

# STATIONERS AND BOOKBINDERS IN THE RECORDS OF THE HAMMER- MEN OF ST. ANDREWS *by R. H. Carnie*

THE HAMMERMEN or smiths, the websters or weavers, the baxters or bakers, the cordiners or shoemakers, the wrights, the tailors and the fleshers were the seven incorporated trades of the ancient city of St. Andrews. Each craft elected its own officials, the chief of whom was a deacon. The trade deacons were persons of very considerable importance in Scottish burgh life before 1846, the date of the act 'for the abolition of the exclusive privilege of trading in Burghs in Scotland'. They often served on town councils and they acted as spokesmen for their groups. Each craft also had a treasurer, generally called the box-master or positor, and an 'officer' who was usually the most recently elected member of trade. In St. Andrews these officials were elected annually. There was also a professional scribe who acted for all the trades and kept their records. From 1594, and probably earlier, a convener's court functioned as a higher authority in the regulation of the seven trades, and represented the interests of the crafts in the affairs of the burgh.<sup>1</sup> From 1606 this court had forty-two members—the deacon warner or convener, the seven deacons and the seven box-masters and four members of council for each trade, the convener being one of the four for his own trade.

The orderly structure of the seven trades outlined above sometimes disguises the fact that within these trades can be found incorporated craftsmen of *other* trades, usually allied in some way with the 'name' trade. The purpose of this note is to gather together the references to members of the book-trade in the records of the hammermen.

The date when the hammermen of St. Andrews were first incorporated into a craft is unknown, but the extant minute-book covers the period from 1539 to 1792 and was gifted to the Library of St. Andrews University in 1878.<sup>2</sup> A general account of its make-up and contents has been given by D. Hay Fleming.<sup>3</sup> It is clear from this minute-book that armourers, watch-makers, cutlers and pewterers were regarded as being allied to the smiths, though the branches of the craft were kept apart. In 1671, three brothers called Lindsay were admitted as 'tinclars' or itinerant metal-workers, and in 1689, a further

Lindsay was introduced as 'ane tinclar and sponsmaker of horne'. In St. Andrews, as in Aberdeen, leather-workers, such as saddlers and glovers were members of the hammermen trade, unlike Perth, where glovers were much more numerous and important and had their own organisation.<sup>4</sup> Occasionally tradesmen whose occupations were very different from those of smith or leather-worker were allowed to affiliate themselves to the St. Andrews hammermen. In 1691, a litster or dyer offered himself of his own freewill, and in 1710 a painter became a freeman and, as the following entries show, stationers and bookbinders could also become members of the craft. Hay Fleming suggests that these tradesmen were welcome because of the dues which they were prepared to pay to a craft which was not rich. What the craftsmen themselves gained from the affiliation is not quite so clear. It may be that they were rewarded by the trading good-will of other members of the craft and they probably found the machinery for the registration of apprentices operated by the craft to be useful. The period of apprenticeship varied from five to nine years although it had been set at seven years by acts of 1560 and 1568. It is clear from the convener's courtbook that not all St. Andrews apprentices were formally bound and entered into the appropriate trade minute-book.<sup>5</sup> Journeymen could also be feed by members of trade. At no stage in the known history of the hammermen of St. Andrews was it either cheap or easy to become a freeman. A freeman's son, a stranger who had married a freeman's daughter, and a man who had served his apprenticeship to a trade within the city all had certain rights of entry. Men who did not come into any of these categories were admitted in special circumstances and on payment of larger fees. At the beginning of the eighteenth century members of trade had become so numerous for the size of the town that it was hard for tradesmen to get a living, and the convener's court enacted in 1727<sup>6</sup> that special cases of entry had to be referred to them. This was done by the hammermen in the case of Alexander McCulloch, bookbinder. Freedom money varied from nine merks in 1560 to twenty pounds sterling in 1791, and there were additional expenses as well. From 1560 a new freeman gave a banquet to the craft, and was also responsible for a 'speaking drink' when he was proposed as member and a 'sey' or 'essay' drink when he made his 'sey' or trial piece.

The entries concerning the book-trade which have been noted are given in chronological order below. The spelling of the actual entries

has been retained and some explanatory notes added.

1. St. Andrews 12th Septer. 1707 years

The qlk day George Adamson Deacon and remane  
traid haveing mett Alexander Bell pnt Theas (i.e.  
urer) of St. Andrews and stationer in this city i  
received as freeman to the hail liberties and priv  
who payed all dues of traid and made faith as use

Pa: Wilson

Bell's signature is found in the minute book down t  
entry concerning his son, also Alexander Bell, und  
16, 1743, Alexander Bell (1) is described as 'deceased'. C  
tion that Alexander Bell (2) is the 'Baillie Bell the  
was also a typesetter in St. Andrews c.1742,<sup>7</sup> then A  
(1) is a previously unrecorded stationer working in St. A  
period 1707-1735 (?) and the grandfather of Dr. Bell t  
the 'Madras' system of education.

2. St. Andrews 20th January 1731

The Which Day, Robert Cuthbert present Deacon  
Members of Trade having mett and Considering  
ander McCulloch, Stationer in this City has volunta  
own good will offered himself to be a freeman a  
Considering that he can exerce no Occupation of  
prejudice of any member hereof. Therefor the sai  
Trade do Receive and Admitt him Into the hail ffr  
and privileges of Trade during all the days of his lif  
With this express provision That he shall have no  
servant who is Capable to work as a Smith to the p  
member of the Incorporation nor receive a Apprenti  
man Qua Stationer but with the Consent of Tra  
payd all Dues and made faith as use is

Robert C

Pa: Wilson Clerk

As well as being a stationer and bookbinder, McCu  
archbeadle to the University of St. Andrews, an office to  
appointed on 27th June, 1718.<sup>8</sup> In combining these tw

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has been retained and some explanatory notes added.

1. St. Andrews 12th Septer. 1707 years

The qlk day George Adamson Deacon and remanent bretheren of traid haveing mett Alexander Bell pnt Theas (i.e. present Treas- urer) of St. Andrews and stationer in this city is admitted and received as freeman to the hail libertics and priviledges of traid who payed all dues of traid and made faith as use is.

Pa: Wilson Clk

Bell's signature is found in the minute book down to 1735. In the entry concerning his son, also Alexander Bell, under September 16, 1743, Alexander Bell (1) is described as 'deceased'. On the assump- tion that Alexander Bell (2) is the 'Baillie Bell the Barber', who was also a typefounder in St. Andrews c.1742,<sup>7</sup> then Alexander Bell (1) is a previously unrecorded stationer working in St. Andrews in the period 1707-1735 (?) and the grandfather of Dr. Bell the founder of the 'Madras' system of education.

2. St. Andrews 20th January 1731

The Which Day, Robert Cuthbert present Deacon and Remanent Members of Trade having mett and Considering that Mr Alex- ander McCulloch, Stationer in this City has voluntarily and In his own good will offered himself to be a freeman among us and Considering that he can exerce no Occupation of Trade to the prejudice of any member hereof. Therefor the said Deacon and Trade do Receive and Admitt him Into the hail ffreedom liberty and privileges of Trade during all the days of his lifetime allenarly With this express provision That he shall have no power to fie a servant who is Capable to work as a Smith to the prejudice of any member of the Incorporation nor receive a Apprentice or Journey- man Qua Stationer but with the Consent of Trade, he having paid all Dues and made faith as use is

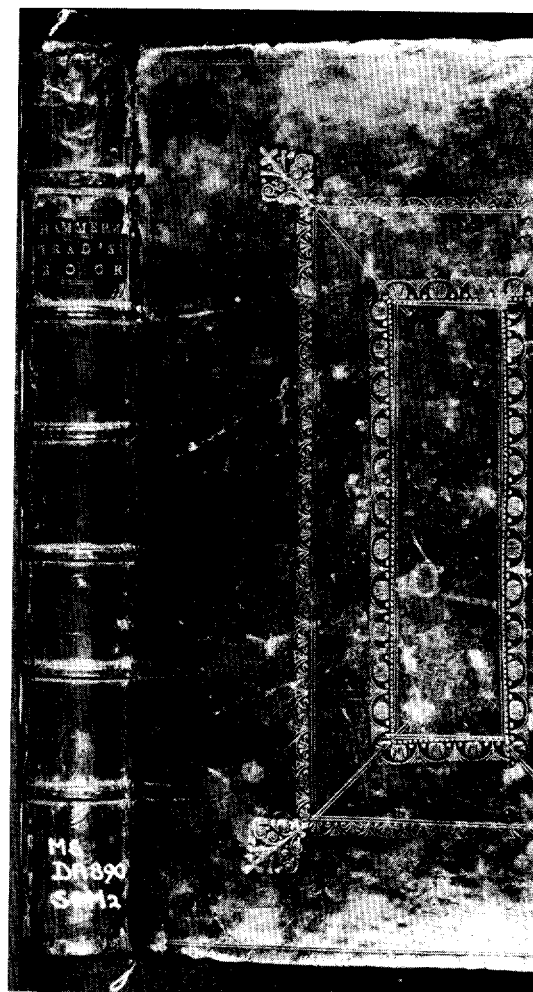
Robert Cuthbert

Pa: Wilson Clerk

As well as being a stationer and bookbinder, McCulloch was also archbeadle to the University of St. Andrews, an office to which he was appointed on 27th June, 1718.<sup>8</sup> In combining these two occupations

McCulloch was in a St. Andrews tradition which was to continue almost to the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> When McCulloch was first appointed archbeadle, most of the binding of the University books was being done by John Paton, the Edinburgh bookseller and the University's agent for procuring their copyright books. For the first twenty years of his career as archbeadle, McCulloch bound books only occasionally for the University. It is recorded, for example, in the University minutes for 6 January, 1727 that McCulloch received 10 lib. 4 sh. Scots for binding and putting new parchment into the Rector's Book and binding a new book for the minutes themselves. In February of 1738 McCulloch petitioned the University to become their official agent for the receipt of copyright books, to be allowed to bind them, and to supply the University Library with any books they required to buy.<sup>10</sup> The University agreed to this request. McCulloch remained archbeadle and bookbinder to the University until his death on 26 August, 1744. In his testament dative 'the Tools and Instruments of the Defuncts trade and Employment as a Stationer and Bookbinder', were valued at 79 pounds 3 shillings Scots.<sup>11</sup> It is interesting to note that McCulloch is consistently referred to in records as *Mr. Alexander McCulloch*, suggesting that he was a graduate. A student of that name matriculated at St. Salvator's College in 1716, and graduated in 1718, the same year as McCulloch was appointed archbeadle. The study of signatures suggests that it is the same man.

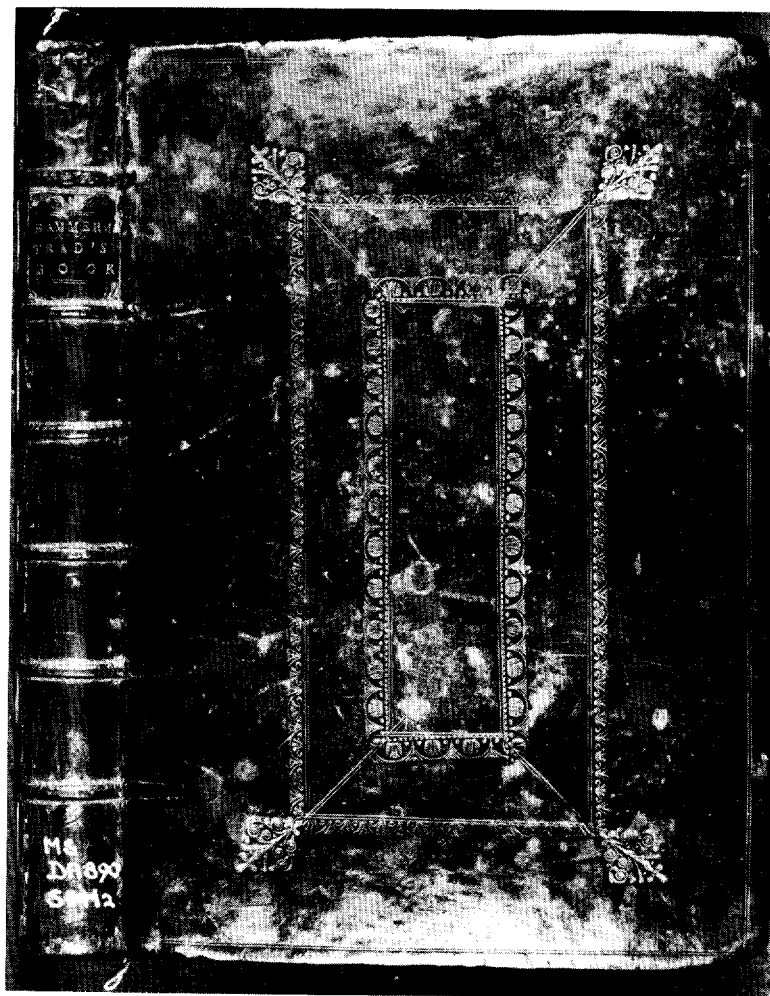
It is clear from this first entry in the hammermen minute-book that McCulloch was being accepted as a freeman in a limited and specialised way. On the basis of the act of 4 December, 1727, the convener's court were required to sanction McCulloch's entry which they did on 20 January, 1731. McCulloch was obviously a respected and hard-working member of the St. Andrews community. He indentured apprentices in 1732, 1734 and 1739 (entries 3, 4 and 6) and he was at different times boxmaster and deacon to the trade (entries 5 and 8). It is no surprise to find him being made a full freeman without restriction eight years after he first joined the hammermen (entry 7). One of the first services which McCulloch performed for his craft was to add additional leaves to their minute-book and to rebind it strongly in brown calf.<sup>12</sup> Examination of the entries and added leaves in the volume suggest that this was done about 1731. The blind tooling on the front and back combines the decorations used by McCulloch on the Senate minute-book and the *Acta Rectorum* volume which he bound for the



Hammermen of St. Andrews, Minute Book. St. Andrews

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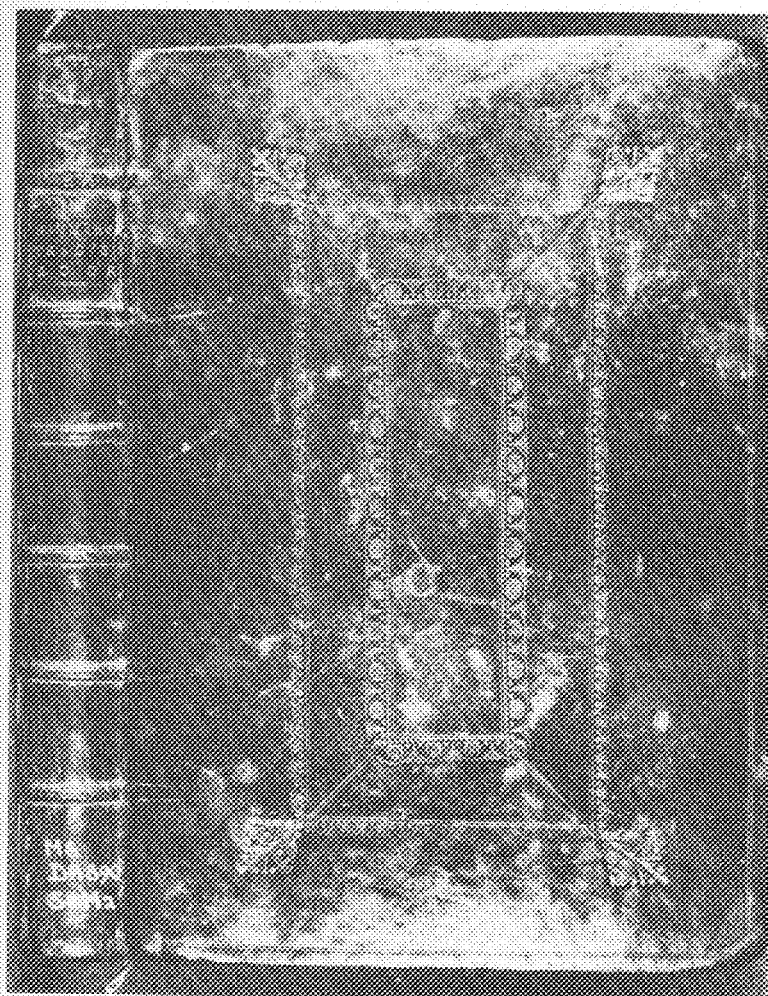
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Hammermen of St. Andrews, Minute Book. St. Andrews University Library.

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An entry in the hammermen minute-book that McCulloch is accepted as a freeman in a limited and specialised profession on the act of 4 December, 1727, the convener's decision McCulloch's entry which they did on McCulloch was obviously a respected and hard-earned member of the St. Andrews community. He indentured himself in 1727 (entries 3, 4 and 6) and he was at St. Andrews and deacon to the trade (entries 5 and 8). He being made a full freeman without restriction and joined the hammermen (entry 7). One of the things McCulloch performed for his craft was to add new entries to the minute-book and to rebind it strongly in leather. He added about 100 entries and added leaves in the volume about 1731. The blind tooling on the front cover of the *Acta Rectorum* volume which he bound for the



Hammermen of St. Andrews, Minute Book. St. Andrews University Library.

University, and can also be found on books in the University Library known to be bound by the same man.<sup>13</sup>

The University seems to have disapproved of the closeness of McCulloch's ties with the trades of the town. McCulloch's successor as archbeadle to the University was the well-known Patrick Bower, also a bookseller and bookbinder. When Bower was appointed archbeadle on 14 September, 1744, the University decreed that he should not be allowed to be a member of an incorporated trade or become a councillor in the burgh.<sup>14</sup>

3. St Andrews 19th February 1732

The which Day, Robert Cuthbert present Deacon and Remanent members of Trade having mett Alexander Young, Lawfull son to the deceast Alexander Young, Mariner in Anstruther was bound Prentice to Alexander McCulloch Bookbinder for six years all dues of trayd being payed and the Indentur being depositate in the hands of David Walker, Glover in the City.

Pa: Wilson Clk

4. St Andrews 2d August 1734

Which Day George Adamson present Deacon and Remanent Members of Trade being mett David Steedman, lawfull son to James Steedman Vintner in St. Andrews was Bound prentice to Mr Alexander McCulloch Stationer & Bookbinder for six years commencing from this date all dues of Trade being payed and the Indenture being ane copie was given to the Deacon to be putt into the Box.

Pa: Wilson Clk

It should be noted that in these two cases the period of apprenticeship was six years, while in the case of William Arnott (entry 6) it was eight years. The writer knows of no reason why the indenture of Young (entry 3) should not have been deposited in the trade's box as the other two were. No information on the further careers of these apprentices has been discovered.

5. 13th September 1734

The Same day as above Mr Alexander McCulloch, one of the Members of Trade was elected Boxmaster for a year to come who

being present Accepted and Made faith as use is.

Pa: Wilson Clk

McCulloch was made boxmaster again on 12 September, 1735 and 10 September, 1736, each time for one year.

6. St. Andrews 2d February 1739

Which day Robert Cuthbert present Deacon and Remanent Members of Trade being Conveened, William Arnott lawfull son to David Arnott Dyer in St. Andrews was bound Servant and Apprentice to Mr Alexander McCulloch Bookbinder and one of the members of Trade for eight years Commencing from this date all dues being paid and the Indenture was given to the Deacon to be putt in the Box.

Patrick Wilson Clk

7. St Andrews 8th February 1739

Which Day Robert Cuthbert present Deacon and Remanent Members of the Trade being conveened, Mr Alexander McCulloch Stationer & Bookbinder was Admitted and Received as a freeman to the whole libertys, privileges, freedoms and Immunitys of the said Smith Trade who made ffaith as use is and all dues of Trade being paid.

Patrick Wilson Clk

8. St Andrews 12th September 1740

Which day Mr Alexander McCulloch one of the members of Trade was elected Deacon for a year to come who being present Accepted and made faith as use is.

Patrick Wilson Clk

McCulloch was re-elected for a further year on 11 September, 1741.

9. St. Andrews September 16th 1743

Which Day Robert Watson present Deacon and remanent Members of Trade being conveened Alexander Bell lawfull son to the deceast Alexander Bell Brother of Trade was admitted and received into the haill freedom Libertys privileges & Immunities of the smith Trade with & under this restriction always that the

said Alexander Bell shall not at any tyme in his lifeti or servants or apprentices under him, or in his name the privileges of this Trade with respect to working i But this is without prejudice to his heirs Ec to Enter of this Trade Upon their father's privilege and he gave his oath de fideli.

Patrick W

This is an unusual limited entry and only makes sense practising some trade other than that of smith within Bell was in St. Andrews at this period is attested by the name is given as attending meetings of the trade until a The writer thinks it very likely that this is, in fact, the 'Barber' who is said to have assisted Alexander Wilson, the in his early experiments c.1742.<sup>15</sup>

10. St. Andrews 12th September 1766

Which Day Robert Cuthbert present Deacon and members of Trade being Conveened, William Tullis & Smyth in Argyle beside the City was admitted & the whole freedom Libertys privileges and Immunitys of Trade All dues being paid who made faith as use i serve as Officer for a year to come.

Patrick W

This William Tullis was boxmaster in 1769 and 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773 and again in 1780, 1781 and 1782. His eldest son David Tullis was admitted as freeman almost certain that these entries refer to the *Julielmus Tullis Faber Ferrarius, aliquando Decanus fabrorum ferrariorum*, father of Tullis, the St. Andrews bookseller and printer, who became a member of St. Andrews University and established a press at Cupar.<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to note that on the evidence of this entry, this branch of the family was not a traditional *St. Andrews* craft family but an Argyle which was outside the burgh.



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Pa: Wilson Clk

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Patrick Wilson Clk

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Patrick Wilson Clk

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Patrick Wilson Clk

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; conveened Alexander Bell lawfull son to the  
Bell Brother of Trade was admitted and  
all freedom Libertys privileges & Immunities  
with & under this restriction always that the

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said Alexander Bell shall not at any tyme in his lifetime by himself  
or servants or apprentices under him, or in his name Use & exerce  
the privileges of this Trade with respect to working in that Calling.  
But this is without prejudice to his heirs Ec to Enter to the freedom  
of this Trade Upon their father's privilege and he being present  
gave his oath de fideli.

Patrick Wilson Clk

This is an unusual limited entry and only makes sense if Bell was  
practising some trade other than that of smith within the city. That  
Bell was in St. Andrews at this period is attested by the fact that his  
name is given as attending meetings of the trade until as late as 1754.  
The writer thinks it very likely that this is, in fact, the 'Baillie Bell the  
Barber' who is said to have assisted Alexander Wilson, the typefounder,  
in his early experiments c.1742.<sup>15</sup>

10. St. Andrews 12th September 1766

Which Day Robert Cuthbert present Deacon and Remanent  
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Trade All dues being paid who made faith as use is & He is to  
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Patrick Wilson Clk

This William Tullis was boxmaster in 1769 and 1770, and deacon in  
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his eldest son David Tullis was admitted as freeman smith. It seems  
almost certain that these entries refer to the *Julielmus Tillas vel Tullis*,  
*Faber Ferrarius, aliquando Decanus fabrorum ferrariorum*, father of Robert  
Tullis, the St. Andrews bookseller and printer, who became printer to  
St. Andrews University and established a press at Cupar.<sup>16</sup> It is interest-  
ing to note that on the evidence of this entry, this branch of the Tullis  
family was not a traditional *St. Andrews* craft family but belonged to  
Argyle which was outside the burgh.

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FOOTNOTES

1. A. M. Carstairs, 'The Convener's Court Book of the Seven Incorporated Trades in St. Andrews' [*Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xxxiv, no. 117, pp. 32-43], gives a full account of this important two-volume manuscript book now in the custody of the General Register House, Edinburgh.
2. I am indebted to Mr G. H. Bushnell, Librarian of St. Andrews University Library, for permission to examine this volume and to quote extracts from it. He was also kind enough to allow me to have the binding of the volume photographed. I am also grateful to Mr R. G. Cant, Keeper of Muniments, and Mr R. N. Smart, Assistant Keeper of Muniments, for their courtesy in helping me to consult the University Muniments.
3. D. Hay Fleming, *Ye doings of ane antient craft; being an account of the hammermen of St. Andrews from pre-reformation times until the end of last century*, Cupar-Fife, 1884.
4. See G. Wilson, *Annals of the Glover Incorporation 1300-1905*, Perth, 1905. In Perth, the practitioners of the book-trade belonged to the wright calling and not the hammermen. (Cf. R. H. Carnie, 'Perth booksellers and bookbinders in the records of the Wright Calling, 1538-1864' [*The Bibliothek*, vol. i, no. 4, pp. 24-39].)
5. Carstairs, p. 35.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Cf. *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1726 to 1775. Those in Scotland* by G. H. Bushnell, Oxford, 1932, p. 282 and entry 9.
8. MS minutes of the University of St. Andrews.
9. The present writer has in preparation a short account of the beadle-bookbinders of St. Andrews.
10. This petition has survived in the University Muniments. It is undated but the summary of the University's answer written on the back is dated 23 February, 1738. For a full and interesting account of how St. Andrews University dealt with the problem of the receipt of the books given to the University under the Copyright Acts from 1709 to 1836 see P. Ardagh, 'St. Andrews University Library and the Copyright Acts' [*Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, vol. iii, pt. 3, 1956, pp. 181-211]. Mr Ardagh makes a minor slip on p.187 where he mistakenly calls Alexander McCulloch 'William M'Culloch'.
11. Commissariat of St. Andrews. Testaments, vol. xix, p. 52. I am indebted to Mr Smart and to the Historical Search Room of the General Register House for a photostat copy of this testament.
12. See illustration of this binding.
13. The Library-quaestor's accounts vouchers in the University Muniments from 1739 to 1744 give short titles and sizes of books bound by McCulloch as well as the prices charged.
14. Mr G. H. Bushnell gives an account of Bower in 'Patrick Bower' [*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, ser. 2, vol. xxiii, 1942, pp. 23-30].
15. Cf. Southey, *The life of the Reverend Andrew Bell*, vol. 1, London, 1844, p. 3. The first volume of this three volume work was by R. Southey, and the other two by C. C. Southey.
16. Miss C. D. M. Ketelbey, 'The history of Tullis Russell & Co., Ltd.' [*The Rothmill Quarterly*, vol. xxx, no. 2, autumn, 1959, pp. 55-91]. This is the first portion of a history of a famous paper-making firm, which is to appear later in book form. Miss Ketelbey deals with Robert Tullis, stationer, bookseller, publisher and papermaker in this first section, and with his ancestry particularly on pp. 61-62.

LETTERS TO WILLIAM HUNTER  
FROM HIS AMERICAN PUPIL  
MORGAN AND WILLIAM SHAW  
JNR *by Jessie Dobson and Bryson*

ON JULY 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1781, William Hunter signed his last will<sup>1</sup> in the presence of Samuel Morrow, Thomas Oliver Morrow, 'Clerks to Messrs. Drummond'. In this document his executors, George Fordyce of Essex Street, Doctor David Pitcairn of Lincoln's Inn Fields, Bachelor in Physic, Charles Combe of Hart Street near Bloomsbury Square 'immediately after the expiration of twenty years<sup>2</sup> after the deaths of Matthew Baillie and William Cruikshank first happen, to cause the Books, Manuscripts, Prints and Engravings, Anatomical Preparations of every kind, Fossils and Ores, and other marine productions, Birds, Insects and all other Animals or parts of Animals, dried Plants, Curiosities from the Seas and whatever can be naturally reckoned a part of the collection of Curiosities, all the Cabinets, Cases and Apparatus for preserving the above Articles, Instruments for Anatomy and a Chased Silver Cup which was presented to me by the Faculty of Anatomy, to be well and carefully packed up and safely conveyed to Glasgow and delivered to the Principal and Faculty of the University of Glasgow, to whom I give and bequeath the same to be preserved by them and their successors for ever . . . in a dry, convenient house built on purpose for containing my said collection to the satisfaction of my said Trustees . . .'

As soon as the contents of the will became known after his death in March 1783, attempts were made by the University to induce Cruikshank and Baillie to give up the collection. Although Baillie was willing to hand over 'every article in the collection except the anatomical preparations, the few pictures in the study and a few professional books in the bedroom' it was apparent that Cruikshank's anatomical preparations that were desired so particularly and which he refused to relinquish since his livelihood depended upon the collection, therefore, with the exception of the C