was a growth in the number of conventicles, and women in these areas were proactively involved. In 1678, for example, 460 soldiers were required to suppress women who were defending a conventicle in Glasgow's Saltmarket. Landowners were held to be responsible for meetings held on their property and they were often punished by fining. In Renfrewshire eleven landlords were fined the extremely high sum of £368,031, 13 shillings and four pence (Scots) for condoning conventicles and nonconformity in the years from 1674 to 1676.

There were armed uprisings in Scotland in this period: the 1666 Pentland Rising, the 1679 Covenanting Rebellion and the 1685 Argyll Rebellion. The west of Scotland was closely involved in these events. The 1679 Rutherglen Declaration issued on 29 May, the birthday of Charles II, was a powerful reassertion of Covenanting ideology from the 1640s. Government forces were defeated at the Battle of Drumclog on 1 June and in the aftermath of this skirmishes took place on the streets of Glasgow between Government and opposing forces. This was centred on the Gallowgate and High Street area. Several weeks later on 22 June, however, the Covenanters were defeated at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge. Airdrie Library holds a Covenanting banner carried at the battle (fig. 16). The physical condition of the banner has deteriorated, but it is possible to make out an open Bible with Psalms 86 and 87 in the top-left-hand corner of the flag. The right-hand side contains the Scottish emblem of the thistle, surmounted with the crown and the motto '*Nemo me impune lacessit*' ('no one attacks/provokes me with impunity'). The main content of the flag is in the middle and the following words, in capital letters, can also be discerned: 'East Munkland. For Reformation in Church and State according to the Word of God and our Covenants'. Over time most of the word 'State' and all of the word 'God' have since disappeared, but we can deduce that the words in the original caption were those cited above.

Figure 16. Covenanting banner carried at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge, 1679.

By courtesy of North Lanarkshire Council Museums and Heritage (Social History Collection, NLC-1998-1414).

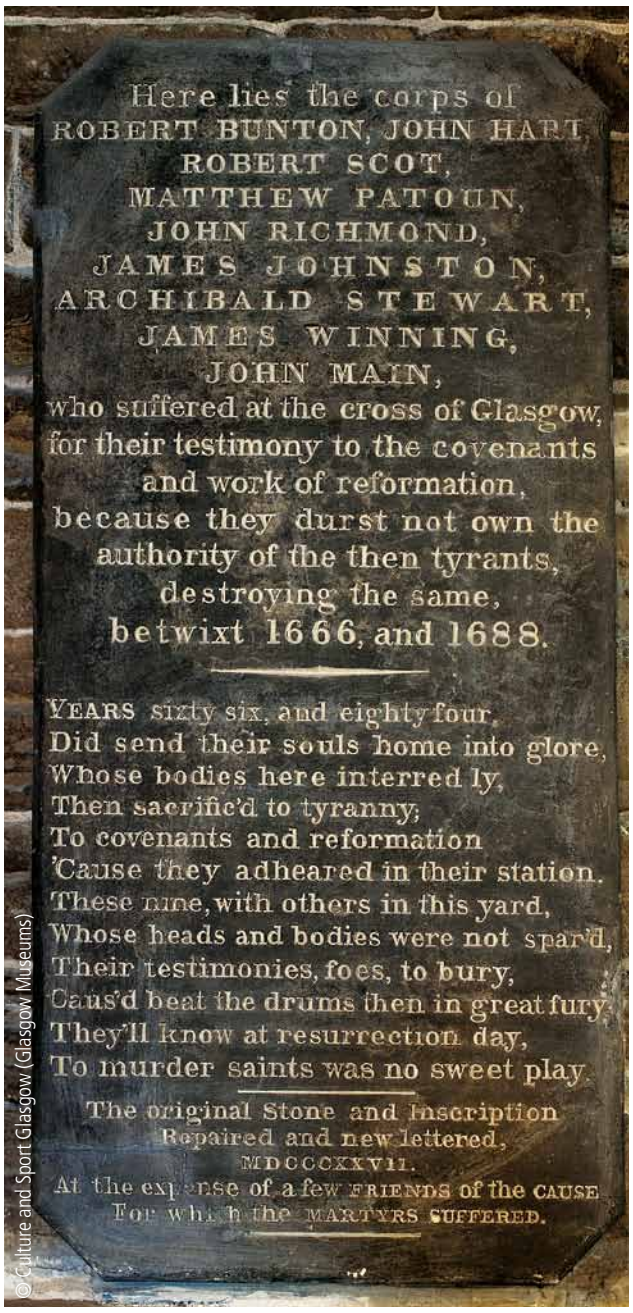


Figure 17. A plaque in Glasgow Cathedral commemorating Covenanters who were executed at Glasgow Cross between 1666 and 1688, which repeats the inscription on a badly weathered memorial stone outside the cathedral.

The 1685 Argyll Rebellion involved parts of western Scotland. Launched from Amsterdam, this failed rebellion led by Archibald Campbell, ninth Earl of Argyll, and other dissidents was launched from Amsterdam. The abortive rebellion included an unsuccessful attempt to capture Greenock, when the heritors of Renfrewshire fended off the rebels. Rebel movements also took place in Dunbartonshire prior to the capture of Argyll at Inchinnan in Renfrewshire. He was thereafter taken to Edinburgh, where he was later executed on 30 June. In addition to the usual execution site of the Grassmarket in Edinburgh, executions of Covenanters also took place at Glasgow Cross. Glasgow Cathedral contains a plaque commemorating eight individuals 'who suffered at the cross of Glasgow, for their testimony to the covenants and work of reformation' between 1666 and 1688 (fig. 17). In 1615 Glasgow Cross was also the location for the most high-profile Catholic execution in seventeenth-century Scotland: that of John Ogilvie, convicted of treason for his ministry as a Roman Catholic priest.

Numerous church graveyards in the west of Scotland contain the gravestones of Covenanters killed throughout these troubled times. Two examples of these are the 'Martyrs' Tomb' in Cathcart Old Parish Church graveyard (fig. 18) and the tomb of Robert Nairn in Bonhill Parish Church graveyard in West Dunbartonshire. Many of these gravestones are now maintained by the Scottish Covenanter Memorials Association.

The Revolution of 1688 witnessed an outbreak of sectarian violence in the west of Scotland and Glasgow was the first Scottish city to openly declare for William of Orange. In November 1688 a group of students from the University of Glasgow burned effigies of the pope and of the archbishops of Glasgow and St Andrews. The 'rabbling' – forced removal by mobs – of Episcopalian clergy in the west of Scotland took in the winter of 1688–9. Rabbling was not exclusive to the west, but the west was one of the main areas where it occurred. The ministers at Govan (Gabriel Russell), Cathcart (Robert Finnie), Carmunnock (Robert Boyd), Rutherglen (Hew Blair), Cumbernauld (Gilbert Mushet) and Cadder (David Milne), for example, were rabbled

Figure 18. The Martyrs' Tomb in the graveyard of Cathcart Old Parish Church, which commemorates several executed Covenanters.

between 25 and 27 December 1688. The minster's wife at Renfrew was thrown out of her house with her three-day-old child. In the absence of her husband, the minister's wife at Baldernock was threatened with having her nose cut off. Rabbling began in Glasgow on 17 January 1689 in the west parish, where Alexander Milne was rabbled, and the Barony parish, where Alexander George was rabbled.

Furthermore, there was a violent sectarian attack on Glasgow Cathedral on 17 February 1689, when an armed mob of 'rude people', women and the 'mountain folk' linked to the Cameronians attacked the Episcopalian congregation. Glasgow's Episcopalian followers were estimated to number 500–600 out of a population of 12,000. Sir John Bell, a former provost of the city, was pelted with more than 100 snowballs and, more seriously, James Corbett and George Graham received serious head wounds as a result of being attacked with a scythe. Anti-Union riots later took place in Glasgow in the winter of 1706, as the negotiated Treaty of Union passed through the Scottish Parliament.

Recreation

Compared to more recent times, there is a limited amount of information relating to recreational activities, but evidence can still be found in different historical sources. For example, football, horseracing and street theatre are mentioned in the records of Glasgow. Footballs were bought for recreation on Shrove Tuesday and prizes were awarded for horse racing in 1606 and 1625. An athletics race, consisting of three laps of Glasgow Green, was held in 1675 and in 1695 Glasgow's council agreed to the building of a bowling green near Candleriggs. Ironically, information about people's involvement in sport and popular culture can be found in the kirk session and presbytery records of the Church of Scotland, due to people facing the censure of the Church for participating in sporting and cultural events on the Sabbath or taking part in leisure activities when they should have been attending church services. This was also an important element in the drive for a godly society. From the late sixteenth century, Glasgow kirk session expressed its disapproval against football and pennystane (a game similar to quoits), golf and shinty. In 1679 and 1681 billiard playing by students of the University of Glasgow was deemed to be affecting their studies. Other aspects of popular culture were also targeted. In June 1606 the Presbytery of Paisley was informed by Mr Andrew Law, minister of Neilston, that the parishioners of Neilston and Lochwinnoch were profaning the Sabbath through their involvement in piping and dancing. Four pipers in the Mearns, Neilston and Kilbarchan areas were later summoned before the presbytery for piping and dancing on Sunday afternoons on the local greens. One of these pipers, John Hall of Kilbarchan, was fined £20 by Kilbarchan kirk session in July 1607, and was ordered to refrain from such behaviour. Music and street theatre appears to have been popular in Glasgow and 'decent' behaviour and activities were supported. Practitioners of what we may call alternative medicine are recorded as having visited the city and potential customers were enticed with provided entertainments such as acrobats and tightrope walkers. Amazingly, in 1681 a touring elephant was part of the entertainment for Glaswegians.

Summary and Recommendations for Future Research

This was a transitional period for the west of Scotland, between its emergence and development from the medieval period and its later spectacular growth in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Glasgow became the dominant royal burgh, against competition from its regional rivals, and it became of growing national importance in the economic life of the country. By 1700 trade links with the Americas had become increasingly important to Glasgow and other centres on the Clyde Estuary. Politically, national events of the seventeenth century impacted on the west of Scotland. The west was a key heartland of Covenanting activity and religious dissent in the post-Restoration period. Older local historical works of the nineteenth and twentieth century contain lots of useful information relating to specific areas and communities in the west of Scotland. What is now needed, it may be suggested, is a modern twenty-first century synthesis of existing knowledge and research combined with new research into original documents (the material is there) to provide a state-of-the-art history of the west of Scotland for the period in question. Such work could also include examples and images of material culture. In addition, there is also scope for more local and regional work, for example on the Covenanters of Lanarkshire, which could draw on the enthusiasm and knowledge of local historians, archivists and museum specialists combined with the expertise of historians in the universities. That should be the challenge for the future.

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Online resources

- www.covenanter.org.uk
  The website of the Scottish Covenanter Memorials Association.

- www.nls.uk
  The National Library of Scotland website provides online access to the Blaeu Atlas of Scotland (1654) and Timothy Pont's maps of Scotland (1580s–1590s). They are to be found under Maps (in the Collections section listed on the 'Using the Library' drop-down menu) in Maps of Scotland and County Maps and by searching for 'Pont':
  http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/blaeu/index.html
  http://maps.nls.uk/pont/index.html

- www.theglasgowstory.com
  This website gives an accessible and highly illustrated history of Glasgow.