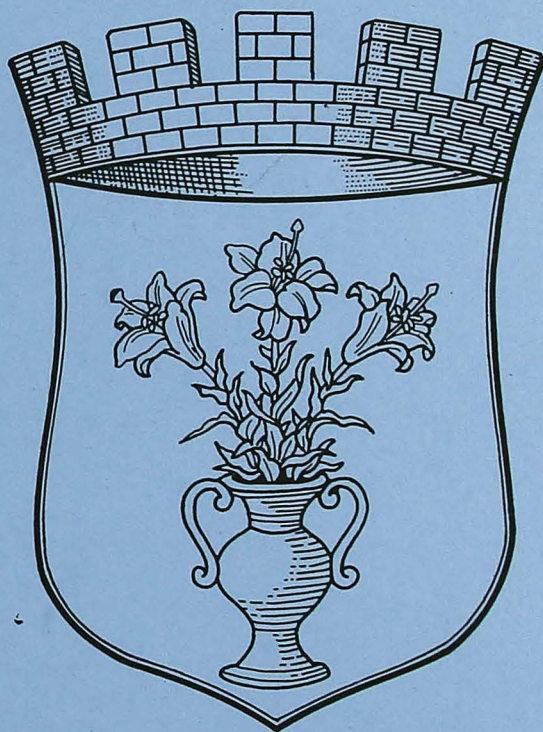


Historic

DUNDEE

the archaeological implications
of development



Sylvia J. Stevenson
Elizabeth P. D. Torrie

Scottish Burgh Survey
1988

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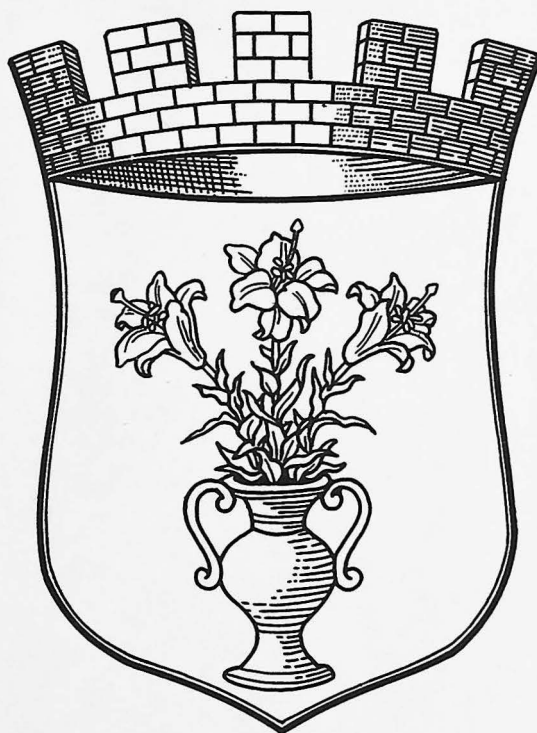
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PREFACE

This report on the history and archaeology of the medieval burgh of Dundee is one of a series of such reports on the historic towns and cities of Scotland. The reports have been commissioned by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate of the Scottish Development Department with a view towards providing background information upon which to base a policy for urban research. They are also aimed at providing local authority planning departments with the information that will enable them to assess the archaeological implications of planning applications. The reports attempt to identify those areas within the burghs which were developed at various periods of their history up to approximately 1800, and to locate within those areas sites which are of particular historical importance. Areas of 19th-century and later growth and modern suburbs have not been examined.

This publication represents Part 1 of a two-part survey, the results of which have had to be divided for reasons of size. Part 2, which contains detailed supporting evidence on particular aspects of the medieval burgh of Dundee, will be made available, at cost, as a word-processor print-out on application to the Director, Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust Ltd, 55 South Methven Street, Perth PH1 5NX. The list of Contents and Sources and Bibliography presented in Part 1 cover both parts of the survey.

The archaeological report and the series of illustrative plans have been researched and compiled by Sylvia Stevenson, while the historical account has been researched and presented by Dr Pat Torrie. Much of the cartographic work has been undertaken by Carol Dean while the material has been arranged and edited by Geoffrey Stell, Philip Holdsworth and Professor Geoffrey Barrow. The views expressed in this report are those of the survey team, freely given, and do not represent official policy.

The survey team would like to acknowledge the considerable help and support that they have received from various institutions and individuals, especially: Mr J F Hoey, Chief Executive, City of Dundee District Council; Mr A T Barrie, Chief Planning Officer, Dept of Planning, City of Dundee District Council and members of staff; Dundee District Archive and Record Centre; The Director and staff, especially, Miss Thoms, Dundee Museum and Art Gallery; Dundee Public Library, Wellgate; Dundee University Library, Archive Centre; the National Library of Scotland; the National Monuments Record of Scotland (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland); Mr Robert Smart and St Andrews University Library, Archive Centre; Scottish Record Office; Tayside Environmental Education Project; Dr Armstrong, Institute of Geological Sciences, Edinburgh; Mr J Boyd; Professor J B Caird; Professor I B Cowan; Rev Canon T Dennison; Mr I Flett; Mrs H Murray; Dr A Smith; and Dr W H K Turner.

THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE MEDIEVAL BURGH

As far as may be determined from the documentary and sparse archaeological evidence, it is unlikely that archaeological deposits of any considerable depth or extent survive beneath modern Dundee. The destruction of these deposits has been brought about by the industrial and commercial development of Dundee from the eighteenth century to modern times.

1. Quarrying at the sites of Castle Hill, Corbie Hill, and Reform Street in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries destroyed any archaeological deposits and substantially altered the town topography (see map 2).
2. Housing clearance for industrialisation and improvement schemes of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century destroyed most buildings dating from the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
3. The rebuilding programmes of the nineteenth century included the construction of large areas of cellarage parallel with the street frontages, which in all probability destroyed existing deposits. It should be said, however, that archaeological deposits are known to survive beneath load-bearing walls in cellars elsewhere in Scotland. There is no evidence at present that this is the case in Dundee (see map 2).

The topography of Dundee also necessitated the levelling the 19th-century ground surface preparatory to re-building, and the cutting of new foundations into sloping ground. This is particularly seen on the south side of *Nethergate*, *High Street* and *King Street* and those streets aligned NW-SE (see map 2). This was probably detrimental to the survival of archaeological deposits.

4. In recent years, the formation of a central Conservation Area (see map 3) and the listing of a large number of buildings of architectural/historical importance, has secured the present townscape of central Dundee for the foreseeable future. The statutory protection thus given to these properties imposes restrictions on development and improvement. It also means that future opportunities to investigate these sites will be restricted, though it may be possible in the course of controlled building work at ground, cellar or basement level to assess the survival of archaeological deposits.
5. Extensive re-development schemes during the 1960s and 1970s have also obliterated some parts of the medieval burgh. The *Wellgate* and its closes now lies beneath a new commercial complex, and the *Overgate* has disappeared beneath a new shopping precinct. The Keiller Centre and the *Nethergate Centre* now occupy erstwhile closes and backlands to the N and S of *High Street* and *Nethergate* respectively. These and other smaller new developments are illustrated on map 4.
6. On a more limited scale, the installation of services such as gas, electricity, water and sewers have undoubtedly disrupted deposits along street frontages, and along closes where these services enter properties.

The areas which are likely to be archaeologically sterile or inaccessible for the foreseeable future as a result these factors are illustrated on the accompanying map 4.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL (Map 5)

The areas reviewed are within the presumed courses of the sixteenth - and seventeenth-century town walls, and at the shore, NW of the coastline as seen at the end of the eighteenth century.

The evidence upon which the archaeological potential of sites in the burgh is assessed, is itself qualified by the following factors:

(i) There is a documentary archive available concerning medieval and post-medieval Dundee. Some of this material was transcribed and used by historians in the nineteenth century with varying degrees of accuracy and contradiction. There has been no recent reappraisal of the source-material and the restrictions imposed by time and resources on the present study have made it necessary to rely to some extent on selected nineteenth-century secondary source-material;

(ii) Redevelopment in the late eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries has considerably reduced the areas in which archaeological levels are likely to survive;

(iii) Very limited archaeological site investigation has taken place in Dundee and the majority of archaeological finds from the burgh are unstratified and recovered from levels now destroyed. Watching briefs have not so far indicated sites of potential future interest.

Because of the limitations of the present evidence, it is possible only to generalise concerning the potential of specific areas of the burgh, and to indicate those areas which, for one reason or another, are no longer considered archaeologically viable. The remaining area can be assessed only in general terms, and serious archaeological investigation can proceed on the evidence of future watching briefs.

1. New streets such as *Whitehall Street*, *Crichton Street*, *Union Street* and *Commercial Street* (see Appendix 1) in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century cut established frontages and were developed through backland areas. The degree of survival of deposits has never been assessed, but in the event of future service renewal, the possibility of identifying frontages, backland buildings and middens should be borne in mind.
2. The street-widening programme of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Appendix 1) resulted in the majority of cases of the recession of the building-line, leaving the earlier frontages beneath the newly-widened street. This development took place on the *Nethergate*, the *Murraygate* and *Seagate*. Where there is no evidence of re-grading which would have led to the destruction of levels, it is possible that frontages still survive beneath the street, although stratified deposits may be truncated by service trenches. In some places such as south *Murraygate* (see also, map 2) the street was levelled up in the nineteenth century and early frontages may survive here also.
3. The *Cowgate* and *Seagate* appear to constitute the earliest area of settlement. The somewhat enigmatic development E of the *Cowgate*, particularly its relationship with the sixteenth-and seventeenth-century town wall and the east port, urgently needs clarification. Presently, extensive areas on the north and south of the *Cowgate* have been cleared of building (see map 4). The depth of the deposits here is unclear. The north boundary with *King Street* is heavily underbuilt, and the west side of *St Roque's*

Lane shows extensive quarrying in bedrock almost to the frontage, which suggests that the backland deposits have been destroyed. The frontages may survive beneath and adjacent to the street and, comparing the height of ground of the area with that at the east port, it may be suggested that the street-level has slightly risen since the seventeenth century. The *Seagate* is more heavily built along the modern frontages, but here too early frontage deposits may have survived.

4. At the site of the Franciscan Greyfriars' House and Yards, the deposits have probably been disturbed by interments since the sixteenth century.
5. Comments on the supposed site of the Dominican Blackfriars House are included in part 2 of this report.
6. At the site of the early church and kirkyard of St Mary relics of the Civil War have recently been recovered, (see Appendix 4, nos 10 and 11) suggesting that some archaeological levels survive despite nineteenth-century and recent re-development.
7. At the possible site of the early shore and sixteenth-century harbour of Dundee, nineteenth-century development revealed substantial man-made deposits above the pre-sixteenth century shore (see map 2). Indications are that future development, particularly at depth, should be closely monitored.
8. The site of St Nicholas Craig could, in the event of future work, be usefully monitored to establish the survival of deposits.

SITES UNDER THREAT (Map 6)

There are no development proposals which imminently threaten the core of the medieval burgh.

1. Construction of the *Inner Ring Road* will be in progress by the 1990s. This scheme will not impinge upon the medieval burgh but will cut across the line of the seventeenth-century defences, inside the east port. It will also involve the modification of the *Hilltown/Victoria Road* junction to allow the construction of a tunnel and the excavation of a deep cutting to the rear of St Andrew's Church. Much of this land has already been cleared in anticipation of development and stands vacant. The new road will cut across the *King Street* and *Cowgate* frontages, emerging into the widened *Seagate* at the north-west junction of *Allan Street* (NO 4067 3064). The development lies outwith the immediate area of archaeological interest. However, frontage sites on *Cowgate* and *Seagate*, together with associated backland, may be profitably observed to establish the extent and nature of development eastwards along these streets after the construction of the seventeenth-century town wall.
2. *18-20 Murraygate* (NO 4039 3043), the last surviving eighteenth-century building in this street, is to be renovated, fronting on one of the earliest streets in the burgh. Any proposed improvements at ground level involving disturbance of underlying deposits could usefully be monitored to determine their depth and nature. The adjacent *Meadow Entry* was laid out in 1775, and the building under discussion dates from c. 1780. It would seem unlikely that any earlier building remains are incorporated in the present structure, but the possibility should be borne in mind.

FUTURE INVESTIVATIONS

Detailed discussion of the areas and sites examined below may be found part 2 of this report.

The Street Plan (see Appendix 1)

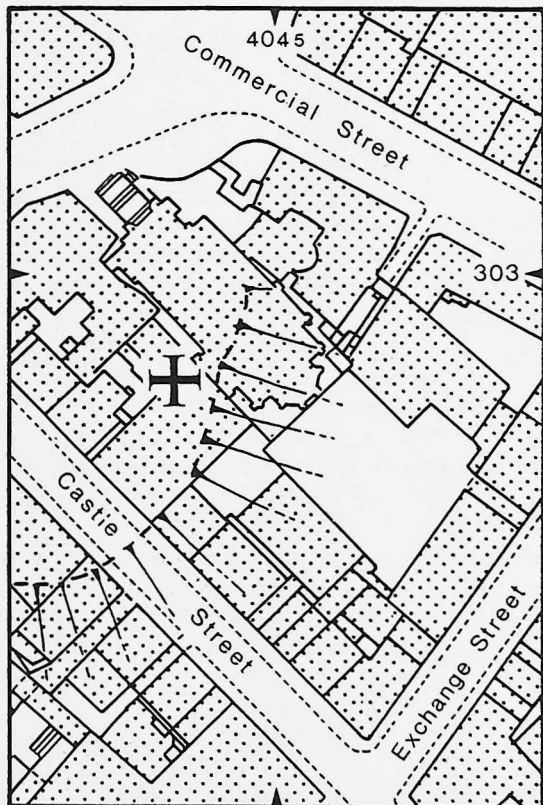
The street levels in Dundee are considerably higher today than they were in medieval times. In 1890 during development works, occupation material and road surfaces were found below ground-level. It is probable, therefore, that evidence of medieval street alignments and of street frontage developments exists in those parts of the town least affected by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century levelling and re-grading.

Future work should be directed towards:

- (i) more extensive documentary research into the development of and alterations to the medieval street-pattern
- (ii) the closer monitoring of road improvements and works affecting services, which may assist in establishing the survival of and degree of disturbance to archaeological deposits.

The Castle (Map 7 no 12)

Historical and archaeological evidence relating to the castle is meagre. The length of time which has elapsed since demolition, and the subsequent history of the site, make it



unlikely that any further information can be obtained by archaeological investigation. A number of questions remain, however, for future consideration by the archaeologist and the historian:

- (i) The date of construction of the castle;
- (ii) The plan and extent of the castle buildings and outworks;
- (iii) The nature of materials used in construction;
- (iv) The impact of the castle on the social and economic development of the burgh;
- (v) The date and circumstances of demolition;
- (vi) The medieval and post-demolition history of the site.

Town Defences (Map 7)

Town Walls

There are no visible remains of the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century town walls and ditches in Dundee. The course of the seventeenth-century walls is reasonably well recorded in nineteenth-century secondary sources, although some anomalies do occur. The land over which the walls were built was intensively redeveloped with the industrial expansion of the nineteenth and early twentieth century and it is now improbable that any remains of the walls survive. The associated ditches may well be preserved and speculatively be traceable through structural defects in buildings now occupying the site.

Future investigation should be directed towards more detailed study of primary documentary source-material:

- (i) To clarify the initial building and improvements to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century town walls;
- (ii) To ascertain the structure and materials used in construction in all periods of wall building;
- (iii) To establish the relationship between the walls, the ditches and the ports;
- (iv) To determine the relationship between the peripheral monastic houses, the walls and the secular burgh buildings;
- (v) Finally, to indicate the dates at which the walls of all phases were demolished.

The Ports (Map 7 nos 1-7)

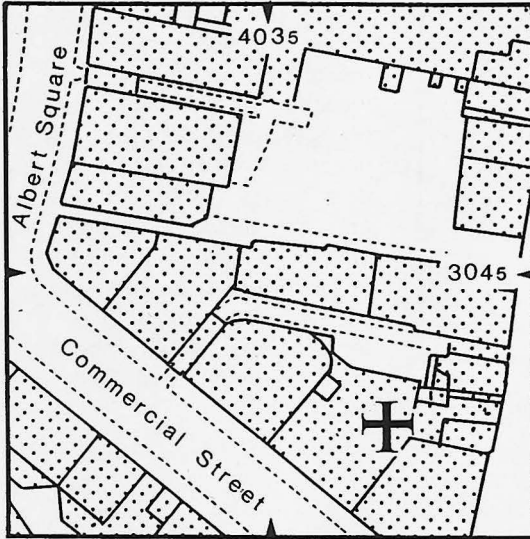
Ports and barrasses of Dundee pre-date the construction of the first sixteenth-century custom-built defences. Thereafter, their position fluctuated in accordance with the line of the wall, occasionally, as with the *Seagate* (1) port standing obsolete, outstripped by the defences. The much-restored *Cowgate* (2) port is the only surviving fragment of the seventeenth-century defences. The clearance of the ports and barrass may have left stone foundations and post-holes still traceable beneath the build-up of the modern street, but none has so far been identified and disturbance must have occurred from post-demolition street improvement and service laying. For the future, a combination of historical research and archaeological observation may help to determine the following points:

- (i) The structural appearance of the ports and barrass associated respectively with the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century walls;
- (ii) The siting of pre-sixteenth-century ports and barrass (i.e. were they synonymous with the sixteenth-century ports?). Observation of future service trenching and roadworks/improvements at the sites indicated may establish the survival of remains.

Fortified Towers

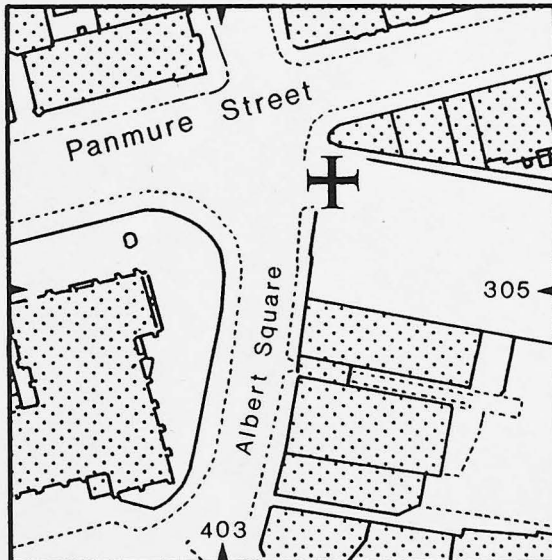
The Fort on Corbie Hill (Map 7 no 8)

As a result of extensive quarrying preparatory to the laying out of *North Lindsay Street* in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Corbie Hill no longer exists. Further information concerning the fort may be forthcoming from the study of documentary sources, but the site is now archaeologically sterile.



The Mauchline Tower (Map 7 no 9)

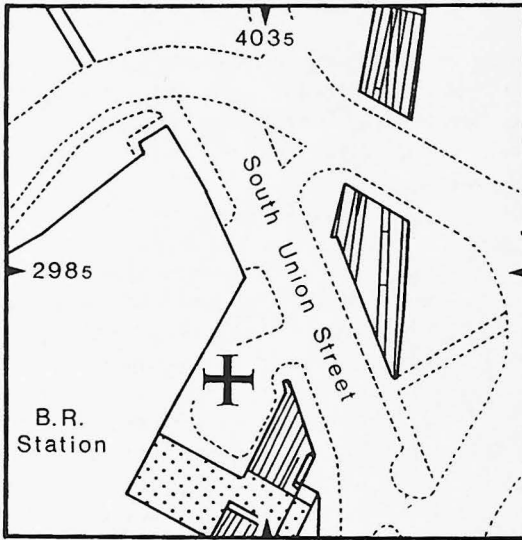
The claim that this was (Thomson 1874, 185-6) one of the towers of the town wall, is now discredited, and it is thought to have been a private residence. As a result of nineteenth-century redevelopment of the site, it seems likely that future information may be derived only from documentary sources.



The Lion's Round (Map 7 no 10)

The Lion's Round was a block house, probably contemporary and integral with the sixteenth-century town wall. It is probable that the site is now archaeologically sterile but a number of questions remain to be answered regarding the relationship between the tower, the walls and the town buildings, and the date at which the site was cleared.

**The Fortalice at St Nicholas Craig
(Map 7 no 11)**



Reputedly built in the late fifteenth century and removed between 1737 and c. 1776, there is no clear description of the structure. With progressive reclamation of the river shore in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the site receded inland and now lies beneath British Rail property. The degree of disturbance to deposits here is not known. Future work may be directed towards more detailed study of the available documentary sources relating to the building and appearance of the fortalice, and should opportunities arise, investigation of the degree of

disturbance or the build-up of deposits at the reputed site.

The Harbour (Map 8)

Future archaeological and historical research should be directed towards:

- (i) Confirmation of the site and development of the earliest (pre-sixteenth century) harbour at Dundee;
- (ii) Recording the plan of the sixteenth-century harbour and identifying any associated harbour buildings;
- (iii) Observing closely future re-development, road improvement and service laying in the vicinity of *Whitehall Crescent* for indication of early wharfage.

Wells (Map 9; see Appendix 2)

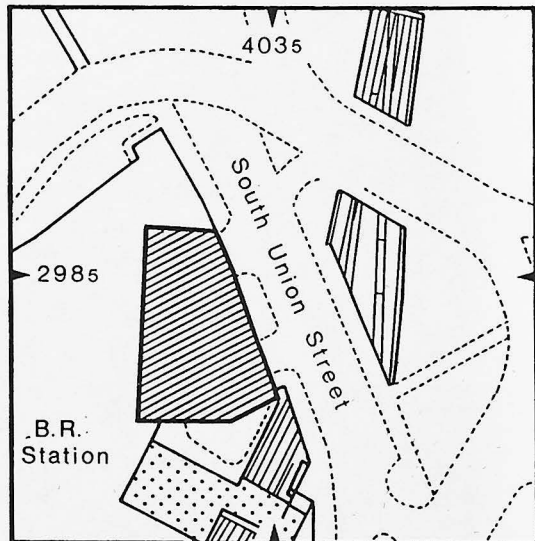
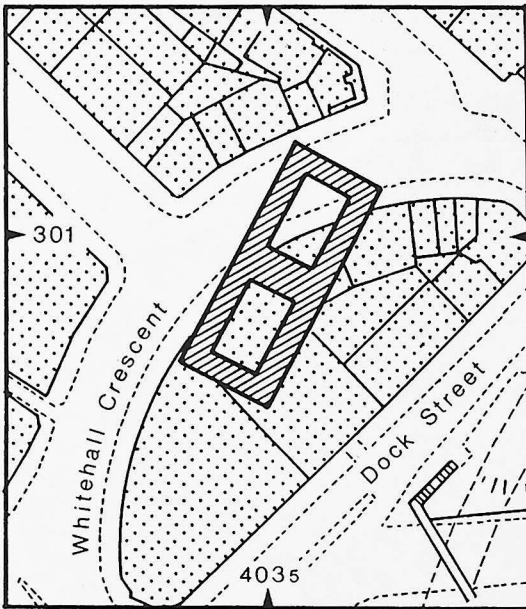
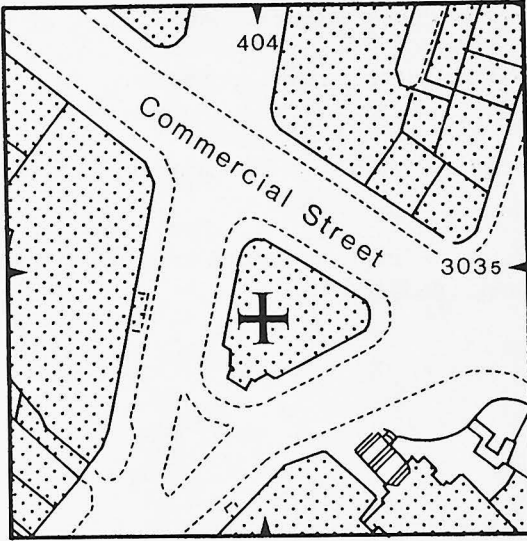
It has been only recently that the water supply of Dundee has been studied. It was an important factor in the initial settlement of Dundee and its later industrial development. The burns flowing to the Tay which are seen on Crawford's plans in 1776 and 1793 (see map 9) and which were central to the activities of the tanners and dyers, are now culverted, and the majority of wells fell out of use in the mid-nineteenth century.

Future archaeological investigation of the wells should continue to be directed towards recording the site, structural elements, probable usage (i.e. domestic or industrial), association with adjacent structures/deposits, and if possible, the period of use.

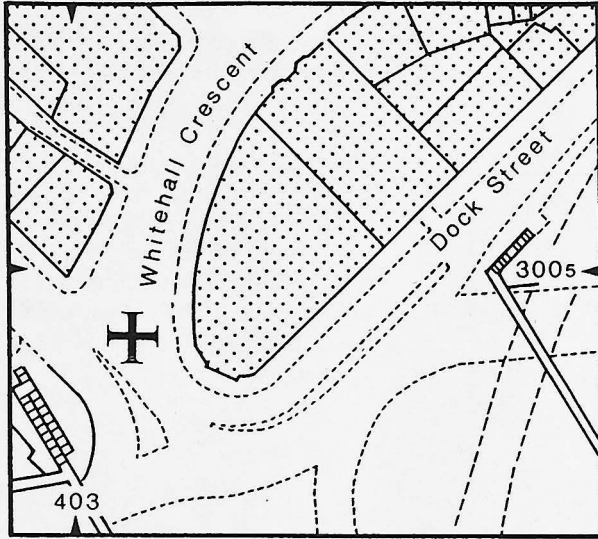
The Fleshmarkets or Shambles

It seems unlikely that any remains now survive of the Shambles which were located in various parts of Dundee between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Future investigation should be directed towards:

- (i) A more detailed study of documentary sources to attempt a more complete picture of the structure and plan of the respective buildings;
- (ii) In the event of redevelopment or road improvement, carrying out watching briefs in the area of the sites listed may provide information of the depth of deposits, and the survival of foundations.



Windmills



1. The site of the windmill at the shore has been redeveloped several times since the eighteenth century. Since the seventeenth century, when serious reclamation of the Tay shore began, the tendency in this area has been for the ground level to rise. Future archaeological investigation may provide information on the depth of deposits and indicate any surviving remains of the windmill. Closer study of primary documentary sources may provide some indication of the origins, usage and appearance of the mill.

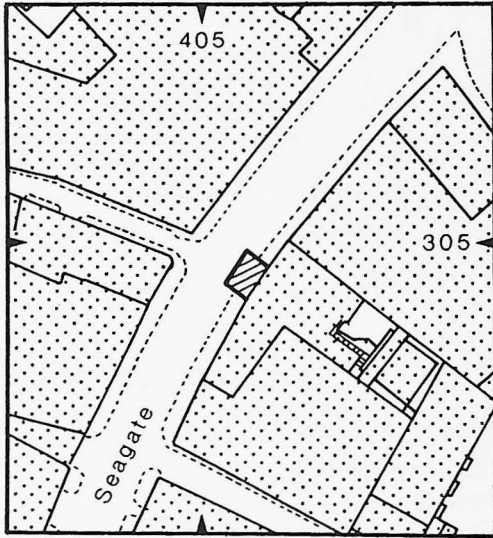
2. The windmill, *Windmill Brae*: (NO 3998 3032) (see map 2) Because of the extensive quarrying which has taken place, the site is now archaeologically sterile, and future research must be directed towards documentary sources.

Trade and Industry

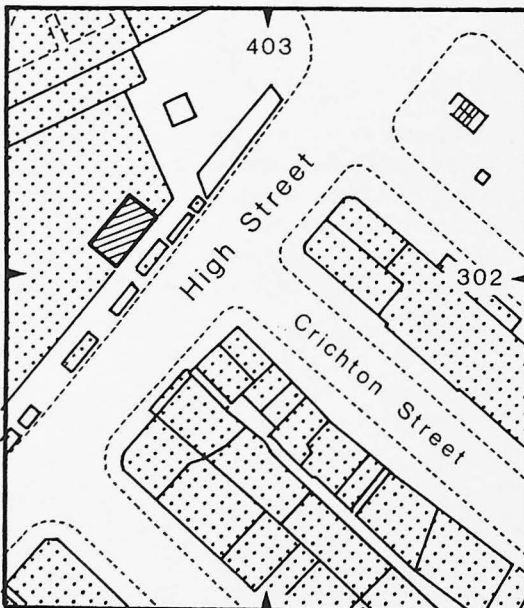
Future investigation should be directed towards closer inspection of documentary sources to identify those areas of the town, or individual buildings, within which specific trades were carried out. Extensive redevelopment over the last century has meant that large parts of the medieval burgh are now not available for archaeological study. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that those areas which do survive, are studied when opportunities arise with the maximum amount of information relating to craft and domestic use available.

Tolbooths

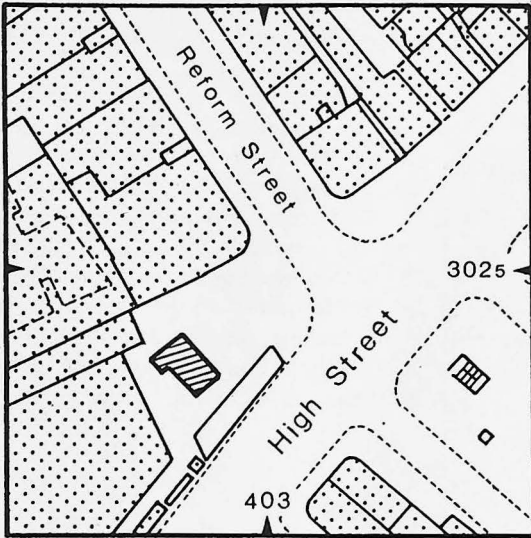
With the possible exception of the first tolbooth in Seagate the evidence available suggests that redevelopment between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries has effectively destroyed all trace of its successors.



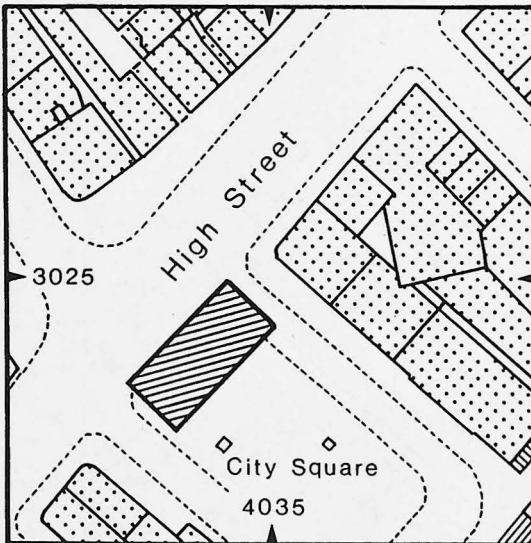
1. The site of the *Seagate* tolbooth is uncertain, and there is no indication of either the plan or appearance of the building. The frontage may survive beneath the present street. The date at which the building fell out of use is not known.



2. The site of the second tolbooth, (NO 4028 3021) has now been completely redeveloped, and it seems unlikely any remains survive. It may be possible from documentary sources, however, to determine the date at which it came into use as a tolbooth, and also the date of the transfer of this function to another building.

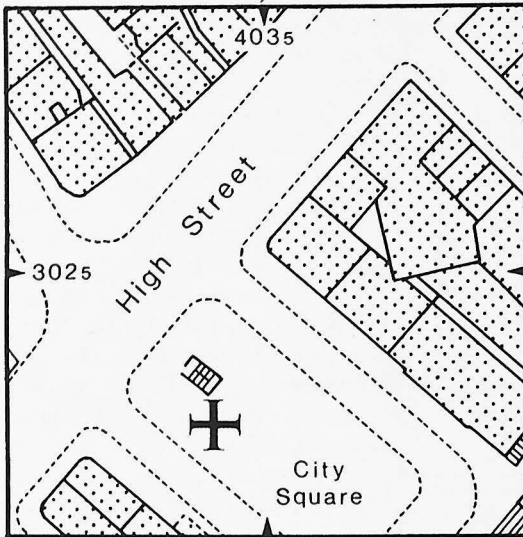


3. The so-called 'new tolbooth', also known as Monk's Lodging, functioned according to nineteenth-century sources as a tolbooth immediately prior to the construction of a new building in 1562. There is some doubt as to the accuracy of this statement and more detailed research into primary documentary sources may be instrumental in clarifying this issue. The site has been cleared and lies beneath the piazza created in front of the Overgate centre in the 1960s. It is possible that some archaeological levels including building foundations still survive, though it is unlikely that archaeological investigation would detect temporary use as a tolbooth.



4. The last two tolbooths in Dundee are well documented as to plan and structural appearance. Both tolbooths were erected on the same site and the later building finally cleared in 1932. Excavation for the underground car park lying below *City Square* must have effectively destroyed all archaeological deposits.

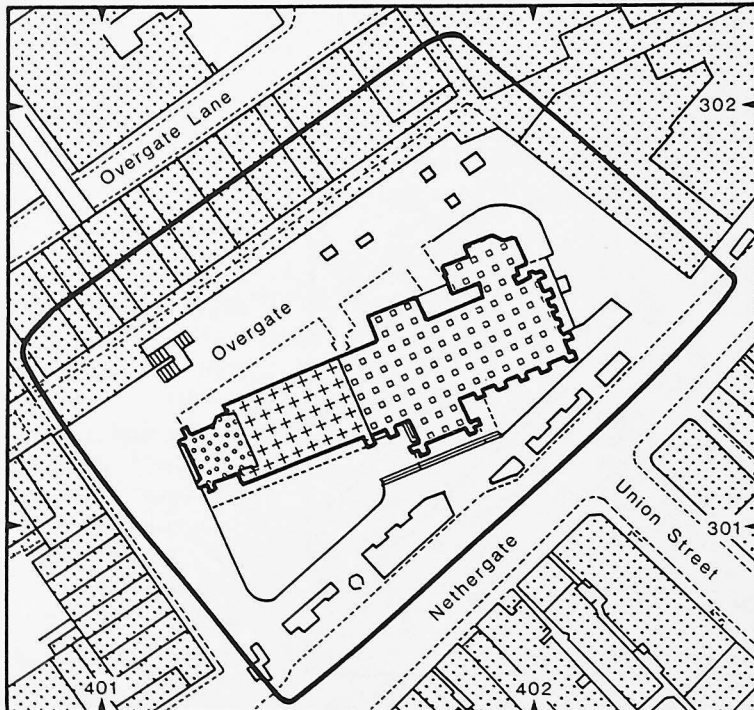
Churches (Map 10)







1. The Church of St Clement

The erection of *City Square* and its associated buildings has totally destroyed the site of St Clement's Church and Yard. Future investigation is restricted to research in the primary documentary source-material to determine more clearly, if possible, the date and plan of the church, and its relationship with the castle and the burgh.

2. The Parish Church of St Mary



-  15c. masonry (heavily restored)
-  18c. re-building
-  19c. re-building
-  Presumed limit of pre 15c. kirkyard

The body of the present church is, archaeologically, of little relevance. Future work beneath the present floor-level may provide evidence of earlier structural phases. Future work involving the disturbance of the surviving kirkyard deposits could usefully be monitored.

3. *St Paul's Church*

Although widely recorded in nineteenth-century literature this site can be dismissed as the result of a confusion with the altarage of St Paul.

4. *The Chapels*

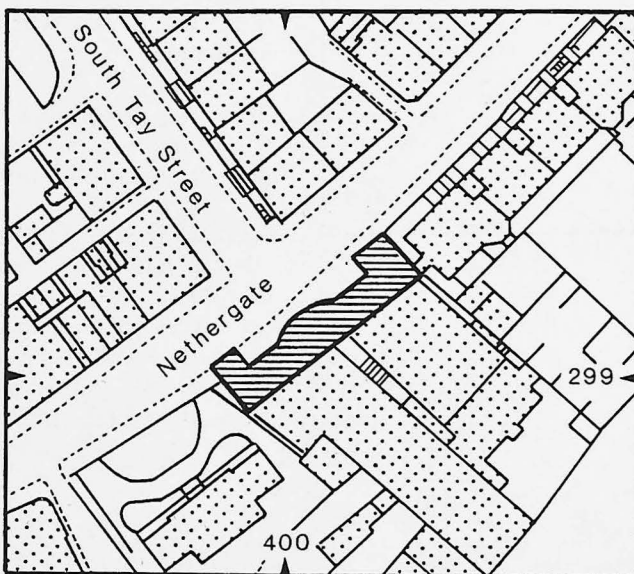
There is considerable confusion in the secondary source-material between genuine pre-Reformation chapel sites, and those properties which provided support for altars in the parish church. In several cases secular buildings and closes named after the altars which they endowed have been named as chapel sites. An attempt has been made to correct this confusion, in part 2 of this report, but considerably more work is required on the primary source-material. For the future, the following recommendations are made:

- (i) A thorough investigation of primary source-material;
- (ii) An investigation of known chapel sites as opportunities arise, to ascertain survival of deposits, period of usage, plan and architectural style.

5. *The Leper House*

The exact site of this foundation is not known other than it was on the east side of the town beyond the port. Future work should be directed towards the documentary evidence in an attempt to identify the site more closely, which itself may now have been totally destroyed by nineteenth-century and later development.

6. *The Hospital*



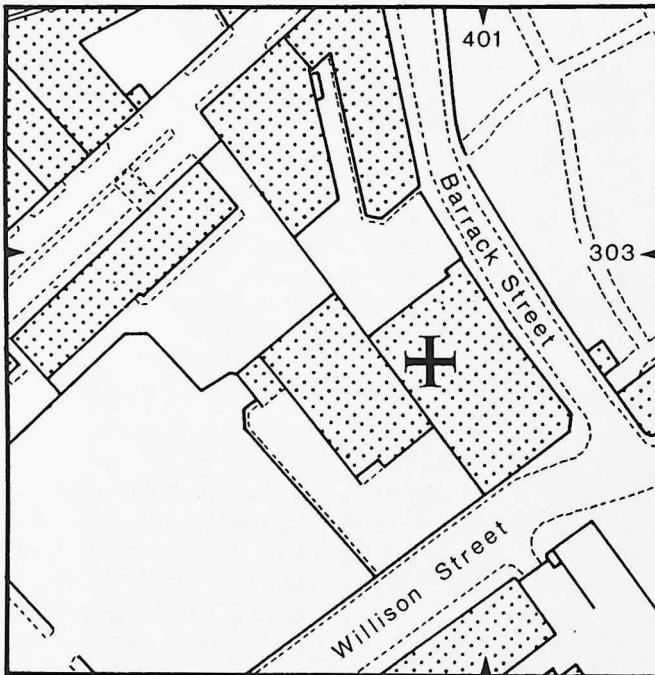
Though probably spuriously claimed to be a convent of Red Friars (Trinitarians), there is no doubt that a hospital existed here. Fragments of the rebuilt hospital may have survived until the nineteenth century. Future investigation should be guided towards the following:

- (i) Clarifying the relationship of the Trinitarian friars with Dundee and the hospital;

(ii) Examining the site of the hospital to determine the extent of the survival of archaeological levels, if any, in the hope of tracing the foundations of the earlier hospital on the site and any traces of monastic occupation.

Religious Houses

7. The Dominican Friary

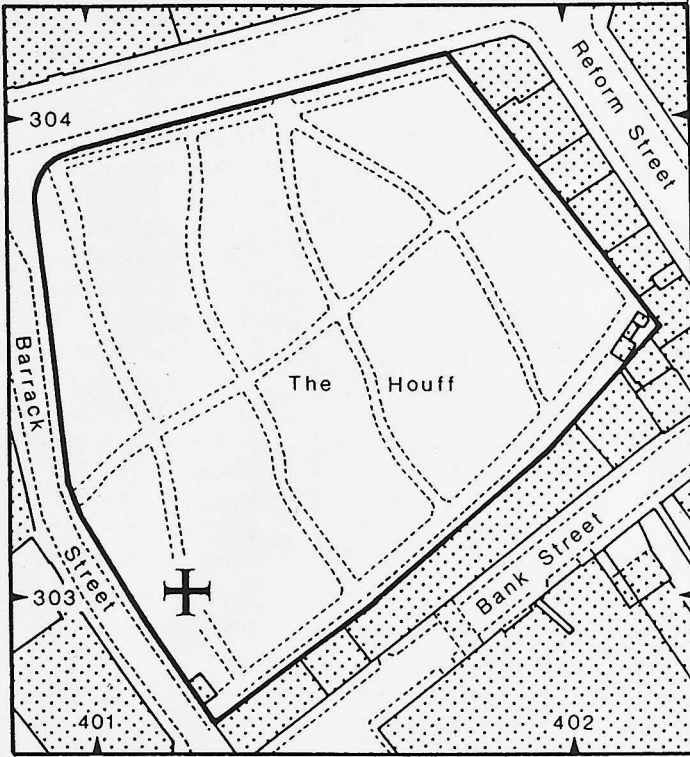


Some uncertainty has developed regarding the site of this foundation. Most nineteenth-century secondary sources state that it stood on the W side of the present *Barrack Street* opposite the Howff but others claim the property stood without the *West Port*. Future investigation should be directed towards:

(i) Closer examination of primary documentary sources in an attempt to clarify the true site of the foundation;

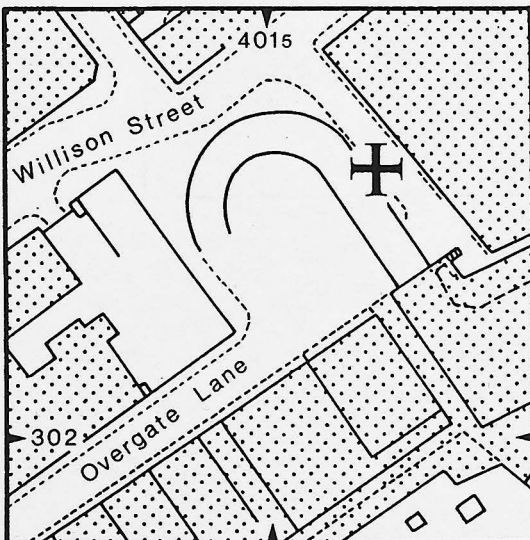
(ii) As opportunities arise, the two possible sites of the Blackfriars, that on the W side of *Barrack Street* and the other outside the *West Port*, should be examined for traces of building foundations and material evidence regarding previous use of the site.

8. The Franciscan Friary



— Limit of Greyfriar's yard

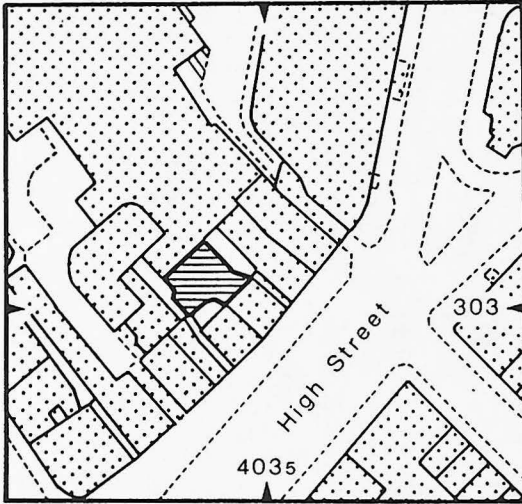
The exact site and plan of the friary buildings is uncertain but they may have stood along the south and east sides of the Howff, whilst the remainder of the present burial-ground comprised the yard. Future opportunities to investigate here are limited, and information should be sought in the documentary sources regarding the site, plan, architectural style and materials used in the friary buildings.



The Franciscan Nunnery

There is some doubt regarding the site of this nunnery. The building that was previously identified as the nunnery was cleared in 1869. Several building episodes have since taken place and after the most recent in the 1960s it is no longer available for investigation. Future work must therefore involve more detailed study of the surviving documentary evidence, to determine the site, plan and architectural style of the conventual buildings.

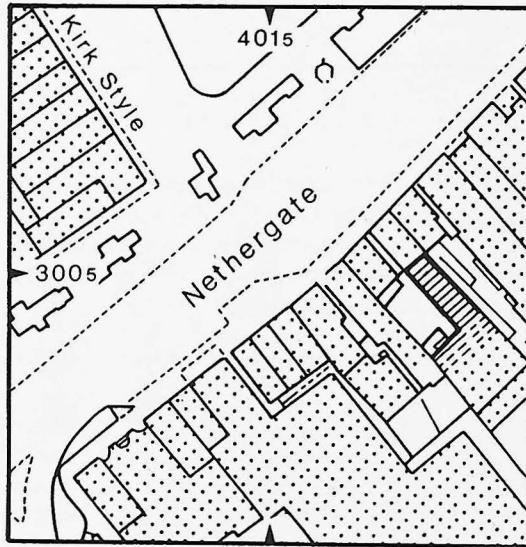
Secular buildings (Map 11; see preface and appendix 3)



Today, the only secular buildings earlier than the eighteenth century in the area of the medieval burgh survive in *Grays Close* and 86 *Nethergate*. Future investigations should be directed towards:

(i) Determining the relationship between pre-eighteenth-century buildings and the main medieval thoroughfare where deposits survive;

(ii) Establishing by a combination of documentary and archaeological research, the sources of building materials for both medieval and post-medieval buildings; and clarifying the use of pre-eighteenth century buildings other than as dwellings.



RECOMMENDATIONS

No new development is planned for the historic core of Dundee. However, the massive redevelopment of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, coupled with the large modern schemes of the 1960s and 1970s, have already effectively destroyed a very large area of the medieval town. Future occasions to determine the presence, extent and depth of surviving deposits may be severely limited, and these recommendations give guidelines to the most effective use of the opportunities available.

(i) Confusing and contradictory interpretative statements concerning the history of Dundee, which appear in nineteenth-century secondary sources, give the overwhelming impression that only thorough study of all the original documentary source-material available, can provide a sound basis from which to reconstruct the appearance and the social and economic development of the medieval burgh, its buildings and its people.

(ii) Future road improvements, repairs to and extension of the existing services of gas, electricity and water, involving trenching, should be monitored to record the incidence of survival and depth of archaeological deposits in the burgh.

(iii) A policy of selective trial trenching could usefully be maintained in conjunction with (ii) above, in advance of any proposed redevelopment and improvement schemes in the areas indicated on map 5. The results should be carefully assessed to determine more closely the archaeological potential of the sites in question, and to extract the maximum information from those areas which appear to be only superficially disturbed.

(iv) Property renovation can be as destructive to the archaeological record as rebuilding. Proposed renovation projects could be usefully monitored along the frontages of the medieval streets, particularly where structural alteration is involved at ground-level. The majority of Dundee frontages are now occupied by nineteenth-century buildings, but the possibility exists that earlier structural remains or materials have been incorporated in the nineteenth-century building.

PREVIOUS WORK

Although there have been substantial opportunities in the last two decades to examine the medieval core of the burgh, resources have not been available to undertake detailed archaeological examination. The enormous amount of material collected from the site of the Overgate by the late Mr D.C. Henderson, from what were probably a series of medieval middens, underlines the fact that those areas of medieval Dundee not subjected to quarrying, levelling and rebuilding during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries concealed a source of information rich in diversity, with the potential to confirm and extend knowledge derived from the study of documentary sources.

The unstratified origin of the majority of artefacts recovered from the burgh in many cases neutralises their archaeological importance. Such archaeological investigation which has taken place has been largely confined to the rapid recording, prior to construction work, of structures discovered by contractors, and to observations on building sites within the area of the old burgh. The extent of this work is outlined below.

Map 9

- NO40073060 *Bell Street Well*, discovered and recorded during redevelopment (Boyd, 1968, 1).
- NO40023057 *Bell Street Well*, discovered and recorded during redevelopment (Boyd, 1968, 1).
- NO40073027 *South Ward Road Well*, revealed and recorded during construction work (Boyd, 1969, 3).
- NO399 299 *Nethergate Well*, discovered and recorded during demolition (Wedderburn, 1971, 3).
- NO402 306 *Maxwelltown Well*, discovered and recorded during demolition (Wedderburn, 1971, 3).
- NO40433053 *Peter Street Well*, discovered and recorded during building alterations (Thoms, 1973, 5).
- NO40413061 *Wellgate/Bain Square* (i) Well discovered and recorded during demolition (Zealand, 1972, 2)
(ii) 99ft (30 m) x 99ft (30 m) area surrounding (i) stripped to investigate area for late medieval occupation. No structure earlier than early nineteenth century. Finds: some seventeenth-century coins and several sherds of medieval pottery (Thoms, 1973, 6).
- NO3995 3001 *27 Tay Street Well*, discovered and recorded during property renovation (Thoms, 1974, 8).
- NO40653072 *Cowgate Well*, revealed and recorded during demolition (Thoms, 1981, 46).
- NO396 302 *Brook Street Well*, discovered and recorded during mains service renewal (Thoms, 1981, 46).

- NO39533996 *Hawkhill* Well, discovered and recorded during redevelopment (Thoms, 1982, 32).
- NO3981 3018 *Temple Lane* Well, discovered and recorded during redevelopment (Thoms, 1980, 39).
- NO3028 3023 *Overgate* Well, revealed and recorded during redevelopment (DAGM).
- NO4028 3021 *High Street* Well, discovered and recorded during redevelopment (Lamb, 1895, LVII, 1967, 3).
- NO4034 3051 *Murraygate* A watching brief was maintained during spring/summer 1984 on the site of the extension to the present premises of John Menzies on the NW side of Murraygate. Service trenches at the rear of the building showed no trace of early occupation. A depth of 1ft 10in (0.55 m) of topsoil and rubble overburden was noted above geological levels (*ex inf* L Thoms, April 1986).
- NO4037 3049 *Murraygate* A watching brief at the former La Scala Cinema (now Top Shop) frontage during improvements, revealed no trace of earlier occupation. The service and foundation trenches showed a similar depth of rubble overburden and topsoil above geological levels to that described above (*ex inf* L Thoms, April 1986).
- NO4042 3049 *Murraygate* A watching brief during the summer of 1985 on the present Principles/Dorothy Perkins frontage on the south-east side of Murraygate, produced no evidence of earlier occupation. As observed at the other watching briefs, the material above geological levels consisted of building rubble and topsoil (*ex inf* L Thoms, April, 1986).

The environs of the burgh have produced evidence of the favourability of the raised beach site for settlement in antiquity. No large-scale excavations have been undertaken, but limited investigation of sites revealed by chance has been carried out.

- NO392 313 *Dundee Law* The earthworks were described in detail by Christison (1900-01, 52). The Law rises dominantly on the NW side of Dundee to a height of 572ft (174.35 m) above sea level. During erection of a television mast at N edge of summit in 1964, two almost parallel lines of boulders were discovered 2ft 6ins (0.76 m) below the surface and circa 4ft (1.22 m) from the steep side of the hill. Boyd (1964, 1) comments that these boulders lie along the line of the supposed rampart of the fort. Speculatively, the discovery may have formed part of the rounded annexe at the N end of the Law summit which Christison (1900-01, 53) describes as following the contour of the hill there.
- NO353 311 *Gowrie Hill* The fragmentary remains of a long cist were discovered during the regrading of this site prior to housing development. The cist was constructed from thin sandstone slabs orientated WNW-ESE. The internal cavity measured 6ft 6ins (2 m) x 1ft 10ins (0.56 m) and enclosed human remains consisting of lower leg bones and some foot bones. The skeleton had been interred with the skull lying to W (Thoms, 1974, 8).

- NO428 310 *Stannergate* Millar (1925, 13) records the discovery of a shell/kitchen midden in 1878 during excavation between the river and the railway, to provide materials for the embankment of a timber pond forming an extension to Dundee harbour. The deposit is reputed to have measured 100ft (30.48 m) x 60ft (18.29 m), area, and contained large quantities of mollusc shells, burned wood, split bone, porpoise bones, deer horns and stone implements. Lacaille (1954) dated this site to the Mesolithic, probably with Larnian affinities. The midden was overlain by earth to a depth of 12ft (3.66 m). Millar queried whether this could not be landslip, but if this was so, it must have pre-dated what he describes as '12 cists or stone coffins ... of the Roman period' which were interred 8ft (2.44 m) above the shell midden. There is no evidence for the date of these burials, and that given must be regarded as purely speculative. The location of the site is not clear, and it has in all probability now been totally destroyed by development of the area between the railway and the river.

GEOLOGY AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

Solid Geology (Map 12)

The burgh is built over Lower Devonian sandstones comprising the Dundee formation (Arbuthnott group). These mainly grey to brown, medium to coarse-grained cross-bedded sandstones, are intercalated with flaggy sandstone and interbedded with siltstone and mudstone.

During the formation of the Arbuthnott group, Andesite lavas were extruded onto the alluvial plains of the Lower Devonian rivers (Armstrong 1985, 15). In Dundee, one such flow runs from beneath the NW landfall of the Tay Road Bridge, SW beneath the made ground on which stands the British Rail complex, and beneath the Tay (BGS, 1:50,000, 1983, sheet 48E (solid); BGS, 1:50,000, 1980, 49 (solid). Davidson (1937, 191) recorded an exposure of this fine-grained quartz Andesite in a cable trench mid-way between the entrances to the West and Tay Bridge stations in *South Union Street* in 1937. In this instance, the exposure lay within 3ft (0.9 m) of the road surface in made-up ground, and, speculatively could represent a part of St Nicholas Craig. Associated with these volcanic episodes, deposits of volcanic detritus (sandstone grade) occur on the SE side of the flow described above.

The geology of central Dundee is dominated by an intrusion of quartz-hypersthene dolerite, again of Lower Devonian age. This intrusion has been quarried extensively and was previously responsible for the eminence of Castle Hill and Corbie Hill and the ridge removed by the formation of *Reform Street* and *Bank Street*. Exposures have been identified in *Castle Street* during cable laying (Davidson, 1937, 190), at the *West Port* during building work, and at *Wilkes Lane* (NO 3922 3021 to NO 3933 3002).

Olivine dolerite, intrusive in the Lower Devonian sediments, can be defined in geographical terms within the boundary created by *Dudhope Street*, *Brown Street*, *Ward Road* and the High School. To the N, the area is defined geographically by *Lochee Road*, *Dudhope Castle*, *Constitution Street*, *Alexander Street* crossing *Dens Road*, and subsequently S of *Victoria Road* to *Hilltown*.

On the periphery of the medieval burgh, intrusive rocks of Lower Devonian age eroding at a slower rate than the contemporary sediments of the Arbuthnott series, form striking topographic features such as Dundee Law. (see map 13) The extensive quarrying of previously upstanding masses of igneous rock such as Corbie Hill and Castle Hill which took place in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has considerably altered the pre-eighteenth-century topographical aspect of the early burgh. Comparison of Crawford's plan (1776) with a recent contour plan of the burgh (see map 13) and its environs indicates how successful this regrading process has been. The accompanying map indicates, simply, the present known extent of extrusive and intrusive rocks within and on the periphery of the burgh (BGS 1:50,000, 1983 sheet 48E solid; BGS, 1:50,000, 1980, sheet 49 solid).

Drift Geology (Map 14)

The Lower Devonian sedimentary series and accompanying intrusives on the periphery of Dundee are masked by Quaternary glacial till consisting of a reddish sandy clay with fragments of local rock and erratics. The extent to which this material overlies the solid geology beneath the medieval burgh is not certain. A borehole in the *High Street* (Jones,

1968, 263, fig.51ii) suggests that here at least is some covering of till above dolerite, but there is no indication of coverage elsewhere. For the most part, the core of the medieval burgh is situated upon Late Glacial marine deposit consisting of littoral and deltaic sand and silt, and subtidal clay. These deposits extend across the central part of the medieval burgh between *South Ward Road* and *Nethergate*. The S boundary of these deposits, running along the N side of *Nethergate*, appears to represent the back feature of a post-glacial raised beach (Jones, 1968, 262). Post-glacial marine deposits of intertidal silt and clay occupy a 'creek' in the late glacial material described above, and occupy the erstwhile 'Meadows' now *Ward Road*, *Albert Square*, *Panmure Street*, *Wellgate* and *King Street*.

It is from this post-glacial deposit that animal and vegetable remains have been recovered in the course of building work. Fragments of skull and horn cores from *Bos longifrons* (celtic ox) and hazel-nut shells were recovered from excavations at depths of between 18ft (5.49 m) and 22ft (6.71 m) in Meadowside. (see Appendix 4:1 and 2) Similarly, during the construction of Reform Street on the margin of Little Meadow in 1835, the remains of an oak tree were found, 10 ft (3.05 m) below the then ground surface, embedded in blue clay. The trunk was 20 ft (6.10 m) in length by 4 ft 4 ins (1.32 m) in circumference, and the tree had been rooted where found. A smaller oak was discovered a short distance NW of the first, covered by a bank of blue clay circa 4 ft 6 ins (1.37 m) in depth in turn covered by 9 ins (0.23 m) of sand, and 4 ft (1.22 m) of mixed soil (Lamb 1895, LVa). Sections of the trees were placed in the museum. Remains from these post-glacial deposits have also been recovered from *Hilltown*, (*Bos longifrons*) (Appendix 4:3) and the *Overgate* (*Cervus elaphus* (red deer)). (Appendix 4:6) The S part of the *Meadows* in the eighteenth century formed the town reservoir (Crawford, 1776), water being transported by aqueduct to the town. By 1799, the Meadows were partially drained and reclaimed. The Albert Institute stands partially on the site of the old reservoir, and recent corings in advance of renovation work reflect the previously marshy nature of the site, with interdigitating silty clay and peat (Nicholson 1976).

The influence of Geology on settlement

Both the solid and drift geology of Dundee have played an important part in the initial settlement of the burgh. The intrusive volcanics provided:

- (i) Strategically advantageous sites such as Corbie Hill and Castle Rock, capable of providing security for the town and protecting access to the upper reaches of the Tay, a function later assumed by the castle at Broughty Ferry;
- (ii) A harbour site between St Nicholas Craig and Castle Rock which gave shelter along an otherwise inhospitable E coast;
- (iii) The juxtaposition of impermeable igneous rock and the permeable Lower Devonian sedimentary series also provided advantageous sites at the points where they met for the development of wells. The Cross Well, (map 9, Appendix 2:22) for example, occupied a position on a dolerite/sandstone junction.

The drift geology and physical development of the Tay Valley and the site of Dundee in the Late Glacial and Post-Glacial periods produced a site favourable to human settlement. The glacial till was deposited by east flowing meltwaters over an extensive area, covering the Lower Devonian sediments and igneous rocks at Dundee, with the exception of Dundee Law, a crag-and-tail feature, which now exists as a monument to ice action. As the weight of the Devonian ice sheet diminished in the Late Glacial period, eustatic rise of

sea level initially outstripped isostatic uplift of the hitherto depressed land surface, creating the raised beach deposits which occupy that part of the town N of *Nethergate* (BGS, 1:50,000, 1983 sheet 48E drift).

Subsequent fluctuations in sea level in the Post-Glacial period, as balance was restored between land and sea, led to the development of further raised beach deposits, such as have been identified at the E part of the town across The Meadows.

Thus:

(i) The sands, silts and gravels of the raised beaches provided an admirable site for early settlement;

(ii) The sloping river shore with its relatively sheltered shelving beach provided a favourable refuge for early vessels;

(iii) The juxtaposition of the igneous and sedimentary rocks overlaid by clays and sands and the steeply rising dolerite ridge culminating in Corbie Hill in the N of the burgh, created conditions which made it impossible for the early town to expand northwards. From a practical point of view, The Meadows were too wet and it was technically impractical to build over the ridge until the eighteenth century. Expansion, therefore, was directed westwards and southwards into the Tay, where reclamation is documented from at least the seventeenth century.

Evidence for Early Settlement

The urban origins of Dundee are poorly documented. The raised beach on which part of the town stands, coupled in the past with a relatively sheltered shelving beach offering security for sea-going craft, provided favourable conditions for occupation. In a pre-urban context, chance finds suggest that prehistoric man took full advantage of these physical conditions. In the nineteenth century extensive shell midden deposits were discovered in the *Stannergate*. (see Previous work). Lacaille (1954) identified this site as Mesolithic with Larnian affinities with human remains (of uncertain date) and Bronze Age pottery above the midden deposits. Some ceramic evidence dateable, largely on stylistic grounds, to the Bronze Age, has been recovered from the periphery of the burgh. (see Appendix 4:69-73). This, together with numerous chance finds of stone and flint artefacts of Neolithic and Bronze Age date implies an early and continuous occupation. The only known occupation site apart from the seasonally occupied Mesolithic midden at *Stannergate* is Dundee Law. The Law rises on the NW side of Dundee to a height of 572 ft (174.35 m) above sea level. The earthworks occupying the summit were recorded by Christison (1900-1901, 52-3), but he was unable to determine the date or sequence of fortification. They have never been the subject of archaeological investigation. Chance finds from the Law include an incised jet button of a type normally associated with the Bronze Age (see Appendix 4:57) and a stone 'lamp' (see Appendix 4:56) for which a satisfactory date has not been found.

HISTORICAL SOURCE-MATERIAL

Dundee's records suffered from English attacks on three occasions. The Wars of Independence resulted in assaults on Dundee by English troops and the destruction or removal of most of the town's charters. The burgh archives were pillaged again in the English raid of 1548. To these losses, Monck's offensive against the town in 1651 brought devastation not only to people and buildings, but also to the town's records. In 1661 the provost and bailies appealed to parliament, indicating 'that upon the occasion of the intakeing of the burgh of Dundie be the English in the yeir 1651 the charter kist of the forsaid burgh was broken up by the English souldiers and all the writs taken out of the sammen and many of them brunt and destroyed and verie few of them gotten bak agane' (APS, vii, 353).

Much of the documentation of medieval Dundee has in consequence been irretrievably lost; and in attempting to reconstruct the medieval town a heavy reliance has been placed on a relatively narrow range of documentary source-material. This range has been further restricted by the time allocation for the survey, which has also necessitated partial dependence on secondary source-material, much of which is excellent (in particular the works of Maxwell and Lamb, although the latter is unfortunately not referenced). Too many of the nineteenth-century secondary sources, however, indiscriminately relate facts rather than interpret events. This at times exposes them to the repetition of the errors of their predecessors.

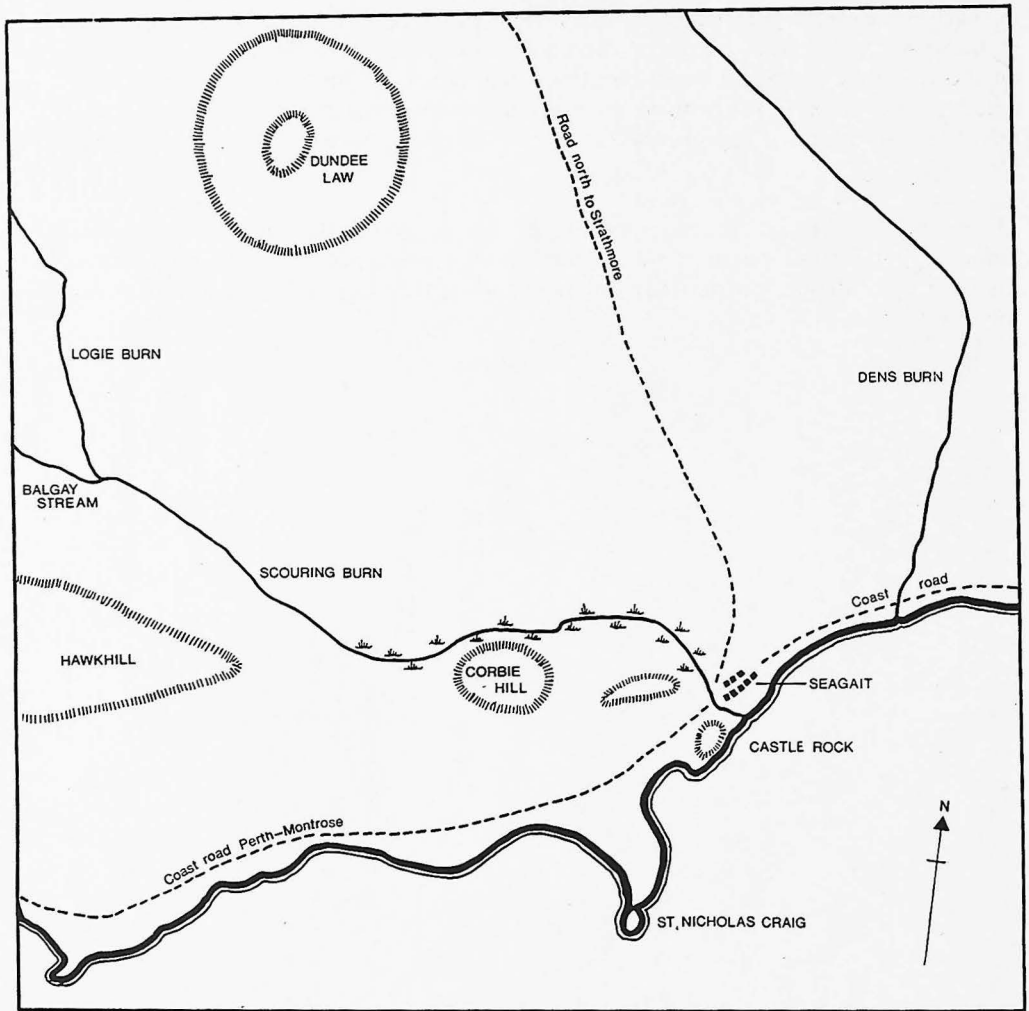
There is, in spite of the losses of records, a mass of material concerning medieval Dundee still relatively unresearched. The Dundee District Archive and Record Centre (DDARC) houses the majority of the town muniments. They are well indexed and provide an excellent starting point for any study of the town. The sixteenth-century Town Council Minute Books and Burgh Head Books have been used in this report. Maxwell in *The History of Old Dundee Narrated out of the Town Council Register* (Dundee, 1884), using the same sources, surveys in detail many aspects of burgh life, but a thorough study of these important records is recommended. Different questions might be asked of the source-material and a new emphasis placed on some of the information contained therein.

Several late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Protocol Books are now in the keeping of DDARC, but for this survey it has been possible to give them only superficial attention. The guild merchant and craft records from the late sixteenth century, and presbytery and kirk session records have survived, much of which is in DDARC. The Wedderburn of Pearsie muniments are on loan from Scottish Record Office (SRO) to DDARC; and SRO holds archival material of several Angus county families, and in particular the Scrimgeour-Wedderburn muniments. These, along with monastic cartularies, national records such as *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* and the *Register of the Great Seal*, and Dundee's own shipping-lists provide much valuable information. For this report, however, no attempt has been made to study the trade and economic records in foreign archives.

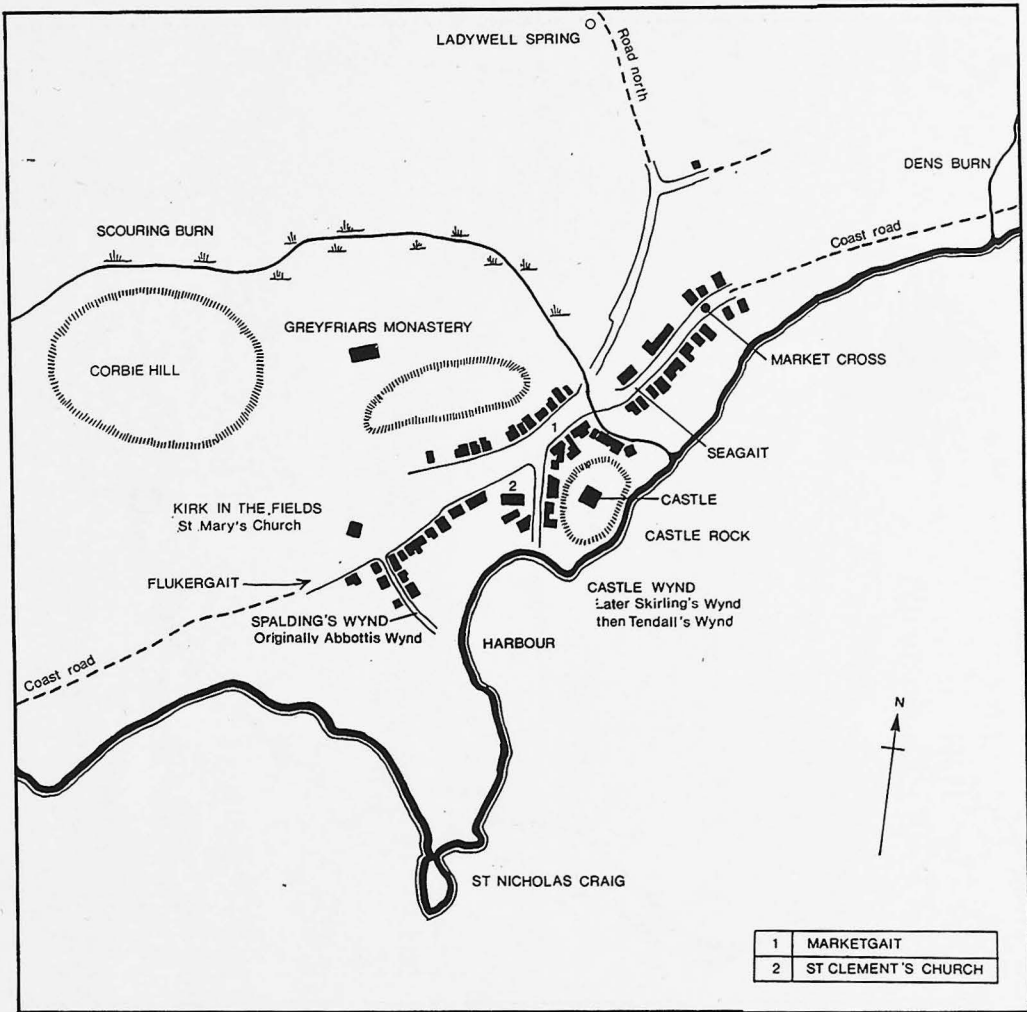
Much, in consequence, remains to be answered. A closer study of extant sasines, for example, might conclude the uncertainty over the siting of the Blackfriars monastery and the possibility of the existence of a Trinitarian Maison Dieu; it might give fuller details of the town's fortifications; and would most certainly provide a clearer knowledge of the town's layout, with its multitude of important residences, chapels and poor hovels. Many questions remain to be fully answered. Why, for example, did the early settlement move westwards out of Seagait? How early was Cowgait developed? Was the harbour between

Castle Rock and St Nicholas Craig the main attraction for settlement as the town grew? What influence did the two town churches have in this westerly development? What was the relationship of St Clement's Church to St Mary's Church, and their respective roles in the early town? What part, if any, did St Clement's Church have to play in the daily routine of the castle? And what place did the castle and its occupants have in the life of the emerging burgh? Some of these questions may never be answered definitively, but a detailed assessment of the primary documentation as well as archaeological excavations might lead to reasoned hypotheses on some of the more concealed features of medieval Dundee.

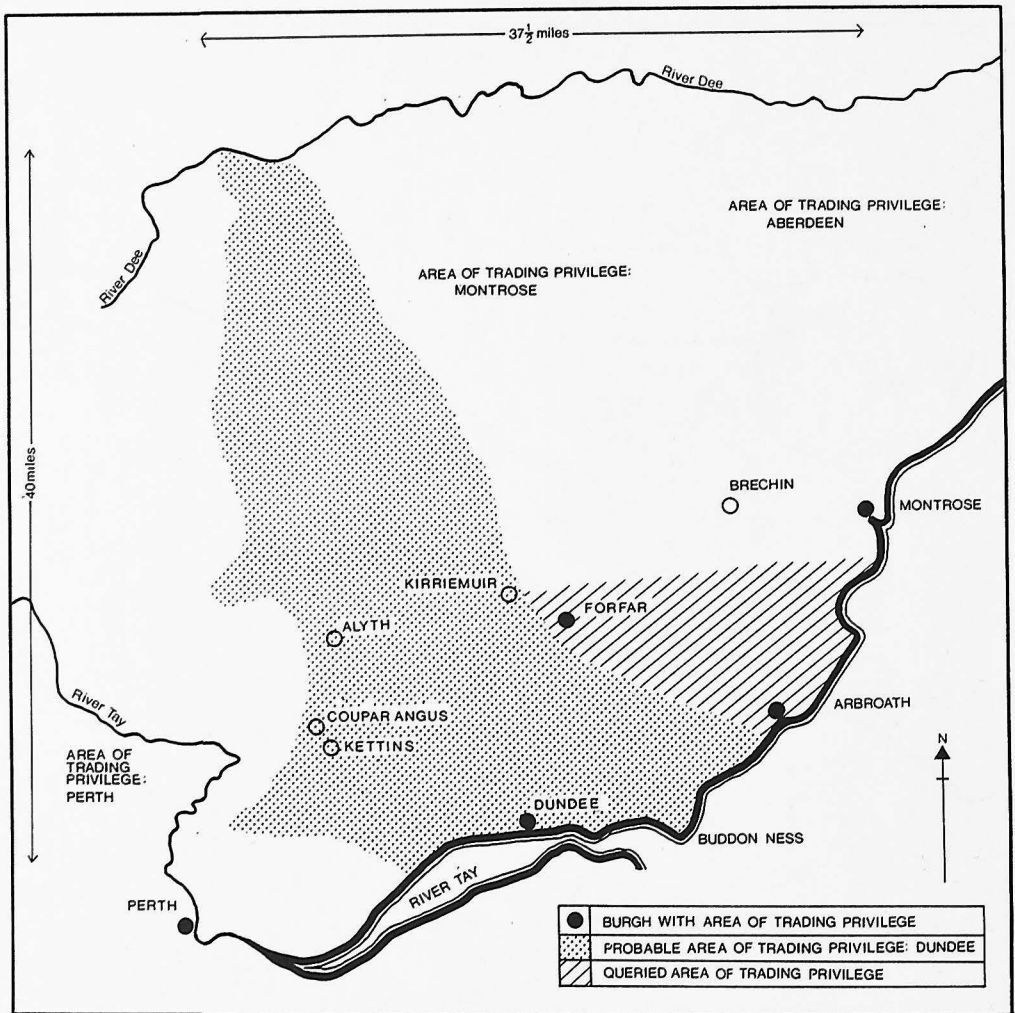
The maps by E.P.D. Torrie accompanying this text suggest the development of medieval Dundee, but further research could give more precision. In short, adequate source-material is available, but partially untapped, for a very full understanding of the late medieval burgh.



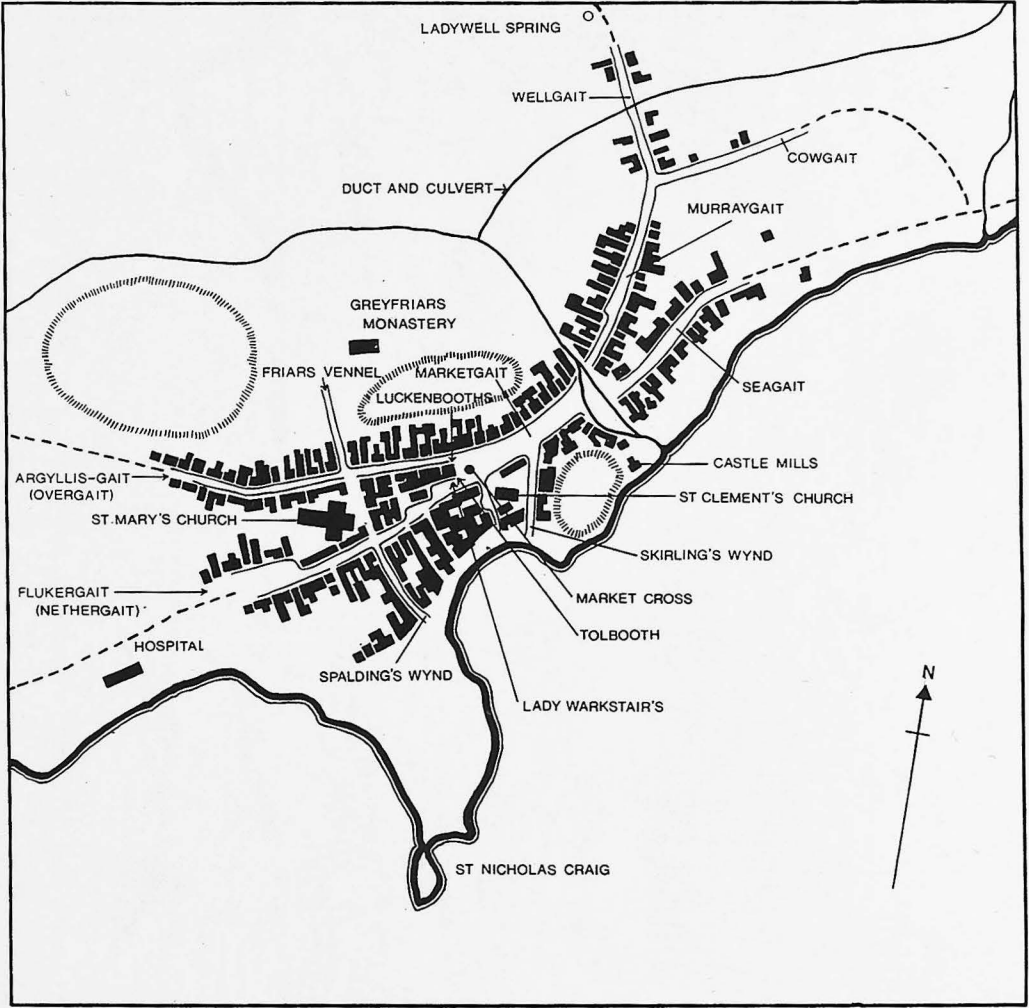
Conjectural sketch map of settlement in Dundee in the early eleventh century.



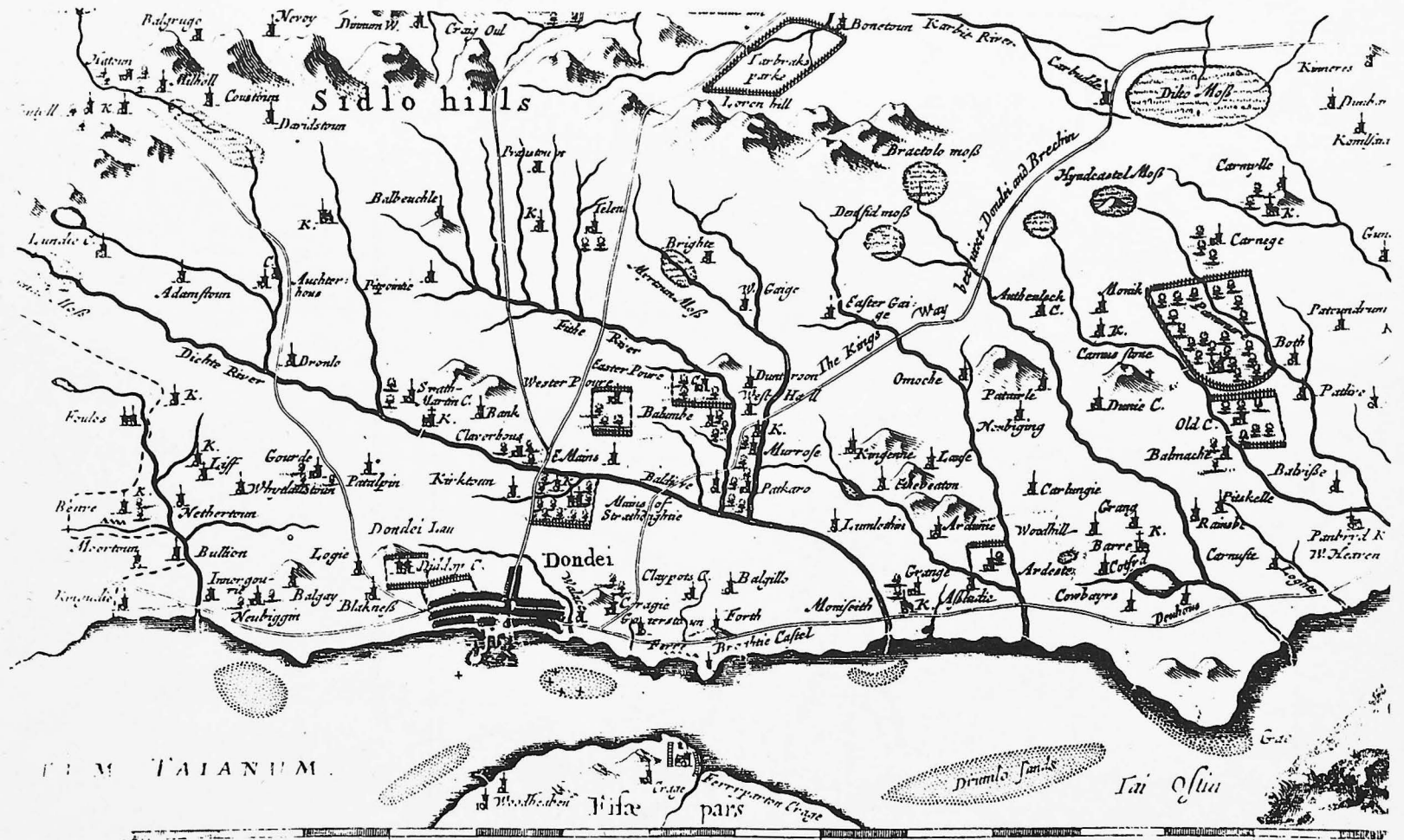
Conjectural sketch map of Dundee in the late thirteenth century.



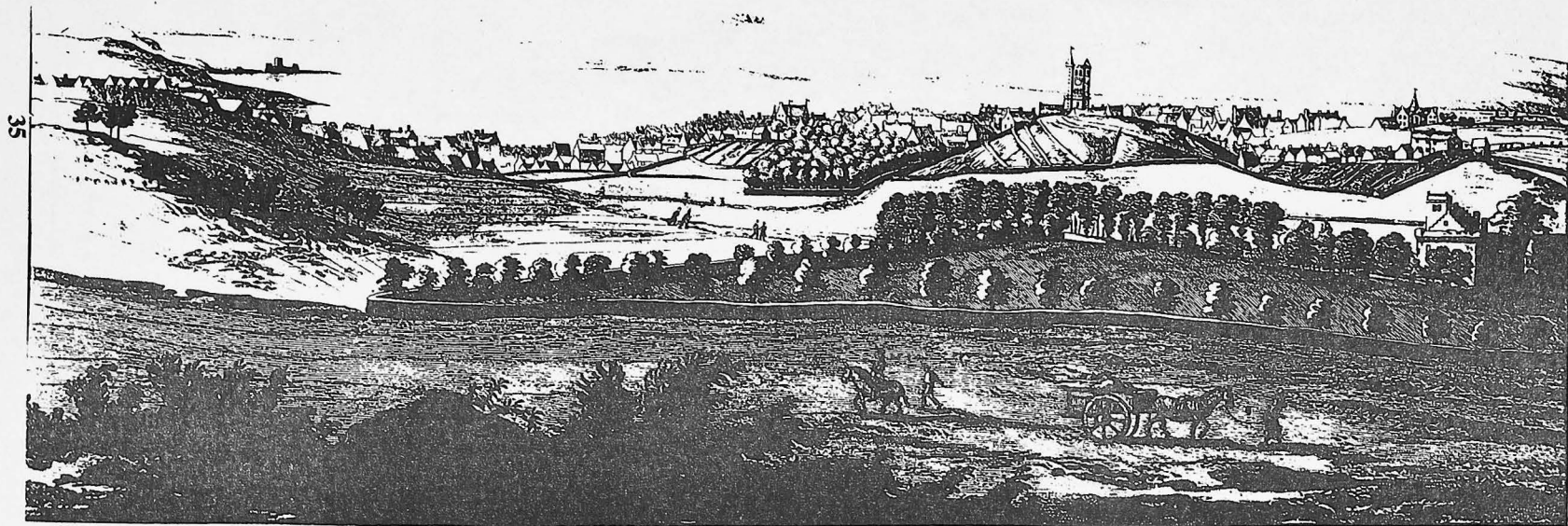
Conjectural sketch map of Dundee's probable area of trading privilege in the Middle Ages.



Conjectural sketch map of Dundee in the late fifteenth century.



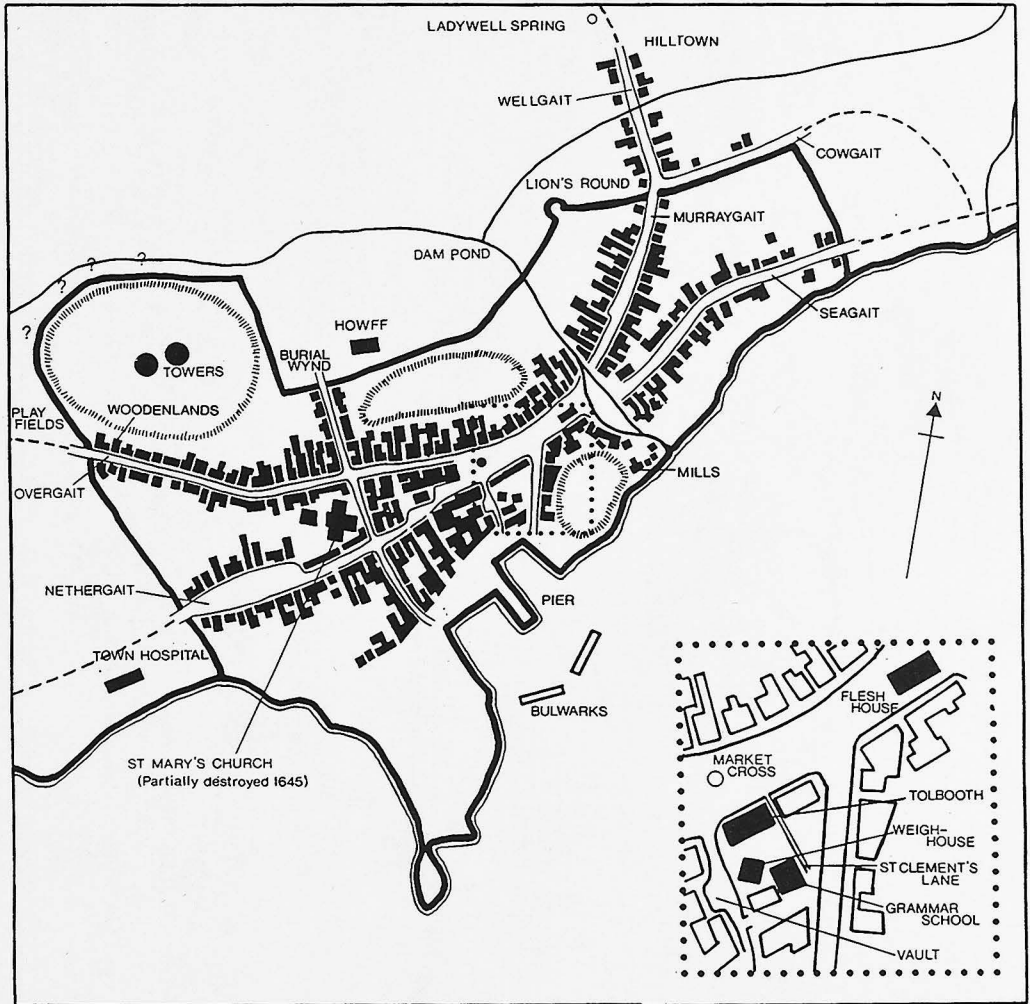
Section of Robert Edward's 'The Shire of Angus', 1678.



J. Slezer, 'The Prospect of the Town of Dundee', included in *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1690.



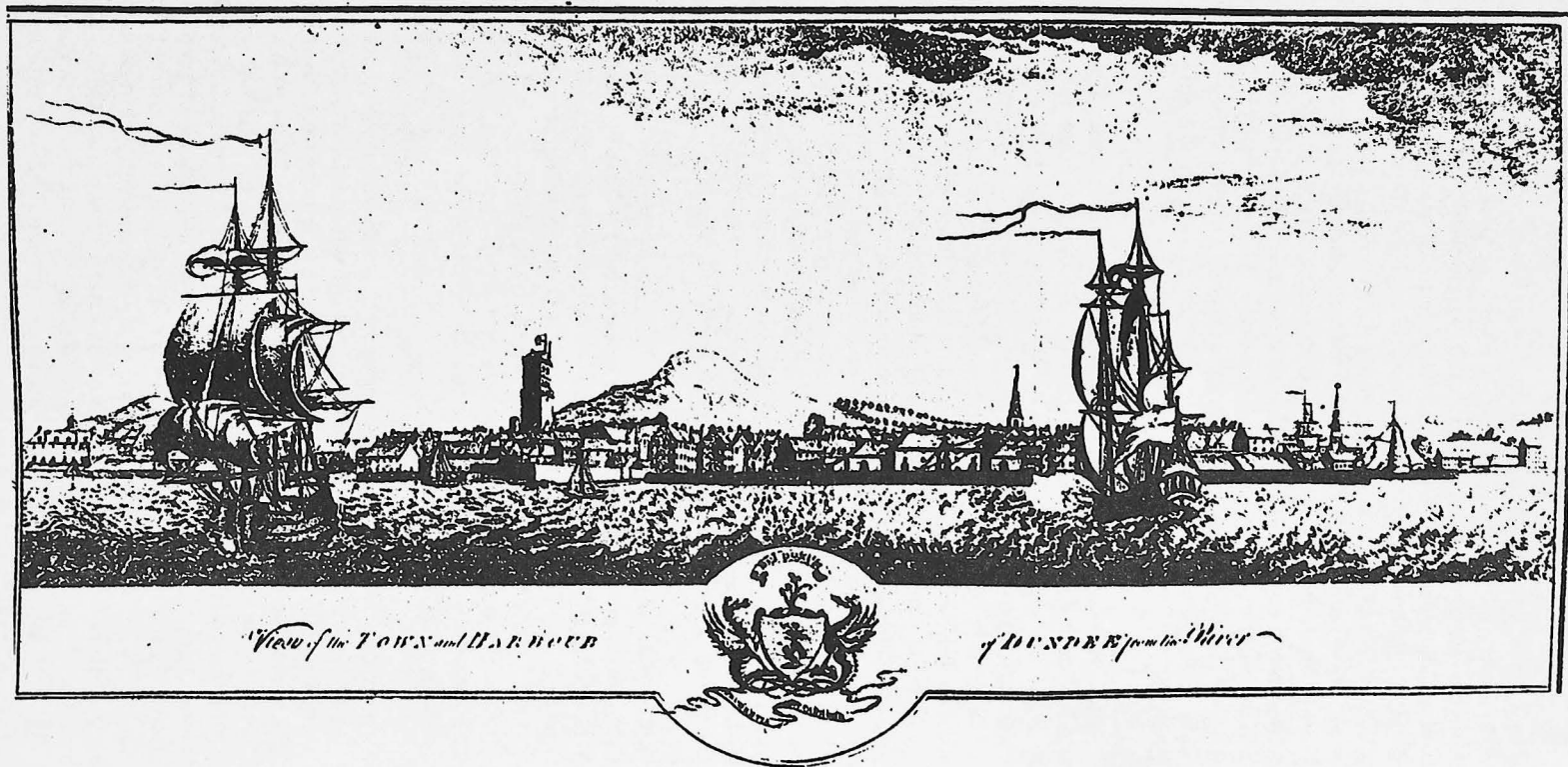
J. Slezer, 'The Prospect of the Town of Dundee From the East', included in *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1690.



Conjectural sketch map of Dundee in the mid-seventeenth century.



Dundee as delineated by W. Crawford, 1776.



Town and harbour of Dundee as delineated by W. Crawford, 1776.

HISTORY

Architecturally, modern Dundee retains little of its historic past. The basic street pattern in the central area of the town and St Mary's Tower are the only reminders of the Middle Ages, although a few remnants of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are still discernible. The survival of documentary evidence of the medieval burgh has likewise been minimal, for, as has already been indicated Dundee suffered on three occasions from the ransacking of its burghal possessions and written records. Lack of documentation for the medieval period is not, however, so total as to preclude an assessment of the growth of Dundee from a small town, through its heyday as the second burgh of Scotland and its decline in the seventeenth century, until it re-emerged in the early nineteenth century as one of the country's major industrial centres. The deficiencies in the medieval documentary source-material could, moreover, be partially offset if archaeological research were to be possible on those sites in the medieval core not already destroyed by redevelopment.

Whether or not the first settlement at Dundee is related to the fisher group, whose kitchen-midden deposits have been excavated in the Stannergate region or to the occupants of the hill-top fort on The Law,⁽¹⁾ it is clear that the site of early Dundee was attractive for settlement, both geographically and geologically. All evidence suggests that the first settlement occurred around the area of the Seagait, between the Scouringburn which flowed to the E of a large outcrop of dark rock, later called the Castle Hill, and the Dens Burn. The shelving beach here was suitable for pulling up boats on to the land; St Nicholas Craig and the Castle Hill to the W offered a measure of protection from the scour of the Tay, and this stretch of the firth was protected from the E by Tentsmuir Point and Buddon Ness, and by sandbanks in the mouth of the river. The Scouringburn, fed from a loch to the NW of the Law and by springs and streams at its foot, provided the necessary water supply for this small level area; and the early township was strategically placed at one of the shortest crossing points of the Tay on the E route through Scotland, and on the coastal route from Perth to Arbroath, Montrose and the north.

Both Wyntoun and Fordoun show that by the end of the eleventh century this small settlement had become one of the favoured residences of the Scottish crown,⁽²⁾ and by the reign of William I (1165-1214) Dundee had undoubtedly achieved such standing. Robert I's charter of 1327, confirming to the burgesses of Dundee their rights and liberties of old, illustrates clearly that the settlement was raised to the status of a burgh in the reign of William I, under the superiority of the king's brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon.⁽³⁾ The burgh was, moreover, of sufficient note that in 1173x1178 an act of William I refers to Hadgillin as being in 'Dundeeshire'.⁽⁴⁾

Surviving source material indicates that by the thirteenth century settlement in the town had moved westwards, although Seagait was still considered the commercial heart of the town for some time. In 1325 Robert I granted land to the burgesses for the erection of a tolbooth 'between the water conduit on the west and the Cross well on the east' in Seagait.⁽⁵⁾ Near to the tolbooth, in the centre of the street, probably a little to the E of the junction of present-day Peter Street and Seagait stood the market cross. There were, however, tenements in the Nethergait, or Flukergait as originally named, to the W of Castle Hill by about 1189. Earl David's own mansion or lodgings was near Couttie's Wynd or, as it was earlier called, Spalding's Wynd.⁽⁶⁾ By the early thirteenth century the vennel running down the W side of the later-named Castle Hill was already designated 'Castle Wynd' and, would thus imply the existence of some form of fortification in that vicinity, although the first specific reference to a castle is not until 1290.⁽⁷⁾ An early church, St

Clement's, stood on the site of the present City Square, but there is no evidence of when it was erected or how endowed. A second church was founded at the end of the twelfth century, possibly by David, Earl of Huntingdon - St Mary's 'in the field', that is, outwith the area of settlement.

It is clear that the early tenements were clustered largely around the castle and the church of St Clement's. One further factor doubtless influenced this westwards movement: the stretch of water between St Nicholas Craig and the Castle Rock was an ideal, natural, sheltered harbour. If the small creek of Scouringburn had ever been used as a harbour, the increase in trade which resulted from the attainment of burghal status by Dundee would have rendered it obsolete. Robert I's charter of 1327 indicates that the burgh had a harbour in the time of Alexander III (1249-1286).⁽⁸⁾ This was in all probability in the bay between St Nicholas Craig and Castle Rock, and it was perhaps inevitable that the favoured area for development was within easy access of the harbour. The demolition of the castle around 1317 perhaps also influenced further this concentration of settlement around the harbour precincts, rather than an expansion eastwards towards the Dens Burn. Early growth in the burgh had of necessity to be linear. To the N of the High Street, hills and marshy swamps were not conducive to building, and the siting of the Greyfriars establishment sometime before 1296 outwith the town precincts, as was the custom, gives clear indication of how little the town had stretched northwards.⁽⁹⁾

The elevation of this township to a burgh in the reign of William I held potentially far-reaching implications. With burgh status came basic rights and liberties. Local records do not exist to illustrate in depth the functioning of the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century burgh of Dundee. Early burgh and gild laws, however, reveal a well-developed system of municipal government, and suggest, moreover, that the burghs in Scotland had much in common not only with each other, but also with those in England, the Low Countries and France.⁽¹⁰⁾ By the fourteenth century Dundee's burgh officials, the prepositus or provost in the vernacular from the sixteenth century, and four bailies had probably achieved a measure of independence of the feudal superior, the crown, since perhaps 1289.⁽¹¹⁾ They conducted municipal business for the benefit of the community, assisted by lesser officials and some or all of the burgesses, at the head courts held at Michaelmas, Christmas and Easter, and the more frequent burgh courts.

Dundee's position as a burgh of note was evidenced in several ways: by the choice of the church of the Greyfriars in Dundee as the setting for a declaration in favour of Robert Bruce in 1310;⁽¹²⁾ the measures of Robert I confirming that Dundee possessed the same privileges as other burghs held of the crown in 1325 and 1327; Dundee's erection into a sheriffdom, independent of the sheriff of Forfar in 1359;⁽¹³⁾ the burgh's role as one of the four that guaranteed the ransom for the return of David II in 1357;⁽¹⁴⁾ and its participation in national parliaments from David II's reign. The burgh's feu-ferme charter of 1360 which granted to the community of burgesses, in return for a fixed annual sum, all the burgh revenues other than the great customs on exports, formalised what was probably an already existing arrangement between burgh and superior; it is also significant as an indication that the burgesses of Dundee were competent not only to handle the routine municipal organisation of the town and all relevant judicial and legislative business, but also to determine their own fiscal policy.⁽¹⁵⁾

Dundee's autonomy, however, was restricted not only by the burghal superior but also by the office of constable of Dundee, in the persons of the Scrymgeour family. William Wallace had appointed Alexander Scrymgeour constable of the castle of Dundee in 1298.⁽¹⁶⁾ Robert I confirmed to Nicol Scrymgeour the hereditary title of constable of

Dundee in 1317, and from then the constable's barony court was held on Castle Hill.⁽¹⁷⁾ There were inevitably clashes with the authority and jurisdiction of the magistrates of the burgh. Settlement of some of the more contentious issues was made in 1384. The constable's right to punish burgesses and stallholders was to be confined to the time of the annual fair, and the bailies of the burgh were to participate with the constable or his depute in the trial of any so accused and any fine was to go to the bailies. In exchange for these concessions the constable received a cash settlement.⁽¹⁸⁾ In practice, however, the potential for dispute between the offices of constable and burgh magistrates was to be a recurring, although not constant, aspect of Dundee's municipal history, even though the position of provost and constable were sometimes held by the same man, such as Alexander Scrymgeour in 1366, and James Scrymgeour in 1586. Burghal status brought with it a further major advantage - trading concessions. Dundee capitalised on its original grants and emerged as a strong trading centre. A charter of King John of England in 1207 giving permission to the rich abbey of Arbroath for trading in England without payment of toll, specifies that the merchants and ships of Perth and Dundee were to receive his protection since they were the carriers of the abbey's goods.⁽¹⁹⁾ In 1264 wine for use at Forfar Castle came through Dundee, and by the early thirteenth century Dundee was used as the export port for the produce of the monastery of Coupar Angus, possibly the wealthiest Cistercian house in Scotland.⁽²⁰⁾ The agricultural potential of the fertile N hinterland, with which Dundee had good links through gaps in the Sidlaw Hills, was one of the important factors in the emergence of the town as a wealthy port. Concessions from the crown, however, were vital in this trend. Robert I's charter of 1327 not only reveals that Dundee was already well-established as a trading port, with a gild merchant which controlled trade, both at home and overseas. It also prohibited anyone within the sherifffdom of Forfar except the burgesses of Dundee from buying wool or skins, ordered that foreign merchants in the same sherifffdom might trade only with Dundee burgesses, 'reserving the rights of the other burghs within the said sherifffdom', and insisted that all goods brought by foreign merchants for sale in the shire be offered first at the burgh of Dundee.⁽²¹⁾ David II's charter of 1359 in large measure confirmed these extensive privileges, by prohibiting the villages of Coupar Angus, Kettins, Kirriemuir and Alyth from holding markets, since they were within the liberties of Dundee.⁽²²⁾

This demarcation of a large hinterland including very rich monasteries in a fertile region held not only potential for the economic growth of the burgh but also for trading conflicts with others, namely those burghs whose rights might appear to be at variance with those of Dundee, in particular Brechin, Forfar, and especially Montrose. Clashes over overlapping jurisdictions and trading rivalry were to be commonplace, although Dundee emerged as the strongest party.⁽²³⁾

Furthermore, to gain the full potential from its situation, Dundee had to win and hold a commanding position in the Tay. This inevitably brought in another protagonist - the burgh of Perth. The ability of both burghs to justify their claims to control shipping in the Tay from their respective charters doubtless lengthened the struggle. A decision in 1404 in favour of Dundee did not conclude the matter, and the dispute was not truly resolved until the early seventeenth century.⁽²⁴⁾ Moreover, the right confirmed to Dundee in 1402 and again in 1602 to control the waters of the Tay to the shores of Fife was significant. The S channel of the estuary was naturally deep, and not so susceptible to silting as the N shore, a factor that was to be of increasing relevance as bigger vessels were constructed. Dundee's control over the Tay to the shores of Fife, moreover, prevented the emergence of commercial rivals on the S shore.

Dundee's emerging position as one of the major burghs of Scotland may be traced through

the returns in the Exchequer Rolls. Its main exports of wool, sheepskins and hides reflected its significant interaction with the rural hinterland, and the gradual addition of coarse cloth to these commodities is an indication of a diversification in the medieval economy of the burgh, which was to come to fruition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The expanding economy must inevitably have altered the character of the town. All those living in Dundee's trading precinct who wished to sell produce were obliged to come to Dundee's market, and the town's fairs attracted both Scottish and foreign merchants. A trading centre, however, was of necessity a consumer society, and depended on the skills of local trades and the services of inhabitants. The town in consequence expanded to meet these needs in spite of the set-back of English invasions and a visitation of the Black Death in the fourteenth century. Documentary evidence suggests that the medieval street-plan, the nucleus of the present road system, had been formed by the fifteenth century. Tenements in the Flukergait, or Nethergait, had been developed to the W of St Mary's Church, which by then was probably complete in an enlarged cruciform design; Argylegait, or Overgait, was built-up on both sides; and Murraygait, running NE from the High Street, or Marketgait,⁽²⁵⁾ extended to the S end of Wellgait, where tenement building commenced.

From the Marketgait and Flukergait narrow closes and wynds ran down to the harbour. The shift in emphasis of the town-centre westwards was confirmed by the removal of the market cross from Seagait to a more suitable site in the open space in the Marketgait near to the tron, which had been there from 1364,⁽²⁶⁾ and to a new tolbooth, approximately opposite the top of present-day Crichton Street. Near here on the corner of Overgait and Marketgait stood the 'luckenbooths', locked or closed booths of the merchants and craftsmen. Buildings were still largely of wood, and the longest surviving timber-fronted fifteenth-century structure in Dundee, Lady Warkstair's House, was demolished only in 1879.⁽²⁷⁾ The houses on the street frontages were the homes of the wealthier members of Dundee society, while in the backlands of the tofts were the working premises and homes of the poorer craftsmen and indwellers. There is evidence of two wells supplying the town by the fifteenth century, both related to solid geology by being sited at the junction of dolerite exposure and Old Red Sandstone.⁽²⁸⁾ One, the Cross Well, stood at the W end of Seagait. The other, the Lady Well, is not documented until 1409 when it is mentioned specifically in a contract between the constable of Dundee, James Scrymgeour, and the burgesses, but it was probably in existence earlier. In the early fifteenth century the overflow was ducted and culverted to flow into the Scouringburn.⁽²⁹⁾ Increasing urbanisation, however, did not as yet alter the rural atmosphere of the town. Gardens and orchards, stables, burns and animals in the town centre, as in most other Scottish burghs at this time, were a reminder that not only was Dundee still 'of the country', but also dependent on the surrounding countryside for its own survival.

By the sixteenth century Dundee emerged from its notable position as one of the four or five major burghs in Scotland, to rank second in importance only to Edinburgh. This status was reflected in tax returns and national levies. Dundee, Perth and Aberdeen all participated in the 1483 stent imposed by the Convention of Royal Burghs on burghs N of the Forth. Dundee was taxed equally with Aberdeen, but this was not to be repeated in the 1550 and 1597 stents.

	1483	1550	1597
Edinburgh	—	600 crowns	£28.15.0
Dundee	£26.13.4	304 crowns	£10.15.0
Aberdeen	£26.13.4	226 crowns	£ 8. 0.0
Perth	£22. 4.6	180 crowns	£ 6. 3.4 ⁽³⁰⁾

A similar overall pattern is visible in other returns, although Dundee's tax payments fell somewhat in the 1570s in reaction to the changing emphasis of sixteenth-century overseas trade.⁽³¹⁾ In 1535 £20,000 was raised for the crown, in 1557 the burghs were responsible for raising £10,000 to defray the costs of the queen's marriage to the Dauphin of France, and in 1578 and again in 1591 £100 was collected from the burghs. Dundee's role in these national levies was unequivocal.

	1535	1557	1578	1591
Edinburgh	£833. 6.8	£2,550. 0.0	£28. 0.0	£29.15.0
Dundee	£321.17.6	£1,265.11.0	£11. 6.8	£10.15.0
Perth	£247.10.0	£ 742.10.0	£ 6.16.0	£ 6.13.4
Stirling	£ 84. 7.6	£ 152.13.6	£ 1. 3.8	£ 0.18.0
Aberdeen	£315. 0.0	£ 945. 0.0	£ 9. 9.0	£ 8. 6.8 ⁽³²⁾

An analysis of tax assessment and customs revenue derived from exports in the four major burghs in the period 1460 to 1599 not only confirms Dundee's position as the second highest provider of burgh taxation in Scotland, but, perhaps more tellingly, highlights a significant factor. Dundee's overall tax assessment was 11.54% of the national total, whereas its average customs revenue from exports was only 6.45% of the same.⁽³³⁾ It is immediately apparent that the burgh's economic health was not solely dependent on overseas trade, in spite of the often-quoted boast that it was a 'merchant' burgh, and 'more civilie governed' than its rival neighbour and 'craft town', Perth.⁽³⁴⁾

Trade overseas was, however, still one of the foundations of the burgh's wealth: Dundee's merchants were travelling to France, Flanders, the Low Countries and to the Baltic, in particular Danzig, Königsberg and Sweden. But this foundation was changing somewhat in character. Edinburgh was increasingly dominating the export of staple goods - hides, wool, woolfells and skins - and although by no means totally excluded from such commodities or from the export of fish, Dundee was forced to concentrate on other interests, in particular the export of coarse cloth. The *Compt Buik* of David Wedderburne (1587-1630) contains throughout references to the export of 'narrow blew clayth', 'hemp clayth' and 'lyning'. The Dundee Shipping Lists of 1580 to 1618 with the *Compt Buik* suggest that, along with the traditional Scottish imports, there was an increasing demand for hemp and lint from the Baltic, and by this time Dundee was importing almost 50% of Scotland's dyestuff.⁽³⁵⁾ The textile industry was becoming an important element in the burgh economy.

Diversification in the traditional town economy was patent before the middle of the sixteenth century. By then Dundee had nine incorporated crafts - The Nine Trades - the bakers, shoemakers, glovers, tailors, bonnetmakers, fleshers, hammermen, weavers and dyers. In the next century the three United Trades, the masons, wrights and slaters, also gained incorporation. As the focal point and market for an extensive rural hinterland, Dundee had a firm economic base in the demand for consumer goods, and in particular the products of the food and drink, and clothing trades. Incorporation of crafts did not

inevitably lead to clashes with the dominant merchant class. The reappraisal of traditional economic standards and practice, and increasing social stratification did, however, engender some tension between merchant and craftsman, particularly in the early years of the seventeenth century. But it was a tension that also exemplified itself in a jockeying for position within the craft incorporations, and against those either within or without the town who sought to encroach on the burgh's economic privileges, such as Hilltown, the Scrymgeour burgh of barony created in 1643.⁽³⁶⁾

It was this ability to diversify and develop a firm industrial substructure to an economy which had been substantially based on trade, both local and overseas, that brought Dundee to the middle of the seventeenth century as still the second burgh of Scotland. The years between 1560 and 1645 could arguably be called the heyday of Dundee, and its prosperity was reflected in the town morphology. The burgh records suggest that the street layout was still basically that of six streets: Overgait and Nethergait to the W of Marketgait were totally built up with no gap sites and showed signs of repletion or infilling in the backlands of tofts; Marketgait a busy commercial centre; and to the E Seagait, still with gap sites, whereas Murraygait had experienced intensive development, right up to Cowgait and Wellgait which was not heavily built up because of marshiness, although it had dye works, a malt-house and some merchant housing; and beyond to Hilltown, or Bonnet Hill. Robert Edward's map of Angus published in 1678 shows clearly the basic street plan, including the distinct development northwards towards Bonnet Hill.⁽³⁷⁾ The last was so named because from at least 1529 the inhabitants made their living from the production of knitted bonnets from woollen yarn manufactured in Dundee. Housing here was of a very humble nature, and remained so until well into the last century. Nineteenth-century photographs show little improvement in the standard of housing, other than the replacement of slated roofs for the original thatch or divots of earth.⁽³⁸⁾ Such simple homes were typical of much of Dundee, particularly in the backlands of tofts where poorer families lived, although it seems to have been better supplied with slated roofs than most towns, due to the neighbouring quarries that provided ample coarse grey slates.

By the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, however, the burgh's prosperity was mirrored in the substantial dwelling-houses built for the wealthy merchants of the community. These were of stone in traditional Scottish style with crowstepped gables and turreted stairs, but also manifested the influence of building techniques from the continent, in particular Germany and the Low Countries. Wood was still used in the construction of these better houses, most notably for panelled walls in the interiors, and for stairs and also booths or porches at the front of those houses facing onto the main thoroughfares. These encroaching, supposedly temporary, additions were normally used as workshops or shops. It is unlikely that native wood was used for such buildings in spite of the fact that there were woods in the county of Angus, such as the forest of Platane or Platir.⁽³⁹⁾ The constant references to import of timber from the Baltic in the Burgh Records and in Wedderburn's *Compt Buik* would indicate that Dundee, along with other burghs of Scotland, was dependent on overseas timber. Robert Edward in 1678 in *A New Description of Angus* states specifically that in Angus there was 'abundance of timber for labouring utensils, and for the houses of the common people: but for the houses in towns, and those of gentlemen in the country, timber is brought from Norway; not because Scotland does not afford wood sufficient to supply the whole kingdom, but because rugged and impassable rocks prevent it being transported from those places where it grows'.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Several of these greater town houses survived wholly or in part until the nineteenth century. Most notable were probably Strathmartine's Lodging in The Vault, at the rear of St Clement's Church, on a site which now forms part of City Square, Provost Pierson's

Mansion in Greenmarket, later to become a customs house, and the Whitehall Mansion. The only surviving house of this period is set back from 71 High Street, in what was termed Gray's Close. The W facade is a fine example of quality building retaining much of its original character, although the street frontage to the S was redeveloped in the eighteenth century and later.⁽⁴¹⁾

The quality of life in the towns during this period was also tempered by visitations of the plague. In 1544 the burgh was struck, and George Wishart arrived to preach hope to the afflicted. The following year Dundee failed to provide its quota for a muster of an army, such was the effect of plague, and three years later the town was hit again.⁽⁴²⁾ It may be assumed that the outbreak of plague in the town in 1585 was particularly virulent, as orders were given for the removal of the mint from the town to Perth, where money was circulating more freely.⁽⁴³⁾ On 30 September 1585 the town council minutes indicate that 'the baillie wt ane pairt of the Counsall and dekyngs of craftis of the burt of Dundie...convenit in the Magdalene geir.' The severity of the attack was such that the authorities preferred to meet in the open air at Magdalene Green.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The town took measures to control the spreading of further outbreaks: entrance by water or through the town ports was controlled; the number of ferry boats landing at the harbour was limited to three in 1604; goods entering the town from infected areas were scrutinised; and all back yetts were to be shut. In spite of such precautions plague struck again in 1606. A night-watch of twenty-four soldiers and two commanders was set up, and a monthly levy of 500 merks for the support of the afflicted poor was instituted, although this sum had to be raised by a further 250 merks by the following month. The authorities moreover insisted on the infected, or those suspected of such, being shut in their homes. The truly plague-stricken were removed from the town and put into makeshift lodgings on the slopes of the river bank to the E of the town near to the Roodyard, called 'Sickmen's Yards'. Cleaners were appointed to effect this separation and disinfecting process, under the protection of soldiers, but the increase of the force of the attack was such that by the winter of 1606 the soldiers were unable to fulfil their task. It was not until the autumn of 1608 that there was any long-term lessening of the virulence of the attack. Notary Robert Wedderburn inserted at the beginning of a Protocol Book, 'Memorandum. the pest come from St Bartillis market in Franchland to Dundie at the first fair thair of in anno 1605 and zit continueis to this present day, the first of November 1608. In the quhilk thair depairtit 4000 persons'.⁽⁴⁵⁾ During these two years burgh life was disrupted: in 1607 council elections were postponed and by June 1608 an appeal was made to the Lords of Council who appointed three burgesses to act as magistrates since the burgh was inadequately governed due to the plague.⁽⁴⁶⁾ There were also financial hardships. Increasing levies were placed on the healthy inhabitants for the support of the poor, the cost of watching and warding the town, the payment of council cleaners and others involved in the attempts to contain the infection, and for the building of such cleansing aids as washing boilers and kilns for the sterilising of clothes. The town was to have only one further visitation of the plague - in 1648. Its effects on the ordinary townspeople must have been as devastating as the religious and political crises faced in the mid-sixteenth century.⁽⁴⁷⁾

The relative peace, however, after the Reformation crisis and English invasions encouraged the extension or establishment of country seats outwith the town precincts, though their construction reflected the continuing necessity for some degree of protection and fortification. The seat of the Scrymgeours at Dudhope had been established by 1298 and altered about 1460. After 1580, however, it was totally renovated and became an impressive mansion/fortress overlooking the burgh, its appearance after reconstruction in the late sixteenth century being shown on Slezer's engraving. Claypotts Castle, to the E of

Dundee, erected in 1560-1588, and Mains or Fintry Castle, the home of the Grahams of Fintry, in Caird Park, built largely between 1562 and 1580, are both outstanding examples of fortified houses.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The building of the town wall around the central core of the medieval burgh in the late sixteenth century perhaps more than anything stressed the continuing need for defence. The English invasions of the late 1540s highlighted the need for more adequate protection of burghal property. These attacks and the Reformation crisis resulted in significant changes in the urban setting. The town as a whole suffered from the English attacks of 1547 to 1550. Charters of the later sixteenth century refer to tenements as 'wastit and brunt by oure auld innemyies of England'⁽⁴⁹⁾ and ecclesiastical properties were further transformed by secularisation after the Reformation. St Clement's ceased to be used as a church; St Mary's choir, nave and transepts were largely destroyed; stones from the Blackfriars church were used to repair the harbour; and the Greyfriars monastery was left roofless for ten years after the English attacks and demolished in 1560. Stones from the monastery were used to construct a new slaughter house at the E end of Marketgait, where the Trades Hall later stood near the site of the present Clydesdale Bank. The new tolbooth, completed in 1562 on the S side of Marketgait at the entrance to the present City Square, may well have used the same source of building material. In 1564 the Greyfriars gardens and orchards were granted to the town by Queen Mary as a burial-ground, since that of St Clement's was no longer adequate.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The Howff, so named since it was the meeting place for the Nine Crafts, remains intact, a small oasis amongst more modern developments.

The later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries constituted a period of repair and new building of walls, ports (that at Cowgait still partially survives), tolbooth, market cross, hospital, and school, as well as a considerable upgrading of the burgh's commercial assets. A dam and pond were created at the E side of the Meadows, on the site of the present City Museum and Art Gallery in Albert Square, to provide water for the mills by the Castle Hill, and the harbour's efficiency was improved by reclaiming land, and by the erection of a quay, sea walls and, offshore, two breakwaters or bulwarks. And yet Dundee was still very rural in character. The playfields just outside the West Port, and the common lands of the burgh to the N were a reminder of the strong links of the town with the country. By 1600, however, the town was a flourishing, prosperous seaport and commercial centre, second only to Edinburgh. The community of the burgh had from the first exploited the natural advantages of the town's physical setting, used to the full the trading privileges bestowed with burghal status, kept close links and vital contacts with the rural hinterland, diversified wisely when economic pressures demanded, and brought Dundee to its pinnacle. It may be rated as one of the outstanding successes of Scottish medieval burghs.

What followed was in some respects a sorry postscript. Before 1645 Dundee was responsible for about 11% of the national total tax assessment. By 1705 it paid approximately 4% of this total, and stood fourth equal with Perth.⁽⁵¹⁾ It had been suggested that there was an inevitability about the decline of Dundee in the later seventeenth century. Factors such as the contraction of trade with France, the growth of trans-Atlantic trade and the rise of the west coast ports such as Glasgow, the increasing realisation of the industrial potential of the Lanarkshire coalfields which favoured the westerly commercial centres, and the silting up of Dundee's harbour have all been blamed. Doubtless they all had some part to play.⁽⁵²⁾

What was crucially decisive, however, was the civil war which brought devastation to the town. Dundee suffered two raids, the first in 1645. That of Monck in 1651 was effected

with almost unparalleled ruthlessness. Population figures are notoriously difficult to calculate. Small reckoned that Dundee had a population of approximately 8,000 in 1651. Of these, one-fifth were killed in Monck's attack. In the immediately following eight months 159 babies were born, of which twenty-five were posthumous.⁽⁵³⁾ All contemporary reports agree on two matters: a vast number lost their lives; and the Cromwellians took a rich booty, not only of Dundee's wealth, but also of the possessions of other towns, Dundee being a repository for the muniments and precious goods of other burghs since it was 'a town of defence, forfeit both by sea and land'.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The devastation was incalculable. Monck permitted his New Model Army twenty-four hours to loot; it was two weeks before the soldiers were brought under control.

The following sixty or seventy years were ones of stagnation. There was little evidence of expansion economically or morphologically, although by 1750 the population had increased to about 12,000. Dundee has been described as 'a place suffering from prolonged depression, lacking resiliency and recuperative powers'.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Certainly in the early decades of the eighteenth century there is little evidence of recovery. In 1705 town lands were put up for sale to pay off debts, and there were insufficient funds to maintain the tolbooth and harbour. Representatives from the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1711 deemed the town's revenue 'exhausted'.⁽⁵⁶⁾

By 1745, however, there were signs that the tide was turning. Commercial resurgence was evidenced in the increase of shipping belonging to the port, the growing income of the guildry and in building activity. This may partially explain Dundee's failure to give the Jacobite cause the support in 1745 that it had proffered in 1715. The townspeople were probably loath to put at risk the fruits of their hard-won re-emerging prosperity.⁽⁵⁷⁾ By 1800 this prosperity was once more a reality. There were many factors that influenced this success, but perhaps there were two most important elements. Firstly, Dundee's participation in the growing linen industry, encouraged after the Union of 1707 by bounties on exported linens, was crucial. Secondly, the manufacture of such coarse linens followed very closely the traditional commercial pattern of the town: spinning and weaving skills had been gained in the plaiding and bonnet-making crafts; and flax was grown locally and readily imported through Dundee's familiar trading links with the Baltic. Contributory factors in the emergence of Dundee as the most important of the Tayside linen towns were doubtless the harbour, whose facilities were increasingly in demand as the linen trade expanded; its concentration of mercantile wealth which facilitated credit and financial contacts throughout Dundee's hinterland; and the improved communications and cartage which resulted from the new turnpike roads at the end of the century. Added to this volume of linen export and manufacturing in Dundee and its hinterland, osnaburghs and other coarse fabrics were produced, and by the 1790s the town had a sugar refinery, glass works and tanneries, and thread, rope, cotton, tobacco and snuff were manufactured.⁽⁵⁸⁾

The population of the town increased to match the prosperity: 14,000 in 1770, 19,000 in 1788 and 26,804 in 1800,⁽⁵⁹⁾ and the built-up area for the first time spread beyond the old town walls in all directions.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Street improvements within the medieval core of the burgh all reflected the need to improve access to the harbour: Coultie's Wynd, or Spalding's Wynd as previously named, was widened to 10 ft (3.05m), Crichton Street was cut, the Nethergait widened and Castle Hill was blasted away to make Castle Street.

An improved water supply was provided throughout the town using the Lady Well as source, and the Meadows were drained, enclosed with stone walls and used for washing and bleaching linen. A new town house, designed by William Adam, was erected on the

site of the old tolbooth between 1732 and 1734, and Adam's motifs were repeated in several of Samuel Bell's buildings, such as The Trades Hall, the Episcopal Chapel later known as Union Hall, and St Andrews Church, which still survives.⁽⁶¹⁾ A few other reminders of this new age of prosperity are the Glasite Chapel in King Street, Morgan Tower in Nethergate, and wealthy merchants houses at 162-172 Nethergate. The building at 158 Nethergate, now the Clydesdale Bank, was erected in 1790, possibly designed by Samuel Bell, for Provost Alexander Riddock, and has retained much of its original elegance. In Murraygate, Meadow Entry, a simple tenement with a wallhead gable above an arched pend, at present undergoing repair, is a relic of the time when Murraygate was the N end of the town, and this close one of only two entries to the Meadows from the town.⁽⁶²⁾

The nineteenth century brought the full effects of industrialisation to Dundee. The construction of docks, mills railways and factories, land-reclamation schemes and the expansion of the town in terms of population, size and morphology changed the face of the burgh. Little remained untouched. Dundee was transformed into one of the major cities of modern industrial Scotland. The basic street plan was one of the very few secular reminders of the medieval burgh of Dundee but this, too, was partially lost in twentieth-century modifications. In the 1930s the demolition of the Adam town-house to make way for the Caird Hall and municipal offices fronting City Square changed fundamentally the character of Marketgate. More recently, the construction of new shopping and office centres, the inner ring road and approach roads to the Tay Road Bridge have resulted in the disappearance of Overgate and total transformation of the E end of Nethergate and Wellgate. The architectural evidence of pre-1800 Dundee relies upon few upstanding buildings, but beneath the surface a residue of this outstanding Scottish medieval burgh may not have been destroyed.

Notes

1. S.J.Jones, 'Historical Geography of Dundee' in *Dundee and District* ed. S.J.Jones (Dundee, 1968), 259. A.C.Lamb, *Dundee. Its Quaint and Historic Buildings* (Dundee, 1895), (hereafter, *Lamb Dundee*), 1.
2. W.F.Skene (ed), *The Historians of Scotland* vols. i & iii (Edinburgh 1871, 1872). *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, i, 227. *Andrew of Wyntoun's Orignal Cronykil of Scotland*, v, 605.
3. Dundee District Archive and Record Centre (hereafter, DDARC) CC1, No 16 - Charter of Robert I. A charter of c. 1180 lists Dundee as one of the possessions of the king's brother (*RRS*, ii, 257), although the town had probably not at this time achieved burghal status. The phrase *in burgo de Dunde* is first used in a 1190 x 1195 grant by Earl David of Huntingdon to Lindores Abbey (*RRS*, ii, 358).
4. *RRS*, ii, 220, 221. The early spellings of Seagate, Overgate etc. were Seagait, Overgait, a 'gait' being a path or vennel.
5. DDARC, CC1, No 15.
6. *Lamb Dundee*, 4, 16.
7. *Ibid*, 7.
8. DDARC, CC1, No 16.
9. I.B.Cowan and D.E.Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland* (London, 1976), 125.
10. *Leges Burgorum*, reputedly of the reign of David I; statutes from the time of William the Lion; Statuta Gilde, a set of gild rulings promulgated in Berwick in the latter half of the thirteenth century. M Bateson, *Borough Customs*, 2 vols. (Selden Soc., 1904); A Ballard & J Tait, *British Borough Charters, 1216-1307*, (Cambridge 1923).
11. It is probable that Dundee reverted to the crown on the death of Lady Devorguilla in January 1290 (Devorguilla was the grand daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, through his eldest daughter Margaret; she married John Balliol, and was mother of King John of Scotland).
12. *APS*, i, 460. There are problems over accepting the date 24 February 1309/10. I.B.Cowan and D E Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland* (London, 1976), 126, and *Scottish Historical Review*, xxiii, 284.
13. DDARC, CC1, Nos 14, 16 and 17.

14. J. Maclaren, *The History of Dundee* (Dundee, 1874) (Enlarged edition of work published by J. Thomson, 1847), 37.
15. *Charters, Writs and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee, 1292-1880, with Inventories of the Town's Writs Annexed* (Dundee, 1880), ed. W. Hay, p. 12f (printed); ms, DDARC, CC1, No 17.
16. *Lamb Dundee*, 7.
17. DDARC, CC1, No 13.
18. *RMS*, iii, No 615.
19. A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland, the Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 505. PRO, C 53/1 Mem 2 indicates a similar grant to Dundee in 1199 (Chancery Charter Roll relating to an agreement between King John and the burgesses of Earl David, granting merchants freedom from toll and custom in English ports except London, 26 Oct 1199).
20. S. G. E. Lythe, 'The Origin and Development of Dundee; a Study in Historical Geography' *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol 54 (1938), 349.
21. DDARC, CC1, No 16.
22. DDARC, CC1, No 17.
23. *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (1871), 206.
24. DDARC, CC1, Nos 22 and 79.
25. Marketgait was the original name for the present High Street. The modern twentieth-century Marketgate is not the same road, and is aligned quite differently.
26. *Lamb Dundee*, xi a.
27. *Lamb Dundee*, xxii gives clear details of the fifteenth-century construction of this building, as revealed during demolition in 1879. Photographs in the Wilson Collection, Wellgate Library, Dundee and the Bannatyne Collection, University of St Andrews, show Lady Warkstairs House as it stood in the nineteenth century. See list of Houses no. 6 and list of streets no. 40.
28. S. J. Jones 'Historical Geography of Dundee' in *Dundee and District* ed. S. J. Jones (Dundee, 1968), 260.
29. DDARC, CC1, No 15; J. Scrimgeour, 'History of the Water Supply of the City of Dundee' in *Dundee and District* (supra), 278.
30. *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland*, ed. J. D. Marwick (Edinburgh, 1866-90), (*RCRB*), i, 543; *RCRB* i, 519; *RCRB* ii, 10.
31. M. Lynch, 'The Social and Economic Structure of the Larger Burghs, 1450-1600' in *The Scottish Medieval Town*, forthcoming edd. M. Lynch, M. Spearman, G. Stell.
32. A. J. Warden, *Burgh Laws of Dundee* (London, 1872), 9-11.
33. See above, Note 31.
34. A. Maxwell, *The History of Old Dundee* (Dundee, 1884), (hereafter, Maxwell, *Dundee* 1884) 117, 121.
35. *The Compt Buik of David Wedderburne Merchant of Dundee, 1587-1630, together with the Shipping Lists of Dundee 1580-1618*, ed. A. H. Millar (Edinburgh, 1898); S. G. E. Lythe, 'The Origin and Development of Dundee' *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol. 54 (1938), 350. The other major imports were iron, flax, hemp, potash, tar and timber from the Baltic, salt, wine, vinegar, wood and fruit from the coastal regions of the Bay of Biscay and wine and luxury goods from France.
36. Maxwell, *Dundee* (1884), 357, 461; Maclaren, *Dundee*, 88.
37. The Shire of Angus, map by Rev. R. Edward, published in 1678, engraved in Amsterdam. Included in 1705 *Atlas Major* of C Allard.
38. Wilson Collection of Photographs, Wellgate Library, Dundee.
39. M. L. Anderson, *A History of Scottish Forestry* (2 vols), (London and Edinburgh, 1967), i, 116, 187, 289.
40. R. Edward, *A New Description of Angus*, 1678, translated from original Latin and printed by T. Colvill, Dundee, 1793.
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Lamb, *Dundee*, xiv, gives full details of the origin and history of this house. Photograph 1887 in Wilson Collection of Photographs, Wellgate Library, Dundee.
42. D. Laing (ed.), *The History of the Reformation in Scotland* by John Knox in *The Works of John Knox*, ed. D. Laing (6 vols) (Bannatyne Club, 1846), i, 125; *APS*, ii, 464.
43. *Register of Privy Council*, iv, 26. The mint had been removed from Edinburgh to Dundee in June 1585, because of severity of the plague in the former burgh. (R. W Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1876), i, p. xliii and 165.
44. DDARC, Burgh and Head Court Books, iv, (25 Feb. 1582/9 Apr. 1586), 30 Sept. 1585.
45. Maxwell, *Dundee* (1884), 376-8; R. Wedderburn, Protocol Book, 26 May 1599 - 16 July 1606 (DDARC Burgh Protocol Books, 20); A description by Peter Goldman, a Dundee man qualified in medicine, of the condition of his brother who died in 1607 suggests that the attack may have been of typhus rather than bubonic plague. (R. C. Buist, 'Peter Goldman's Description of the Desolation of Dundee' in *British Medical Journal* (1927), i, 478).

46. Register of Privy Council, 1st series, viii, 71.
47. Maxwell, *Dundee* (1884), 378-80.
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49. Lamb *Dundee*, 19; *Register of the Privy Council*, 1st series, iii, 520-521 details a petition by Dundee to the crown to be exempt from taxation for five years, to offset the great damage done to the town by the English attacks.
50. DDARC, CC1, No 60.
51. B.Lenman, *From Esk to Tweed* (Glasgow and London, 1975), 16.
52. S.G.E.Lythe, *Life and Labour in Dundee from the Reformation and the Civil War* (Dundee, 1958), 29. S.G.E.Lythe, 'The Origin and Development of Dundee', 350-1; S.J.Jones, 'Historical Geography of Dundee', 269-70, *Dundee and District*, ed. S.J.Jones (Dundee, 1968)
53. *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, ed. J.Sinclair (Edinburgh 1793), viii, 209-210.
54. J.Nicoll, *A Diary of Public Transactions and Other Occurrences, January 1650 - June 1667*, (Edinburgh, 1836), 58.
55. S.G.E.Lythe. 'The Origin and Development of Dundee', 353.
56. RCRB, v, 5.
57. A.M.Smith, 'Dundee and the Forty-Five' in *Still With Us. The Forty-Five Rising*, ed. L.Scott-Moncrieff (forthcoming).
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59. S.G.E.Lythe, 'The Origin and Development of Dundee', 353.
60. The Hilltown suburb had previously been the only built-up area outwith the town walls.
61. B.Walker, *Architects and Architecture on Tayside* (Dundee, 1984), 65.
62. Two letters appeared in the 'Dundee Magazine' in 1799 describing the town in 1746 and 1799, and commenting on the progress and prosperity achieved in the intervening years. They are reproduced in J Maclaren, *The History of Dundee* (1874), 124-134, and offer an interesting eye-witness account of Dundee.

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APPENDIX 1

Streets and Closes

The accompanying appendix is self-explanatory in identifying the relationship between the medieval street-pattern, and the subsequent eighteenth and nineteenth-century developments. The late eighteenth-century works were motivated in the first instance by the need to improve access to the harbour as a result of an increasing volume of industrial traffic. As a result, *Couttie's Wynd* was widened to a width of 10ft(3.05m) in 1769; *Nethergate* was widened in 1786, and *Crichton Street* and *Castle Street* were laid out in 1783 and 1795 respectively (Walker, 1968, 285). *Tay Street*, laid out in 1793, played a part in linking *Scouringburn*, *Polepark* and *Lochee* industrial areas, with the burgh centre. The Improvement Act of 1825, supplemented by that of 1837, brought about the extension of existing streets and the creation of new ones. The Act of 1871 completed the programme begun in 1825 with the widening of *Lower Commercial Street* and the formation of *Upper Commercial Street*, as well as the widening of streets forming part of the early street pattern such as *Murraygate* and *Bucklemaker Wynd* (Walker, 1968, 291).

The majority of these schemes involved the clearance of substantial areas of the medieval burgh, chiefly the surviving late fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century buildings, and largely destroyed or altered the street-pattern previously associated with these structures. The nineteenth-century frontage development and cellarge associated with the new streets in the majority of cases occupied erstwhile unbuilt backland (except on the site of earlier closes) and is consequently unlikely to have destroyed structural evidence.

In the case of street widening, receded building lines may have led to the partial destruction of early building remains, with fragments surviving (though complicated by modern services) beneath the present streets. It should, however, be borne in mind that the frontage of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century in streets such as *Murraygate*, were in all probability advanced considerably into the highway by the encroachment of forebooths. There is no known surviving evidence to demonstrate in the eighteenth century (Millar, 1923, 145) that 'the stones in the Burial Wynd, below the town keeper's house having been broke by the weight of carriages, fell in and by doing so' ... revealed a stair 'which went underground ... Those that went down found upon the stair two wooden stoups ... the stoups were to appearance quite fresh. Those that went down said they came to a door with a brass lock ...'. This statement suggests widening on the frontage at some date prior to 1776, when this account was written, with the earliest building line then lying beneath the street. In a similar vein, the same author edited by Millar (Millar, 1923, 143) records a tradition that c.1700 trenching in the gardens between *Overgate* and *Nethergate* led to the discovery of building foundations which were at the time interpreted as belonging to the frontage of a street commencing near the steeple and extending westwards between *Overgate* and *Nethergate*, speculatively a street destroyed during one of the English raids and never repaired. However, no further evidence for the existence of such a street has been found.

Construction through backlands, associated with the medieval frontages, in the nineteenth century, and more recently with the *Overgate*, *Nethergate* and *Wellgate* redevelopment schemes, has without doubt destroyed occupation deposits on a large scale.

The first phases of the *Overgate* development in 1961-2 led to the surface collection of a vast and varied amount of occupation material. The fact that the majority of this material

was unstratified meant that it was impossible to identify groupings, and it was necessary to date finds on external evidence. Laing (1970-71, 171) surmises through this study of this material that redevelopment had disturbed a series of middens probably dating on the ceramic evidence from the thirteenth century and falling out of use by the end of the fourteenth century. It is not clear if this material was recovered from the site of the *Overgate* street, or if it was associated with the backlands. Nor is it clear whether later midden deposits had been removed by subsequent fifteenth- to nineteenth-century development, and the circumstances of discovery are such that it is unlikely that these questions could have been answered. From documentary sources, however, it is known that in the sixteenth century middens lying in the street were commonplace, and the burgh records include frequent legislation on this subject, either to prevent or to remove accumulations.

Thus it seems probable that quite substantial evidence relating to the early orientation and frontage development of the medieval burgh may be obtained in those parts of the burgh not affected by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century levelling and re-grading.

APPENDIX 1: STREETS AND CLOSES

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
1 Albert Square N0402 304	The site of meadows which had been partially drained in 1799 and enclosed with stone walls for a bleaching green[1]. In c.1864 the square was laid out on 1.5 acres of marshy land by the Albert Institute Co Ltd formed with intention of creating a public square as monument to Albert, Prince Consort[2].	1. Kidd, 1909, 51 2. Sidey, 1978, n.p.
2 Allan Street N04068 3063 to N04078 3047	Close in backlands buildings by 1858[1] between Seagate and East Dock St. Widened and extended through frontages of these two streets by 1901[2] when frontages fully built. No new building episodes visible 1921[3]-1952[4]. By 1982[5] SW side of street cleared N of junction with Seagate; rebuilt back from old Allan St frontage; street widened so earlier SW frontage now beneath car park S of junction with East Dock St built on land reclaimed from river in 19th century and now vacant. Between 1982-1986, 2-12 Allan St cleared together with 32-36 Allan St; sites now vacant SE of junction with East Dock St. Area beneath upper part of Allan St and Seagate junction most important archaeologically as it may be possible to detect early frontages.	1. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 2. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5 3. OS, 25", 1920-21, LIV, 5 4. OS, 1:2500, 1952, plan N04030 5. OS, 1:1250, 1982, plan N04030 NE
3 Bank Street N04024 3034 to N04013 3026	Projected in 1824 (with Reform St) to link Willison St and Reform St[1]. Partially laid out 1832. Cut through ridge of whin-stone[2]. Connected with Barrack St by 1871. Named after Bank of Scotland erected at junction with Reform St. SE side of street redeveloped 1960s but 19th-century frontages maintained on both sides[3]. SW junction with Barrack St destroyed to facilitate access ramp to roof of car park. Overgate Lane introduced into plan on NE of ramp[4].	1. Millar, 1925, 29 2. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 3. OS, 1:2500, 1952, plan N04030 4. OS, 1:1250, 1984 plan N04030 SW
4 Barrack Street N04008 3039 to N04018 3020 - until 1960s no S limit N04012 3027 (Friars Vennel 1280- 1850; Burial Wynd 1580-1807)	Early thoroughfare W of Greyfriars monastery which became town burial-ground after Reformation. Became Barrack St (by public petition) 1807[1] as road led to Barracks at Dudhope Castle. 1601, substantial wall build on W side of burial-ground which delimited frontage on E side of street from that date[2]. W side frontage undeveloped 1793[3]. Widening in progress 1803[4]. W	1. Millar, 1925, 19 2. Maxwell, 1884, 107 3. Crawford, 1793 4. Berwick, 1803, 112 5. Wood, 1821 6. OS, 25", 1874, LIV, 5 7. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
	frontage developed by 1821[5] cut by Willison St. Junction with South Ward Rd widened 1874-1900[6] and Barrack St. Frontage moved W[7]; SW half of the street removed in 1960s (from Willison St/Bank St south to South St).	
5 Defunct N04043 3033 to N04057 3026 (Burnhead, 17th-19th centuries)	Existed in 1673 beside Mausiburn (Scourieburn). Narrow alley around E base of Castlehill to bank of Tay[1]. From High St and Marketgait aqueduct from Meadows Dam supplied water to mill herein 1756[2].	1. Lamb, 1895, XLIII 2. Anon, 1822, 139 3. Walker, 1928, 286 See 8 below
	Partially removed from plan 1828 with development of Lower Commercial St, and adjoining (on W) Exchange St. Upper Commercial St developed 1874 widening and straightening Burnhead/Seagate junction[3].	
6 Defunct N04036 3014 to N04032 3006 (Flesh Market Street 1776[1]; Short Head Street 1793[2]; Butcher Row 1821[3])	Built on land reclaimed from river late 16th century. New shore built from site of present Gilfillan Church to St Nicholas Craig. Land reclaimed as far N as future Butcher Row; only partially levelled and consolidated but adequate for construction of Packhouse, S of present Whitehall Cresc. 1643[4]. Flesh market built on S frontage 1776[5]. N frontage, some development mid-17th century (see 21).	1. Crawford, 1776 2. Crawford, 1793 3. Wood, 1821 4. Maxwell, 1884, 105 & 473 5. Miller, 1925, 177 6. Stevenson, 1986
	Cleared 1883 to lay out Whitehall Cresc; frontage of NW section lies beneath 19th-century redevelopment which followed demolition. Recent office development on corner of Crichton St/Whitehall Cresc has probably removed any surviving traces of early levels here. SW frontages lie beneath modern Whitehall Cresc. Although almost certainly disturbed by services, the earlier street alignment may be traceable here[6].	
7 Candle Lane N04049 3046 to N04067 3037 (Sea Vennel before 1780[1])	Lane giving access to river. Name 'Candle Lane' after candle works established by Joseph Sanderson 1780[2]. Few buildings 1793[3] and 1821[4]. Partially built up frontage on SW side advanced into vennel on NE side at Seagate junction c.1900[5]. Frontage stepped back at N04055 3043 between 1921 and 1952[6].	1. Miller, 1925, 24 2. Miller, 1925, 38 3. Crawford, 1793 4. Wood, 1821 5. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5 6. OS, 25", 1920-21, LIV, 5

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
8 Castle Street N04038 3029	Cut through Castle Hill 1795 to improve access to harbour[1]. Late 18th- and early 19th-century development now largely replaced, early frontages maintained[2].	1. McKean & Walker, 1985, 21 2. Walker, 1968, 285
9 Defunct N04035 3017 to N04038 3022 (Goat Wynd 17th century to c.1825 Castle Wynd 1825-1932)	Referred to as Goat Wynd in 17th-century charters and in documents relating to proposed extension of Town House 1824[1]. Chaplainry lands of St Andrew Apostle and St Clement's manse on NW frontage in late 15th century[2] - suggest possibility of thoroughfare. NW frontage and Wynd survived until 1930-32 when site cleared to construct City Sq and underground car park.	1. Lamb, 1895, XVII 2. Lamb, 1895, XXXIV
10 Defunct N04022 3016 to N04024 3018 (Kirk Wynd 1793[1] Church Lane by 1858[2])	A narrow passage linking Thorter Row with Tally St. Emerging at old kirkyard of St Mary's and probably originally an access route to church from E. In 15th century and early 16th century many church altarpieces supported by property between Tally St and Thorter Row e.g. altar of St George Martyr, property of which described in sasines 9 Nov. 1567[3] suggesting path laid out at early date. Appears on late 18th-century plans un-named 1776[4]; designated Kirk Wynd 1793[1]. N frontage intact from 1776 until c.1865[5], S frontage probably rebuilt along same line at time Nethergate widened c.1812; street apparently maintained width until demolition in 1960s, as part of Overgate redevelopment[6] with extensive basement area. It is unlikely any traces remain.	1. Crawford, 1793 2. OS, 1:2500, 1952, plan N04030 3. Lamb, 1895, XXXIVC 4. Crawford, 1776 5. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 9 6. OS, 1:1250, 1984, plan N04030 SW
11 Commercial Street N04030 3045 to N04058 3027	Laid out in two stages to provide improved access to developing harbour; SE section over Burnhead[1] in 1828. NW section across Seagate/Murraygate junction to Meadowside, in 1874[2], through High St/Murraygate frontages and burgages. SE section widened c.1874[3] at Dock St junction and widened and straightened at Seagate junction 1874[4].	1. See 5 above 2. Walker, 1968, 286 3. OS, 25", 1899, LIV, 9 4. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5
12 Couties Wynd 1521 to present N040924 3013 to N04031 3007 (Abbot's Wynd before 1453; Spalding's Wynd 1623-1624)	Passage from shore to burgh before 1200. 18th Dec. 1300 part of wynd granted by charter by Robert II to Patrick of Inverpeffer. First mention by name 1453. David Spalding resided in vennel mid 15th century hence 'Spalding's Wynd'. William Couttie acquired property here post 1521[1]. Couttie family held considerable property on W side of Wynd[2].	1. Lamb, 1895, 3 2. Lamb, 1895, XIX 3. Walker, 1968, 286 4. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9 5. OS, 25", 1858-71.

		Widened to 10ft (3.05m) in 1769. SW frontage redeveloped between 1837[3]-1858[4]. NE frontage rebuilt and centrally widened 1871[5]-1900[6] but alignment maintained.	6. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 9
13	Cowgate NO4042 3057 to NO4073 3074	Medieval street declined in 15th century, some of the buildings removed for extra defence on construction of 17th-century wall. Devastated in 16th and 17th centuries by attacks on town and sparsely inhabited in 18th century. Chiefly yards and old walls on both sides in 1756, when claimed only two houses inhabited[1]. N frontage in process of development 1776[2]. S frontages virtually built up by 1793[3]. E port of burgh (1650) stands at NO4069 3072[4]. King St inserted into N frontage between 1776[5] and 1793[6] (NO4048 3064). Widened on SW frontage at Murraygate junction 1909. Position of East Port suggests frontages here stepped back at construction of East Port Works (100 Cowgate) in 19th century and works on S side of street. Frontages on N and S side of Cowgate now (1987) extensively cleared.	1. Anon, 1822, 137 2. Crawford, 1776 3. Crawford, 1793 4. OS, 1:2500, 1952, plan NO4030 5. Crawford, 1776 6. Crawford, 1793
14	Crichton Street NO4030 3020 to NO4039 3012	Cut from High St to Green Market in 1783 to improve access to harbour[1]. Named after Dr Crichton whose land purchased[2]. E side partially on St Clement's kirkyard. Human remains unearthed here 1827[3]. Street extended to Dock St c.1915 when Caird Hall built partially over Green Market[4]. Upper part of street widened c.1930 when E side of street stepped back to maintain frontage with Caird Hall and allow construction of City Chambers on SW side of City Sq. SW frontage of street also redeveloped in 19th century e.g., 11-13 Crichton St rebuilt 1892.	1. Walker, 1968, 285 2. Millar, 1925, 44 3. Thomson, 1830, 26 4. OS, 25", 1921, LIV, 9
15	Dock Street NO4070 3038 to NO4032 3001	Constructed between 1829-46 on land reclaimed during this period from the River Tay. Intended to service Earl Grey, King William IV and Victoria Docks[1]. Construction of Tay Road Bridge in 1965/6 necessitated extensive modification of[2], and addition to, the existing road system to provide access between Gellatly St junction and South Union St[3]. Victorian frontages along NE side of street survive intact. Road level raised at South Gellatly St/Commercial St SW frontage much altered.	1. Buchanan, 1902, fig 1 & 2 2. OS, 1:2500, 1952, plan NO4030 3. OS, 1:1250, 1984, plan NO4030 SW

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
16 Defunct N04048 3038 (Drummond's Close)	<p>Named after George Drummond, proprietor of tenement between this close and Mitchell's Close, at end 18th century. Property in existence at least early 17th century[1].</p> <p>Close removed as a result of laying out of North Gellatly St. Site occupied by warehousing in late 19th century[2]. These in ruin 1952 and site rebuilt by 1984[3] maintaining 19th-century frontage with Seagate/Gellatly St.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lamb, XLIV, b 2. OS, 1:2500, 1952, plan N04030 3. OS, 1:1250, 1984, plan N04030 SW
17 Defunct N04038 3033 to N04035 3035 (Dyer's Close extant 1514 removed 1874)	<p>Associated with dyers trade early 16th century at least, perhaps because of proximity to burn. Murraygait remained centre of dyers craft until late 18th century[1].</p> <p>Appears with fully built frontages 1793[2]. Apparently little change 1858[3]. Cleared 1874 when Commercial St formed close now beneath 80 High St (built 1876-92 with extensive basement area); survival potential of frontages poor. SE extremity of close beneath High St. Frontage may survive here but possibly cut by service trenches. NW end of close may lie beneath present Rankine's Court.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lamb, 1895, XLVII 2. Crawford, 1793 3. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5
18 Exchange Street N04047 3021 to N04036 3037	<p>Developed on reclaimed river beach at foot of Castle Rock. Site occupied by woodyard in 1776[1], reclamation advanced further to SW by 1793[2]. Introduced into the plan in 1828 when town council agreed to form a street 40ft (12.19m) wide from Burnhead to foot of Castle St to improve access to harbour. Name from new Exchange established 1807 extended 1828 on S side of footpath leading from Castle St to Burnhead[3]. Frontages remain virtually unchanged since early 19th century. Widening of Commercial St c.1874 truncated NE end of Exchange St.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Crawford, 1776 2. Crawford, 1793 3. Miller, 1925, 35
19 Defunct N04030 3045 to N04036 3037 (Fenton Street)	<p>Followed course of Meadow Burn[1]. Connected with Murraygate Narrows by Gardyn's Close and with Meadowside to N[2]. Meadow Burn clearly marked 1776[3] and 1793[4]. Street probably not properly formalised until c.1830-40[5]. Baptist Chapel at Meadowside junction erected 1835[6]. Fenton St cleared 1874 with laying out of NW section of Commercial St. Now lies predominately beneath SW frontage of latter street which has extensive cellarage. Survival of archaeological levels therefore probably poor. Erstwhile junction with Meadowside now lies beneath road.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lamb, 1895, LVa 2. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 3. Crawford, 1776 4. Crawford, 1793 5. Ibid, note 1 6. Ibid, note 2

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
20 Defunct N04047 3036 (Fernie's Court)	Named c.1670 after Bailie George Fernie, merchant[1]. To rear of SE frontage of Seagate Court; cleared to facilitate widening of Seagate and improvement of Gellatly St 1870-01. Site now lies partly beneath cinema and rear of 5 Seagate.	1. Lamb, 1895, XLIVa
21 Defunct N04035 3014 to N04030 3005 (1776 West Shore[1]; 1793 West Shore Street[2]; 1814 Fish Street)	At earliest date narrow passage skirting sea shore. About Reformation, N street frontage made continuous. Sasines c.1560 describe road as the passage to the narrow harbour at the windmill[3]. Houses to N of what was to become NW frontages described as having 'the sea flude on the south'[4]. Old Custom House on S frontage of 'Fish Street' mentioned in will 1648 of Provost James Pierson; street therefore well established by that date[5]. Marketgait burghages gradually built up, eventually forming NW frontage of Fish St. Street cleared 1883 to lay out Whitehall St/Whitehall Cresc. Alignment lost as NE section built over; frontages may survive beneath road at Whitehall Cresc. Drain laying c.1890 disclosed distinct archaeological levels below the existing level of Whitehall Cresc. Excavations in 1890 also showed that after Fish St fully formed with frontages on both sides, width 28ft (8.53m) at widest point 21ft (6.40m) at E end[6].	1. Crawford, 1776 2. Crawford, 1793 3. Telford, 184 4. MacGibbon & Ross, 1892, V, 70 5. MacGibbon & Ross, 1892, V, 69 6. Lamb, 1895, L
22 Gellatly Street N04047 3040 to N04063 3032	SE section of reclaimed land between 1776[1] and 1793[2]. NW frontage continued through Stewart's Court and Seagait frontages c.1871. Lower Gellatly St widened between 1901[3] and 1921[4] when NE frontage stepped back in line with upper part of street. Upper part of frontage quickly feued after opening of street. Theatre opened on SW corner of Eastgate junction 1885. SW frontage Dock St and cinema (former theatre) recently cleared and now used as a car park. Gap in NE frontage at N04052 3039.	1. Crawford, 1776 2. Crawford, 1793 3. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5 4. OS, 25", 1921, LIV, 5
23 Defunct N0403 301 (Fish Market; Green Market)	Probably built on site of 16th-century harbour. Some building hereby 17th century (Provost Pierson's house) on shore line[1]. At shore on site of present Caird Hall. Appears in 1776[2] and 1793[3] and 1821[4], as Fish Market at these dates; contained long tree-lined walk to harbour. 18th-century 'Bason' occupied S	1. Lamb, 1895, XLVIIId 2. Crawford, 1776 3. Crawford, 1793 4. Wood, 1821 5. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
	<p>part of Green Market. By 1858[5] known as Green Market. Extensive piling work at foot of Green Market (28.6.15) cobbles of Green Market lifted to lay foundation trench 2-3ft (0.61-0.91m). Suggest minimal disturbance of underlying deposits. By 1921 Caird Hall complete and relationship with site of Green Market recorded by OS[7]. Excavation for sinking drains East Whitehall Cresc 1890-01 revealed walling possibly associated with 16th-century harbour suggesting, together with known rise in surface level of Fish St[8], early levels may survive here.</p>	<p>6. Album of photos of street scenes - no title in City Archives, Dundee 7. OS, 25", 1920-21, LIV, 9 8. Lamb, 1895, LIX</p>
<p>24 Gray's Close N04034 3030 (1605 Alexander Kyd's Close; mid 18th century Bogmill's Close; 1810 to present Grey's Close[1])</p>	<p>First mention 1605, but buildings in Close before that date, extant example Gardyne's House c.1560. Early 16th-century house belonging to Andrew Barrie occupied by two merchant booths or ale cellar[2]. Named Bogmill's Close after David Maxwell of Bogmill.</p> <p>Close extant, though truncated by extension to Keiller's confectionery works 1887[3] and subsequently, by the recently built Keiller Centre.</p>	<p>1. Lamb, 1895, XIVb 2. Lamb, 1895, IVa 3. Millar, 1925, 26</p>
<p>25 Defunct N04028 3017 to N04033 3013 (1539 Makkesoun's Close; various titles up to 1883 when Harris' Entry)</p>	<p>12th Jan. 1516 the name of John Makkesoun appeared in seal of cause of Skinner Craft or glover trade[1]. 1539 charter under great Seal referred specifically to the passage as 'Makkesoun's Close'. Successive changes in title followed at time of demolition known as Harris Entry, after proprietor Roderick Harris, baker, and uncle of philanthropist commemorated in Harris Academy[2].</p> <p>Close cleared in 1883-5 when NE frontage of Whitehall St Buildings to rear have extensive cellars/basements area survival rating of deposits not high.</p>	<p>1. Millar, 1925 2. Lamb, 1895, XXVIa</p>
<p>26 High Street pre-1876 N04037 3030 to N04025 3017 after 1876 N04039 3039 to N04025 3017 (The Cross; Marketgait)</p>	<p>In existence by at least 13th century. Gradually gained in importance as original settlement spread westwards from Seagait. Tron, tolbooth and market cross all sited here by 15th century, hence names 'The Cross' and 'Marketgait'.</p> <p>After demolition of Murraygate Narrow 1876 name 'High Street' extended to entire improved street W of Commercial St[1]. Millar edited description of buildings in High St in 1776[2], claims owners as in other parts of town at liberty to build to any height and style, but not allowed further forward into the street than an 'equality with the rest of buildings'. Restrictions not</p>	<p>1. Lamb, 1895, LVI 2. Millar, 1923, 176 3. Millar, 1923, 260 4. Maxwell, 1884, 100 & 102 5. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5</p>

always observed and buildings narrowed width of street. 1777[3], High St described as 'new paved and made a great deal lower than formerly', Description of 'rubbish and stones which raised the Street' implies (though does not state) domestic refuse though no middens theoretically in streets after 16th century[4]. 18th-century levelling and simultaneous discovery of 'stone coffins' suggests archaeological levels removed in parts. Clearance of Eastern Bank[5] from Castle St junction and improvement of Burnhead junction with N extension of Commercial St improved E end of High St. W end of Thorter Row widened by clearance of English Chapel (N04029 3018). 18th-century frontages otherwise largely maintained throughout 19th-century rebuilding until clearance of Town House with development of City Sq 1932, and clearance of block from Tally St to Cross in 1960 as part of Overgate redevelopment. Cellarage common on modern and 19th-century frontages; deposits probably largely destroyed here, though possibly traces of earlier frontage survive beneath present street.

27 Horse Wynd
 N04042 3047 to
 N04048 3046
 (Horse Wynd pre
 1465; Kings
 Vennel 1465[1]
 reverting to Horse
 Wynd)

Narrow access between Murraygait and Seagait. Section nearest Murraygait built on both sides pre-1449. 1465 charter refers to it as 'Kings Vennel, anciently called Horse Wynd'. Perhaps, therefore a thoroughfare of some age, giving access from houses in Murraygait to Market Centre and Cross in Seagait in early burgh.

Frontages built up 1776[2], little change 1793[3]. By 1858 slight widening of N side of Seagate junction. 1868 present Bank of Scotland (35-39 Murraygate) built; unclear whether this replaced a building enlarged on earlier structure to rear and remodelled at front; described at junction of Murraygate/Horse Wynd deviates slightly from original frontage on Horse Wynd[4]. By 1900 junction with Seagate cleared on N side[5], rebuilt by 1921[6] reverting to original frontage line at N junction. Today with exception of 45 Murraygate (frontage) N of Horse Wynd totally rebuilt along 1921 line with extensive baseament. Seagate/Horse Wynd junction also rebuilt and widened so earlier frontage now beneath entry yard to rear of bank building (33-39 Murraygate)[7].

1. Lamb, 1895, XLVI
2. Crawford, 1776
3. Crawford, 1793
4. McKean & Walker, 1984, 39
5. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5
6. OS, 25", 1921, LIV, 5
7. S J Stevenson, June, 1986

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
28 Defunct N04027 3015 to N04032 3011 (Existed by 1450; Will Shippert's Close 1539-1730; Andrew Watson's Close 1730-1804; Key's Close 1804- 1883)	<p>Cross House in close supported altar of 'Three Kings of Cologne' in church of St Mary's founded in 1485[1].</p> <p>William Shippert, baker, early 16th-century property in close. Associated with baker trade for centuries. C.1730 Andrew Watson, baker, acquired property here. 1804 William Key, cabinetmaker, property in close and in 19th century Wright's Hall also built here. First issue of Dundee Weekly Courier issued 20 Sept. 1816 in Key's House[2].</p> <p>Close demolished in 1803 to allow Whitehall St to be laid out[3], and now lies beneath the centre of the modern street. Regrading of the slope (if any) prior to the development of the new street may have affected the survival of the underlying levels, but is possible that the foundations of the close frontages survive.</p>	1. Millar, 1925, 23 2. Lamb, 1895, XXVII 3. Ibid, note 1
29 King Street N04048 3064 to N04074 3083	<p>Formed 1776[1]-1793[2] through Cowgate gardens.</p> <p>Laying out of this new street which provided additional exit E from burgh, involved removal of building fronting Cowgate at junction with drive to Glasite Meeting House. Entrance of this building and St Andrew's Church truncated by new street which passed E through previously unbuilt Cowgate gardens. Sparse development on new frontages by 1793. Increase in development on SW and SE by 1821[3]. Slope of ground necessitated cutting of frontages on SE side into slope; development on Cowgate burgages only possible by extensive quarrying and underbuilding on King St. Extensive basement areas to these developed 1815-18. Width of street apparently constant since inception. NW side of street cleared of 19th-century[4] buildings and redeveloped between 1967[5] and 1982[6]. SE frontage partially cleared and Considerably below street level. No archaeological potential.</p>	1. Crawford, 1776 2. Crawford, 1793 3. Wood, 1821 4. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 5. OS, 1:1250, 1967 plan N04030 NW 6. OS, 1:1250, 1983, plan N04030 SE
30 North Lindsay Street N03991 3034 to N04008 3015	<p>Connects Ward Rd with erstwhile Overgate. Constructed through Windmill Brae, this partially removed by quarrying late 18th century[1]. Considerable portion of E side of hill removed before 1801 when several ruinous properties on N Overgate frontage required to form new street[2]. Early 19th-century quarrying of whinstone continued and ground gradually levelled. Remaining property on site of new street acquired 1825. North</p>	1. Crawford, 1793 2. Lamb, 1895, XL 3. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9 4. Kidd, 1909, n.p. 5. OS, 1:1250, 1967, plan N04030 NW

		<p>Lindsay St opened 1831, named after William Lindsay, provost 1821-33 instrumental in forming new street from pre-existing wynd.</p> <p>Frontages partially developed by 1858[3] on NE from Overgate to William St on SW from South Ward Rod. Quarry site still largely unbuilt on SW frontage between South Ward Rd and Overgate. Illustration dated 1850[4] shows rear of Overgate fronting houses overhanging quarry edge c.10-15ft (3.05-4.57m); this area not built up until 1858-71[5], and this frontage of no archaeological interest. Despite extensive recent redevelopment on NE frontage[6] street width has remained constant since inception, but because of extensive quarrying which has taken place, the street and its frontage are archaeologically unimportant.</p>	<p>6. OS, 1:1250, 1983, plan N04030 SE</p>
31	<p>Defunct N04019 3014 to N04015 3007 (pre-18th century Kirk Wynd[1]; late 18th century School Wynd[2]; 1858/1900[3] South Lindsay Street)</p>	<p>Formed through old Kirkyard of St Mary's Church. No building on E side by 1776 and few on W even by 1793. Renamed School Wynd after building Grammar School in late 18th century[4].</p> <p>Both NE and SW frontages widened when South Lindsay St laid out in late 19th century. NE frontage widened to foot of St Mary's Tower, SW frontage rebuilt. These frontages with street width (including pavement) of c.60ft (18.29m) maintained until demolition in 1960s. Site now beneath Overgate redevelopment. Pedestrian area and frontage of 2-18 Kirk Style follows approximately SW frontage line of street[5], but doubtful if earlier street traceable.</p>	<p>1. Crawford, 1776 2. Crawford, 1793 3. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 9 4. Maxwell, 1894, 92 5. OS, 1:1250, 1984, plan N04030 SW</p>
32	<p>Defunct N04007 3000 to N04015 3007 (Seres Wynd 15th century; Long Wynd by 1776[2])</p>	<p>According to Millar[1], named first after Seres family who settled in Dundee from Fife before 1400. In 15th century reputedly town wall ran along W side according to Maxwell[3] (see also town walls).</p> <p>In 1776 NE frontage built. 1793 NW junction with Overgate built. Rapid W expansion between 1821[4] and 1858[5] led to almost complete repletion of frontages, though street alignment and width apparently maintained until clearance of NE junction with Overgate between 1921[6] and 1952[7]. Wynd cleared to allow development of access road (Marketgait) to new Tay Road Bridge 1965-66. Site of Wynd crosses new road diagonally, name preserved at N0400 300. Very doubtful if frontages or earlier street line now traceable.</p>	<p>1. Millar, 1925, 20 2. Crawford, 1776 3. Maxwell, 1884, 223 4. Wood, 1821 5. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9 6. OS, 25", 1920-21, LIV, 9 7. OS, 1:2500, 1952, plan N03930</p>

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
33 Defunct N04034 3040 to N04038 3039 (Meadow Close)	Linked Meadows with Murraygate before formation of Commercial St. When in use was 150ft (45.72m) long x 10ft (3.05m) wide[1]. Now lies beneath Commercial St at position indicated. Appears built on both frontages 1776[2] and 1793[3]. Buildings on N frontage at junction with Fenton St cleared by 1858[4]. Destroyed when latter street formed 1874. History otherwise obscure.	1. Lamb, 2895, XLVII 2. Crawford, 1776 3. Crawford, 1793 4. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5
34 Meadow Entry pre-1874 N04030 3045 to N04039 3044 now N04034 3044 N04030 3044 (Dog Well Entry c.1775)	Opened up 1775[1] - offered passage for carts from Meadows to Murraygate. Laid out by David Raitt, wright (frontage house on W of entry) and Thomas Wood, mason (E side of entry)[2]. Pre-1874 NW end coalesced with Meadowside[3]. Junction altered by formation of Commercial St, 15-17 Albert Sq and 93-99 Commercial St. Now built over former exit and N and S frontages; cellarage suggests poor survival of underlying deposits. New access constructed through Commercial St frontage to join with Entry c.1874[4]. Rear of 89-91 Commercial St has cellar. 85-87 (developed at same time as 89-91 in 1876-92) has left old entry frontage to rear clear of building. 14-20 Murraygate and 2-4 Meadow Entry represent only surviving 18th century (c.1780) buildings in entry and indicate frontage line	1. Anon, 1822 2. Kidd, 1909, 60 3. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 4. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5
35 Defunct pre1858-71 N04010 3014 to N040195 3018 post 1858-71 N04010 3014 to N04019 3018 (Mid Kirk Style)	Crawford's maps of 1776[1] and 1793[2] suggest pathway only. 19th-century development of same. Building at School Wynd junction first appears 1821[3]. Junction with Tally St widened 1858-71[4] on N side. This frontage then undisturbed until demolition c.1960. Site now lies below pedestrian area in Overgate development. Erstwhile kirkyard probably reduced to present level when development laid out; extent of disturbance not certain, but recent discoveries suggest some deposits survive.	1. Crawford, 1776 2. Crawford, 1793 3. Wood, 1821 4. OS, 25". 1858-71, LIV, 9
36 Defunct N04046 3037 to N04048 3037 (Mitchell's Close)	Name derived from Robert Mitchell, wright, proprietor of front tenement 1786[1], but earlier origins perhaps 15th century. So-called 'Graham of Fintry's Chapel' built here c.1550, probably on site of earlier 16th-century tenement[2]. Mid-16th-century building extant at time of demolition.	1. Lamb, 1895, XLIVa 2. Lamb, 1895, XLIV a & b

Close demolished 1870-1 to allow improvement to Seagate and

- extension to Gellatly St. Site now lies partly beneath the Seagate, partly beneath cinema (theatre 1885) at junction of Gellatly St and Seagate.
- 37 Murraygate
pre-1876
NO4039 3033 to
NO4042 3056 now
NO4039 3039 to
NO4040 3038
(mid 15th century
Murrefgait[1];
Murraygait)
- One of the earliest roads in burgh; principal exit N and enclosed by Murraygait Port. With Overgait favoured for residences of wealthy members of society in Middle Ages.
- Millar[2] claims street 'almost new built' 1776. Frontages certainly built up and closes developed and extended into backland[3]. Close developments: Millers Close, Elder's Close (c.1770), Horse Wynd, fully built by 1780[4]. In mid 18th century majority of houses had wood-fronted additions to stone frontage creating piazza. At head of Murraygate on N side, 4 or 5 lands adjoined in 1756[5]. In early 19th century houses fronting Murraygate on N side, fair state of repair though back tenements which abutted onto town wall described then as 'waste and burned'[6]; c.1805, several of houses described as having gardens well stocked with trees, bushes and wells, so backlands not replete at this date. Luckenbooths had encroached on road making it narrow 1871. Improvement Act led to widening of narrows of Murraygate[7]. Whole of properties on upper side of narrows purchased and demolished, together with portion of those on other side, before Aug. 1876. Site of narrows now renamed West High St. Front elevation of new street designed to complement W side of Commercial St. Hollow in Murraygate from Dogwell (NO4039 3041) rising sharply to Trades Hall (NO4041 3034). Street paved after widening and depression levelled up; some shops and tenements provided with steps to reach old floor levels from street[8]. Deposits in this area probably sealed and of potential interest. Frontages consistent since 19th-century improvements, though building replacement has taken place. 40-44 Murraygate and backlands extensively developed. Watching brief suggests maximum 3ft 4in (c.1.0m) overburden in backland and no surviving archaeological levels.
1. Lamb, 1895, XLVI
2. Millar, 1923, 179
3. Crawford, 1776
4. Anon, 1822, 139
5. Kidd, 1909, 68
6. Lamb, 1895, XLVIb
7. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5
8. Ibid, note 1
- 38 Nethergate
NO4007 2995
NO4025 3017
(Flukergait;
Nethergait)
- Early medieval thoroughfare gradually developed with expansion of town westwards past St Mary's parish church. Tradition that original name from 'fluker' a type of fish. Nethergait means the lower gait. Overgait being the upper. The part of street from High St to Tally St called Our Lady Gait[1].
1. Millar, 1925, 17
2. Crawford, 1776
3. Crawford, 1793
4. Ivory, 1814, HP, 12352
5. Wood, 1821

STREET/CLOSE

DESCRIPTION

REFERENCES

- Nethergate from High St to South Lindsay St constructed 1776[2]. S frontage well and evenly developed but N frontage at St Mary's Church built over kirkyard. Street widened beyond this point to Nethergate port at foot of Long Wynd. Burgages at this date. Still relatively free of buildings on both sides of the street. Appearance little changed 1793[3]. Buildings apparently removed from S side at this point, though construction at site of port remains. This cleared by 1821[4] and laying out of South Tay St and Crichton St put through S frontage 1783[5]. Union St also on S frontage, 1828[6]. Whitehall St put through 1883. Otherwise frontages maintained until 1975[7]. Nethergate Centre developed at end to the rear of 66-80 Nethergate. S frontage now chiefly occupied by 19th century and later buildings mostly with cellarage.
- 39 New Inn Entry
N04026 3014 to
N04033 3028
- Named as such early 19th century after hotel at junction High St. Main access northwards from High St until Reform St[1].
- Footpath providing access from High St to Meadows 1776[2]; High St frontage and tenements to rear show limited development of burgages. By 1793[3] W frontage of Entry substantially built up by William Wilson, wood merchant (tenements with gardens). Frontage buildings of close repeatedly altered and reconstructed. 1832, W side of close cleared to allow development of E frontage of Reform St. Probably about this time entry straightened and levelled though Lamb[4] claims 'zig zag conformation and irregular level of old footpath' maintained at end of 19th century. By 1900[5] both NE and SW frontages redeveloped with extension of confectionery works on NE. These frontages maintained until recent development of Keiller Centre, now frontage stepped back on NE side, widening entry from rear of 68 High St. SW side shows presence of cellarage probably to detriment of early frontage. That on NE may survive approximately along line of cobbled street/new surface.
- 40 Defunct
N03986 3013 to
N04030 3025
(Argyllis-gait;
Overgait; Overgate)
- One of the early medieval thoroughfares in the town. Reputed to be named after Argyllis lodging, home of a Campbell of Argyll[1]. On its NW front woodenlands constructed by possibly late 15th century on town side of Overgait 'barrass'. On S side, just outside barrass, home of the Boece family, 16th century, and
6. Walker, 1968, 285
7. Pocock, 1968, 308
1. Lamb, V
2. Crawford, 1776
3. Crawford, 1793
4. Lamb, 1895, LV
5. OS, 25", 1900-01,
LIV, 5
1. Millar, 1925, 17
2. Lamb, XLI
3. J A Roko, 432
4. Millar, 1925, 17
5. Crawford, 1776

probably birthplace of Hector Boece[2]. Country gentry abandoned traditional 'lodgings' in Overgait and from mid 16th century spinners and weavers subdividing property and workshops in backyards supplied with water from Scouringburn[3]. The SE end of the street was referred to as the 'luckenbooths', being lined with locked booths at the front of tenement buildings[4]. 'Overgait' is the upper gait, above 'Nethergait' the lower.

6. Kidd, 1909, 36
7. Maxwell, 1884, 260
8. Crawford, 1793
9. OS, ONB, 1858, bk. 35, 3, 39
10. Lamb, 1895, XLV
11. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9

Overgate formed one of the two thoroughfares providing access to the town from W. From Long Wynd junction it skirted foot of Corbie Hill on N passed St Mary's Church on S and emerged on High St at the The Cross[5]. In 1746[6] Overgate reputedly possessed a few houses. Lay without early medieval town, but sufficiently developed by 16th century to be enclosed by town wall and barrass; frontages well developed by 1776 with limited backlands repletion. S frontage by St Mary's built over erstwhile kirkyard[7]. Relatively unchanged 1793[8] though town expanding W and Corbie Hill quarried S side of Overgate St narrowed between High St and Thorter Row by projection of luckenbooths[9]. North Lindsay St inserted 1821 over levelled Corbie Hill (Windmill Bræ)[10]. Luckenbooths[9] cleared by 1858[11] and site rebuilt. 1960s street cleared to make way for Overgate redevelopment. Now no trace of original street, amount and date of artifactual material recovered by surface collection during redevelopment suggests destruction of archaeological deposits is probably total.

41 Panmure Street
N04041 3057 to
N04021 3051

Projected by Improvements Bill, Nov. 1824. March 1825 property acquired. May 1839 street opened; named after William Ramsay Maule, first Baron Panmure[1]. Designed to link Cowgate with the Meadows and involved cutting through frontages and burgages at Murraygate/Wellgate junction.

1. Millar, 1925, 40

Frontages on both sides developed gradually on erstwhile meadow land, apart from the breached Wellgate/Murraygate frontage which now lies beneath the road; this street is of no archaeological importance.

42 Peter Street
N04042 3052 to
N04049 3050

Constructed between 1776[1] and 1793[2] through the Murraygate frontage to connect with Seagate.

1. Crawford, 1776
2. Crawford, 1793

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
	N and S frontages developed by John Peter by 1793. 18th-century frontage line retained by modern and 19th-century rebuilding.	
43 Queen Street N04058 3068 to N04063 3061	Laid out between 1776[1] and 1793[2] to join Seagate and Cowgait. Named on 1793 plan; sparse frontage development though NE junction with Cowgate developed by 1793. 1858[3] frontages replete; NE and SW junctions with Seagate cleared by 1900-01[4] rebuilt by 1921[5] when NE junction with Cowgate cleared; intervening property as built by 1858. By 1952[6] Seagate NE junction again rebuilt, and further clearance SE buildings at NE junction with Cowgate. 1886 Cowgate/Queen St frontage cleared; NE side of Wynd cleared with exception of 138 Seagate which has frontages on both Queen St and Seagate; rear of this building below level of car park which occupies previous site of buildings on NE side and stands at higher level than road. SW frontages with exception quoted presents same appearance as 1921. 13 Queen St has extensive basement. Most important areas archaeologically (frontage site) now beneath street.	1. Crawford, 1776 2. Crawford, 1793 3. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 4. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5 5. OS, 25", 1920-21, LIV, 5 6. OS, 1:2500, -1952, plan N04030
44 Reform Street N04020 3042 to N04031 3026 19th century	Projected in 1824 by William Burn, negotiations for land purchase 1824 - Nov. 1832 street opened 1833. First feus taken 1834 on SW and NE side of street facing Town House[1]. Frontages survive today as laid out. Because of quarrying NW section (Bank St to Reform St/Ward Rd junction) archaeologically sterile. Cellarage of buildings in SE section have probably affected survival of deposits, though frontage of Old High St may survive below road at High St junction.	1. Lamb, 1895, LIV
45 Defunct N04027 3016 to N04030 3014 (In existence c.1450; Michelson's Close 1529-1691; Crockatt's Close 1691-98; John Crockatt's Close 1699-1774; Scott's Close 1774-1883[1])	A 'built passage' c.1450. By end of 15th century described as 'finished' i.e. totally built up. Named Michelson's Close c.1529 after owner of property here. Six tenements remained undivided until 19th century. Name changed post-1691 to Crockatt's Close after owner of two tenements, George Crockatt, merchant, councillor and town treasurer. Post-1699 named after his son 'John Crockatt's Close'. 1774 property to Thomas Scott, Deacon of Hammermen[2]. Close 252ft (76.81m) long, steep gradient to Fish St. Covered passage at N (Nethergate) end 29ft (8.84m) long and S (Fish St)	1. Lamb, 1895, XXVIs 2. Lamb, 1895, XXVI 3. Kidd, 1909 4. Millar, 1925, 19

		end 46ft (14.02m) long footway here 3 steps below level of street[3]. Demolished 1883 to allow Whitehall St to be laid out[4]. Site now lies beneath NE of frontage above street.	
46	Seagate N04075 3070 to N04044 3035 (Seagait)	<p>First area of settlement in Dundee - at least 11th century. Market centre, with cross and tolbooth, until the town gradually developed W, and market centre sited in Marketgait or High St.</p> <p>1776[1], sparse development on either side of W of St Andrew's St. 16th-century port stood at foot of Sugarhouse Wynd (N04060 3058. Town expanded E only with 18th-century industrial development. S of boundary of Seagate burgages a wall at river shore appears on Slezer engraving c.1650[2]. By 1814, reclamation of river shore extended property boundaries leading to development of burgages which by 1846 gave access to deep water anchorage. Width of Seagate insufficient to meet either needs of increased volume of traffic of re-orientation of usage. New streets inserted and narrow paths to shore widened at Seagate frontage from 1858[3] to 1900-1[4]. Earlier frontages now beneath street. Degree of disturbance uncertain but potentially present frontage, and some buildings cut into present surface (i.e. at Commercial St junction).</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Crawford, 1776 2. Slezer 3. OS, 25, 1858, LIV, 5 4. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5
47	St Andrew's Street N04048 3061 to N04054 3055 (Church Street 1793[1])	<p>In existence by 1776, linking Cowgait and Seagait with later named Trades Lane and shore[2].</p> <p>New street described 1776 as 22ft (6.71m) in width, frontage development on NE side at junction with Cowgate, gardens only on SW side of street frontage here developing by 1793. Junction with Seagate built and at Seagate junction with Seagate widened by 1900[3] fully expanded on SW frontage by 1921[4]. Earlier frontage now lies beneath street. NE frontage development unchanged 1858[5] until c.1952[6] when block between Seagate and Morrison's Court (St Andrew's Lane) removed; site rebuilt by 1982[7]. Frontages on both sides otherwise unchanged. Of limited interest archaeologically except as far as early Cowgate and Seagate frontages may lie beneath present street.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Crawford, 1793 2. Crawford, 1776 3. OS, 25" 1900-01, LIV, 5 4. OS, 25", 1920-21, LIV, 5 5. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 6. OS, 1:2500, 1952, plan N04030 7. OS, 1:1250, 1982, plan N04030 NE
48	Defunct N04034 3024 to N04037 3022 to N04036 3020 (St Clement's Lane)	<p>Before 1560 provided access from Marketgait to town burial ground. Tolbooth built at its junction with Marketgait or High St 1562[1]. 1568 Andrew Rankyne's house built fronting lane[2].</p> <p>S boundary formed by Chaplainry of St Andrew Apostle (on site</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Maxwell, 1884, 49 2. Maxwell, 1884, 90 and OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
<p>49 Defunct NO4025 3013 to NO4031 3008 (St Margaret's Close and Court)</p>	<p>1490)[3]. Old Grammar School on SW side of Wynd between Town House built partly on site of St Clement's and fronting land, 1588[4].</p> <p>Andrew Rankyne's house and old Grammar School cleared 1872 to allow expansion of Town House. Lane cleared away 1930-32 to allow development of City Sq and adjacent buildings; unlikely any remains survive.</p> <p>Lamb claims close existed in 12th century. Name is claimed[1], derived as a result of grant of tenement by David Spalding 1466 for support of altar of St Margaret's Parish Church Built up before mid 16th century; tenements described in sasines included land of 'ye Holy Ruid' at S end of close with St Thomas chaplainry on E. These extant on sasine evidence 1559[2]. Close appears with totally built frontages in plans of 1776[3] and 1793[4].</p> <p>Frontage lines maintained until demolition associated with development of Whitehall St c.1883-1889[5]. Extensive cellarage here and doubtful if traces of earlier buildings survive.</p>	<p>3. Lamb, 1895, XVb 4. Maxwell, 1884, 90</p> <p>1. Lamb, 1895, XXXI 2. Lamb, 1895, XXXIa 3. Crawford, 1776 4. Crawford, 1793 5. McKean & Walker, 1984, 55</p>
<p>50 Defunct NO4036 3027 (St Margaret's Close; Mint Close)</p>	<p>Identifiable, perhaps, on Crawford's map, 1793[1].</p> <p>Name originated from existence of property here which supported an altar of St Margaret in parish church[2]. Claim to have been a mint here, though dubious[3]. Source quoted by authority identified remains of 'furnace' amongst ruins of building. Maxwell[4] claims buildings of 'cunzie house' of massive nature demolished early 19th century. Nothing known of early history but some silver groat pieces struck in Dundee in reign of Robert III (1390-1406). 16th-century mint engaged in converting old coins to new[5]. 17th century some of mint buildings converted to dwellings[6]. 1651 a writ issued by crown to re-establish a mint but so far as is known coinage not struck again in Dundee.</p> <p>Close possibly identifiable 1793 on N side of Overgate buildings extending back into burgages. Reputedly cleared of building by 1830 to allow passage of Reform St through frontage and subsequent frontage development on new street. Site quoted has</p>	<p>1. Crawford, 1793 2. Lamb, 1895, XXI 3. Millar, 1923, 142 4. Maxwell, 1884, 261 5. Maxwell, 1884, 262 6. Maxwell, 1884, 263 7. HBL, No 221</p>

- remained undisturbed since present buildings erected 1832[7], although most of close probably destroyed by 1960s Overgate development.
- 51 St Roque's Lane
N04074 3082 to
N04070 3074 to
N04075 3070
(Corrupted form
'Simmiestockie'[1])
- Reputedly beside chapel dedicated to St Roque. Pre-dates 1776.
- Appears on plan 1776[2] linking Cowgate and Seagate with extension N to Bucklemaker Wynd and Fore Bank. By 1793 King St formed[3]. Lane more formalised in connecting Cowgate and King St 1776/17904 development on W frontage between Cowgate and Seagate and E frontage. (Irregular with gables to street) N of Cowgate by 1821[4]. W frontage N of Cowgate developed and in 1858[5] frontages replete. Apparently extensive quarrying took place here (see St Roque's). Immediately prior to this, last building episode and recent clearance on W side of street shows quarried Old Red Sandstone. Of no archaeological interest.
1. Miller, 1925, 18
2. Crawford, 1776
3. Crawford, 1793
4. Wood, 1821
5. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5
- 52 South Tay Street
(Hospital Street[1];
North Tay Street)
- Laid out through hospital gardens 1792-3[1]. Intended to provide building plots for superior housing for prosperous merchants and to link developing industrial areas of Scouringburn, Polepark and Lochlee with heart of Blackness (1802-1882)[2].
- Development at N junction with Overgate in 1793[1], and South Tay St probably built shortly after[3]. All have basements with exception of 33-35 and 24-32 South Tay St which date c.1850. Frontages have remained consistent since first development of street. Crawford shows no building between Overgate and Nethergate in 1776 along proposed line of road. Archaeological potential low. Presently N part of street beyond W port previously North Tay St. improved to cater for approach to Tay Road Bridge.
1. Crawford, 1793
2. Walker, 1968, 205
3. HBL, No 234
- 53 Defunct
N04048 3039
(Stewart's Close)
- House built at head of close by mid 17th century. Close perhaps earlier, giving access from Seagait to shore[1].
- On S side of Seagate. Cleared 1871 to allow N extension of Gellatly St. Building frontages now lie beneath Gellatly St and its junction with Seagate.
1. Lamb, 1895, XLV

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
54 Sugar House Wynd NO4054 3066 to NO4060 3059 (Fintry's Wynd)	<p>Dundee Sugar House Company founded 1770 (closed 1826) giving its name to street[1]. Sugar House stood at Seagate junction 1776[2]. Hammermen Corporation owned house and property on E side of junction[3].</p> <p>According to 'Philetas' in Dundee Mag. 1799[4] extreme E limit of town in 1746. This wynd, appears on Crawford's plan[5]. Sugar House built on W junction with Seagate other buildings to rear of this on W side of Seagate junction also built but otherwise vacant. Little change 1793. Width of wynd at Seagate junction 1813 - 11ft 2in (3.40m). Width maintained 1858[7] but fully built. Property unchanged 1900-01. E junction with Seagate rebuilt between 1901-2221[8]. NW junction with Cowgate redeveloped 1952[9]-1983[10]; also NE junction with Cowgate cleared. E junction with Seagate widened and rebuilt. Remaining property cut into slope on W. Basements attached to property on E junction with Seagate. Archaeological potential low; preferred area of interest Seagate and Cowgate junctions which may have been affected by improvement schemes to these streets.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Millar, 1925, 36 2. Crawford, 1776 3. Neave, 1813 4. Kidd, 1909, 36 5. Ibid, note 2 6. Ibid, note 3 7. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 8. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5 9. OS, 1:2500, 1952 plan NO4030 10. OS, 1:2500 1983, NO4030 NE
55 Defunct pre-1812 NO4018 3019 to NO4023 3013 to c.1960; NO4018 3019 to NO4022 301 (East Kirk Style[1]; Church Wynd 1812[2]; Tally Street 1858[3])	<p>18th-century path to churchyard with arched gateway[4]. Developed into roadway 19th century.</p> <p>At time of clearance in 1960s approximate street width 20ft 6in (6.10m) with W pavement 6ft (1.83m) and E c.4ft (1.22m); site now lies beneath paved pedestrian area adjacent to new shopping development. Degree of disturbance unknown.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lamb, 1895, XXIV 2. Wood, 1821 3. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9 4. Crawford, 1776 & 1793
56 Defunct NO4037 3027 to NO4031 3028 Skirling's Wynd pre-1560; Tendall's or Tindal's Wynd 1563	<p>One of the earliest thoroughfares from the main street and castle to harbour. Mentioned in 13th-century charters as 'the road that leadeth to the castle'. Abbey of Balmerino had house on E side. Name Skirling's Wynd probably from Bailie Alexander Skirling or Scarynge c.1341. David Tendall or Tindal, baker, acquired property here in 1563[1].</p> <p>Until c.1560, SW frontage of Tendall's Wynd demarcated NW boundary of St Clement's kirkyard. Subsequently built up in</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lamb, 1895, XV Crawford, 1793

	1791. Lamb asserts 18th-century frontages in late 19th century identical with that in mid 16th century. Many of buildings cleared at demolition 1930-32 dated from 16th and 17th centuries; cleared to make way for development of City Sq. Unlikely that any remains survive.	
57 Defunct N04022 3021 to N04025 3017 (Thorster Row c.1488; Chakker Row 1492)	Charter of confirmation granted by James IV, Sept. 1492, granting land on W side of 'Chakker Row for support of altar of St Blaise in St Mary's Church'[1]. Millar claims name Chakker Row indicates exchequer chamber here but no evidence[2]. Much property in Thorster Row lying vacant in mid 18th century[3]. Linked with Overgate, Nethergate. Width apparently maintained until demolition NW end of SW frontage by widening of Nethergate (1812) and removal of Garlands Land[4]. Site now lies entirely beneath new shopping development[5] with extensive basement area. Unlikely any trace remains. Junction with Kirk Wynd (Church Lane) modified by demolition of William Drummond's house, 1865.	1. Lamb, 1895, XXXIV 2. Miller, 1925, 20 3. Kidd, 1909, 42 4. Lamb, 1895, XXIII 5. OS, 1:1250, 1984, plan N04030 SW
58 Trades Lane pre-1813 N04055 3054 to N04058 3049 present N04055 3054 to N04068 3038	Un-named on plans of 1776[1] and 1793[2] but described on 1813[3] plan as 'road leading to the sea'. Length from Seagate junction with Seabeach 164ft (49.99m); building at NW junction with Seagate described as 'Mrs Milne's House'. Wood yard on NE side of wynd - no other building at that date. 1814[4] lane named as Trades Lane. Building indicated at SW extremity on SW frontage. By 1815[5] Trades Lane extended over reclaimed land from original limit by construction of new Harbour. NE frontage now developed with warehousing - seen in greater detail in plan 1829[6]. Possible ship building/repair carried out in erstwhile woodyard. This plot still definable[7] though internal boundaries now lost and land at foot of plot reclaimed 1858[8]. NE frontage, including junction with Seagate, clear of building and possibly widened. 1901[9] frontages replete. These remained until 1982[11]-86 when 37-47 Trades Lane cleared; garage now on site of 37 with petrol pumps and extensive cellarage beneath surviving buildings, all of which detrimental to survival of archaeological deposits on part of street not built on reclaimed ground. NE junction with Seagate cleared and laid out as bus station 1952[10]-1982-[11]. Possibly some frontages on Seagate junction.	1. Crawford, 1776 2. Crawford, 1793 3. Neave, 1813 4. Telford, 1814, (Ivory) 5. Wood, 1821 6. Anon Surveyor, 17 Apr. 1829, RHP, 253 7. OS, 1:1250, 1982, plan N04030 NE 8. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 9. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5 10. OS, 1:1250, 1952, plan N04030 11. OS, 1:1250, 1982, plan N04030 NE

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
59 Union Street ND4022 3011 to ND4029 3004	<p>Introduced into plan as a result of 1825 Improvement Act[1]. Work began on laying out street from Nethergate frontage to Yeaman Shore in 1828 to improve access to docks[2].</p> <p>Frontages on those developed (immediately after laying out of street) by David Neave in 1828 on a line suggested by William Burnin 1824[3]. Majority of buildings on both NE and SW frontages date from c.1828[4]; buildings cut into NW-SE slope to Whitehall Cresc also have cellarage[5].</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Walker, 1968, 286 2. Pocock, 1969, 308 3. Town Council Minutes, 17 Jan. 1828 4. HBL 5. Stevenson, June, 1986
60 Defunct ND4033 3022 to ND4039 3016 (The Vault)	<p>According to Millar[1] so called because it was put through kirkyard of St Clement. Developed from c.1560-61 when weigh house constructed against W end of St Clement's Church, 1562. Tolbooth erected on High St frontage, SW gable of which formed N limit of the vault c.1608. Strathmartine Lodging built on NW frontage of Castle Wynd[2] forming SW side of entry to Vault from Castle Wynd with St Clement's Manse (in existence by 1540[3]) on NW.</p> <p>All 17th- and 18th-century buildings in Vault removed 1930-32 to allow development of City Sq. Regrading of the site to allow construction of underground car park must have removed all trace of this street and frontages. Early 20th-century photos[4] of site show steep rise in ground from Castle Wynd, with buildings fronting Wynd at pend, to Vault cut into ground surface at rear. Unlikely any remains now survive.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Millar, 1925, 18 2. Lamb, 1895, XX 3. Maxwell, 1994, 91 4. Untitled album of photos. Dundee City Archive
61 Victoria Road ND4031 3037 to ND4075 3100 (Bucklemaker Wynd until 1872)	<p>So named - as occupied by hammermen craft[1]. - only S frontage developed[2]. Kidd argues that N side belonged originally to burgh of Hilltown[3]. Sparsely inhabited 1776-1821[4].</p> <p>Extended from head of Wellgate to Dens Burn as Bucklemaker Wynd 1776.</p> <p>Little additional development on frontage by 1858[5]. Victoria Rd laid out as result of Improvement Act 1871. Opened 1872 on line of earlier street. NW frontage considerably widened at that time original frontage now beneath street. General alignment maintained and both frontages rebuilt/infilled by 1900[6].</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Millar, 1925, 35 2. Crawford, 1776 3. Kidd, 1909, 57 4. Wood, 1821 5. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 6. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5 7. OS, 1:1250, 1967, plan ND4030 NW 8. OS, 1:1250, 1982, plan ND4030 NW

	1921[5]; 1921-1952[6] gasholder installed on N. NE frontage warehousing cleared almost to Dock St. Probably little survives of early whale fishing site. Area still lies vacant SW frontage still occupied by warehouses.	
64 West Whale Street N04073 3066 to N04081 3051	<p>Now connects Seagate with East Dock St. Name derived from association with whale fishing industry[1]. Existed in 1776[2] down W side of whale fishing warehouse as access to shore which was in process of reclamation by 1821[3].</p> <p>By 1858[4] lane developed on SW frontage, but warehousing stepped back from edge of road. NE frontage replaced 1858[4]-1900-01[5]. Similarly, SW frontage built to edge of road by 1901[5]. Both frontages extant until 1952[6]-1982[7]; by latter date warehousing cleared at N04077 3062 and N04086 3054. Warehousing on SW frontage extant. May be possible to trace old river shore here (and sea-wall) at foot of lane but little archaeological value otherwise.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Crawford, 1776 2. Crawford, 1776 3. Wood, 1821 4. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 5. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5 6. OS, 1:2500, 1952, plan N04030 7. OS, 1:1250, 1982, plan N04030 NE
65 Whitehall Street	<p>Inserted into plan 1883 connecting High St with Whitehall Cresc. Laid out on site of Scott's Close, Key's Close and Whitehall Close[1].</p> <p>Frontage still extant.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5
66 Defunct N04026 3015 to N04031 3008 (Existed 1361[1]; 1440 Leyis Close c.1591[2]; Wm Spens Close c.1591-c.1755[3]; Whitehall Close 1755-1883[4])	<p>Medieval lane connecting Marketgait with shore. Named Leyis Close after proprietor here, Thomas Leyis, customar for Dundee post 1440. 1563, George Spens, treasurer and hospital master purchased tenement, part of which described as Leyis land. Probably his younger brother who gave name to close post 1591. Sasine 1775 - 'William Spen's Close, now called Whitehall'[5].</p> <p>Demolished in 1883 to allow Whitehall St to be laid out. Close no lies beneath SW frontage of the present street (see 65 and 66 above). Cellarage associated is likely to have affected the survival of earlier levels.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Millar, 1925, 19 2. op.cit 3. Lamb, 1895, XXVIIIa 4. op. cit. 5. Lamb, 1895, XXVIII

STREET/CLOSE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
67 Yeaman Shore NO4029 3003 to NO4012 2995	<p>Millar claims street used under this name c.1600[1]. Prior to reclamation of river, in 1776 a shore track along foot of Nethergait burgages[2] turning between two property boundaries and linking with Nethergate by Sea Close and Rennies Close, the latter re-emerging at W gable of St Paul's Church (NO4011 3001). 1793[3] Shore extended to like with Sea Wynd (Scalate Wynd) (NO4009 2999) and Nethergate. By 1858[4] river beach reclaimed to allow construction of railway. Yeaman Shore expanded in width to improve access to same (average 33ft (10m) width 1858-71[5]. Building of new Tay Road Bridge 1965/6 necessitated drastic improvement and innovation to approach roads to shore and landfall of bridge. Yeaman Shore N frontage developed along S end of Nethergate Centre[6] and Social Club along approximately same line; road re-aligned as part of bridge development[7].</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Millar, 1925, 51 2. Crawford, 1776 3. Crawford, 1793 4. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9 5. OS, 25", 1858-71, LIV, 9 6. Wood, 1821 7. OS, 1:1250, 1966, plan NO4030 SW

APPENDIX 2

Wells

The following list identifies the sites of known wells in the burgh for which there is documentary and/or archaeological evidence. The evidence in each case is deficient in one of two respects.

(i) It is not always possible to attribute a satisfactory date to the structure. A limited number of wells which have been recently recorded have contained artifactual material of various kinds; unfortunately, this material provides only a date at which the well has been backfilled, not the date at which it was cut. The circumstances of discovery (usually during demolition, or site re-grading) preclude in most cases the sealing of a well beneath a datable stratified deposit. The majority of wells illustrated on map 9 probably date from the first half of the nineteenth century (O.S. 25 inch 1858, LIV, 9/5) and were developed either in response to the population explosion which accompanied the accelerated industrialisation of Dundee and the more urgent need for water by industrial processes, or were prompted by contamination of existing supplies in the centre of the burgh, which led to the epidemics of the early nineteenth century.

Those wells which featured in the Crawford plans of Dundee (1776 and 1793) largely reflect late eighteenth-century improvements to the water supply and acted as a supplement to the burns which had previously flowed unculverted to the Tay shore. Subsequent improvements to the water supply were made in 1837 when the Town Council was empowered to introduce water from the works at Monikie, constructed by a joint stock company formed in 1844. This new supply was operative by 1846 (Lamb, 1895, LVII). Lamb (op. cit.) claims that the public wells were little used after 1860, and as they fell into disuse, they were backfilled or built over and erased from public and private memory. Nineteenth-century cartographic sources are virtually the only record of the sites of many of these wells, and are a valuable aid to the identification of these sites prior to redevelopment. The un-numbered sites on map 9 indicate wells in existence in 1858 (O.S. 25 inch 1858, LIV, 9/5) but which are now no longer extant.

(ii) It is not possible in the present context to investigate in detail the process by which water was conveyed to the well-head, that is, whether it was a draw-well, a pump-well or whether water was piped to the site from a parent source. In the first two cases, the siting is dependent on a favourable geological environment.

The Cross Well, for example (no. 22), was situated at the junction of dolerite and Lower Devonian sandstone, and the Lady Well (no. 28) lay on a similar junction (Jones, 1968, 260) between pervious and impervious rock. Certain wells, such as that of St Francis, and the Lady Well, are reputed to have been a source of piped water to other well-heads. In the former case, the Name Book (O.S. ONB, 1858, bk 27, 7) claimed lead pipes transported water from the well to the Franciscan friary in the sixteenth century. There is, however, no evidence that this was so. In the case of the Lady Well, there is a now discredited theory that this source supplied Dundee with water transported underground by lead pipes to six stone fountains. Millar (1923, 159) suggests a date of 1744 for the commencement of this process, with the final 'fountain' constructed c.1775. The dubiety of this information has been discussed elsewhere but regardless of the parent water source, the well-heads quoted by Millar were in existence by 1776 (Crawford, 1776).

APPENDIX 3

Domestic Buildings Map 11

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the town had barely expanded beyond the limits imposed by the line of the seventeenth-century defences. Beatts (1878, 106) editing a description of Dundee in 1746, describes the northern boundary of the town as the Houff and that to the east as Sugarhouse Wynd. Further, there were no buildings between Dundee and Blackness to the W, Craigie (except Wallace Craigie) to the E, and Dudhope to the N. Black's Garden, Chapelshade and Blackscroft were then unenclosed and under crop. The river shore was defined by the foot of the Seagate burgages and the Greenmarket. This building pattern was maintained until the end of the century and is clearly seen in Crawford's plan of 1776. At this date, the burgages are largely unbuilt, but like the buildings, were under threat from incipient industrial expansion.

By 1792, the thriving state of Dundee is reflected in expansion beyond the traditional boundaries. At this date, between the west end of the royalty and Blackness, approximately 40 hectares (100 acres) had been feued for building and over 4000 people had settled here (Kidd, 1909, 74). This expansion is seen in Crawford's plan of 1793, and yet more clearly defined by 1821 (Wood, 1821). This expansion outwith the traditional boundaries was of threefold significance to the town architecture.

(i) Most important was the removal of the wealthy upper and middle classes, the manufacturers and industrialists, to new properties built in the newly-feued rural environs of burgh. The wealth of Dundee had hitherto been expressed by the fine merchant houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and also reflected in the seventeenth-century burial monuments in the Houff.

(ii) Developing industry progressively occupied the backlands and late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century street development provided access to previously inaccessible backland areas opening them up to development. The enlargement and increasing importance of the harbour meant that the existing access was inadequate, and the need for street improvement became urgent.

(iii) The departure of many of the wealthier members of society, coupled with increased industrialisation and population in the core of the burgh, led to a decline in the housing stock and a consequent serious deterioration in living standards and social conditions among the inhabitants.

It was a combination of these factors which led to proposals for an Improvement Act in 1825. Owing to the bankruptcy of the authorities, the terms of the act were not carried out in full (Jones, 1968, 276). Amendments to the 1825 act were made in 1837, providing for additional laying out of new streets, and the widening of old (Walker, 1968, 286). But it was not until the 1871 Improvement Acts which provided for the completion and extension of that of 1825, that a drastic impact was seen on the secular architecture of the burgh. As a result of the 1871 act, large sections of the old housing stock were removed. Before this date, Dundee was rich in sixteenth-century architecture, the more notable buildings were recorded by Lamb (1895) and are described in the accompanying appendix.

Little is known of the appearance, structural components and plan of buildings before the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. There has been no excavation in the burgh and it

has not, therefore, been possible to identify these details in the archaeological record. Politics was an influential factor on the quality, so far as, condition and structure of housing was concerned. The burgh was fought over by the English and Scots from the early fourteenth century and it is fair to assume a degree of devastation following each incursion. Maxwell (1884, 65) claims that town buildings were seriously damaged by an English raid in 1548, and that restoration of the damage was slow to take place. One of the reasons for this was apparently a shortage of slates from the Sidlaw Hills for roofing. Maxwell (op cit) quotes from what are apparently council minutes, referring to 'an inconvenient dearth of slates quhilk for sometime had been caused through forestallers buying them without the town, and transporting the samin till Leith and Edinburgh, and all other places to the grite hurt of the common weil'. Further, the council enacted 'that na neighbours, free men nor unfree men, buy slates in grite quantity, but sa mony as may suffice the necessity of their awn proper bigging and gif ony beis convict for this fault, that the transgressors shall be poyndit'. The importance attached to this roofing material in the sixteenth century, suggests that its use had by this date become prevalent. Work on the Overgate redevelopment in the 1960s produced unstratified evidence of undated, but probably post-medieval, roofing material in the form of sandstone slabs and slates (see nos 65-8). Although it seems probable that many buildings in the core of the burgh were well roofed from the sixteenth century, the barony of Hilltown still retained thatched or turf roofing well into the eighteenth century (Anon, 1882, 135). Despite the destruction wrought by the sack of 1645 by Montrose, and that of 1651 by Monck, a fairly high proportion of late medieval and sixteenth/seventeenth-century merchants houses survived in Dundee at the time of the implementation of the 1871 Improvements Act. It is possible that some survived simply because they were well constructed in stone or stone and wood. The basic structure of some was supplemented by 'to-falls', a timber erection built onto the stone frontage of the building at a later date; for example, houses on the south side of *Murraygate* in 1756, were wooden fronted, with stone frontages erected 6 feet back from the street line, and the wooden fronts supported on pillars (Lamb, 1895, SLVIb). In 1815 two of these houses still stood on the south side of the narrows of the *Murraygate* and were inhabited respectively by David Davidson and John Ross (coopers) (Kidd, 1909, 60). The burgh appears in the middle of the eighteenth century to have still been suffering the after-effects of the devastation wrought during the mid-seventeenth century. Beatts (1878, 106) editing an account of Dundee in 1746, refers to the large vacant areas in most central parts of the town, particularly Shorter Row and Burial Wynd, and rebuilding had to be encouraged by premiums offered by the town magistrates.

The source of materials for these medieval and post-medieval buildings is uncertain. Geologically and ecologically materials were locally abundant, but the quarries which provided stone are not known. Timber was easily obtainable, both shipped from Norway and Sweden (especially during that period when extensive ecclesiastical building was in progress), and also brought from the Caledonian forest on the borders of Aberdeenshire (Lambe, 1895, 15).

Today, the only known surviving remnants of early secular buildings are found at (a) 86 *Nethergate* (NO 4018 3005) and the much altered structure in (b) *Grey's Close* (71 High Street) (NO 4034 3030).

APPENDIX 4: FINDS

PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
	ENVIRONMENTAL		
1 Dundee Courier Building extension, Meadowside N04013 3042	Five hazel nut shells found at a depth of 18ft (5.49m) during excavations for Courier building extension in 1959. cf depth of 3 below.	No date	DAGM ACC NO 59-549 (1-5)
2 Reform Street N0402 303	Fragment of bog oak; cut and polished after recovery; discovered while cutting foundations of Reform St in July 1835.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 1976-76
	ANIMAL REMAINS		
3 Dundee Courier Building extension, Meadowside N04013 3042	Tooth from <i>Bos longifrons</i> . Found at a depth of 18ft (5.49m) during excavation for Courier building extension excavated 1959.	Late bronze age?	DAGM ACC NO 59-516
4 Dundee Courier Building extension, Meadowside N04013 3042	Two pieces of skull with horn cores from <i>Bos longifrons</i> . Found in clay at depth of 22ft (6.71m) and below level of 'forest bed'. From excavations for Courier building extension in 1959.	C.8C 1800?	DAGM ACC NO 59-542
5 Hilltown N0402 307	Part of skull and almost complete horn core from <i>Bos longifrons</i> . Recovered from building site (unspecified).	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 1978-2110
6 Fintry N041 33	Horn core from <i>Bos longifrons</i> . Circumstances of discovery unknown.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 63-113
7 Overgate N0402 302	Collection of animal bone and shell (undetailed) collected from midden deposits during redevelopment in the Overgate in the 1960s.	Unknown	DAGM Unaccessioned

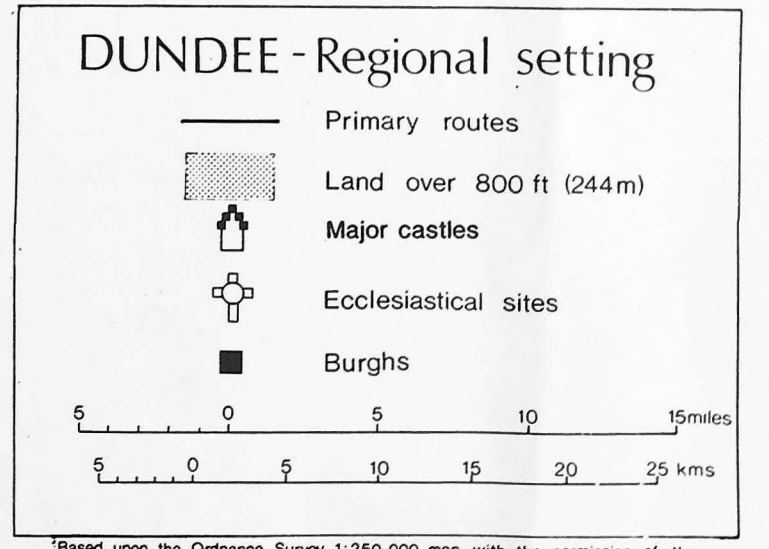
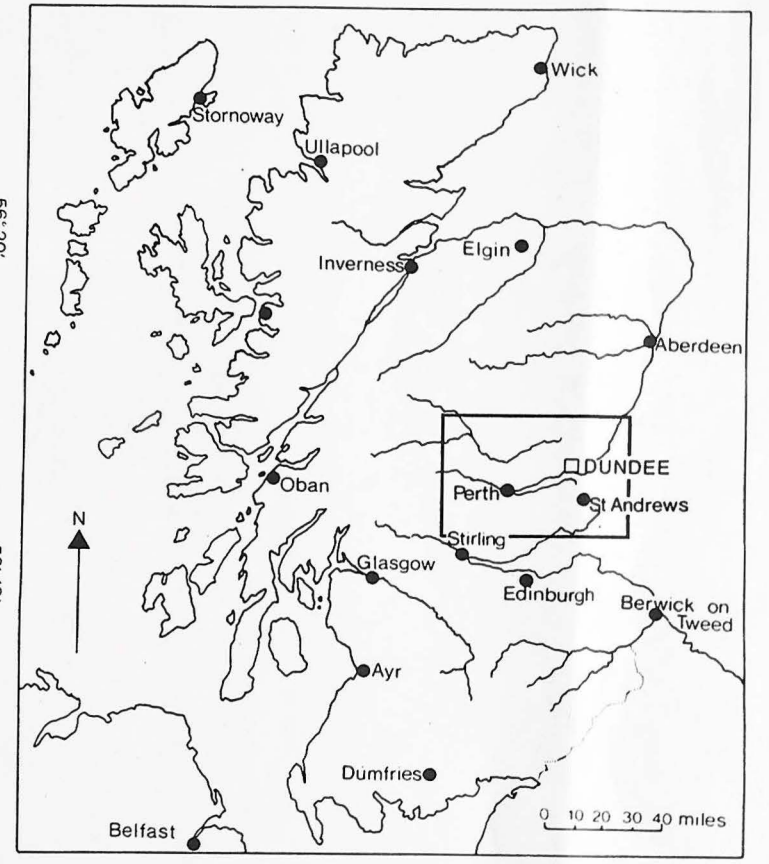
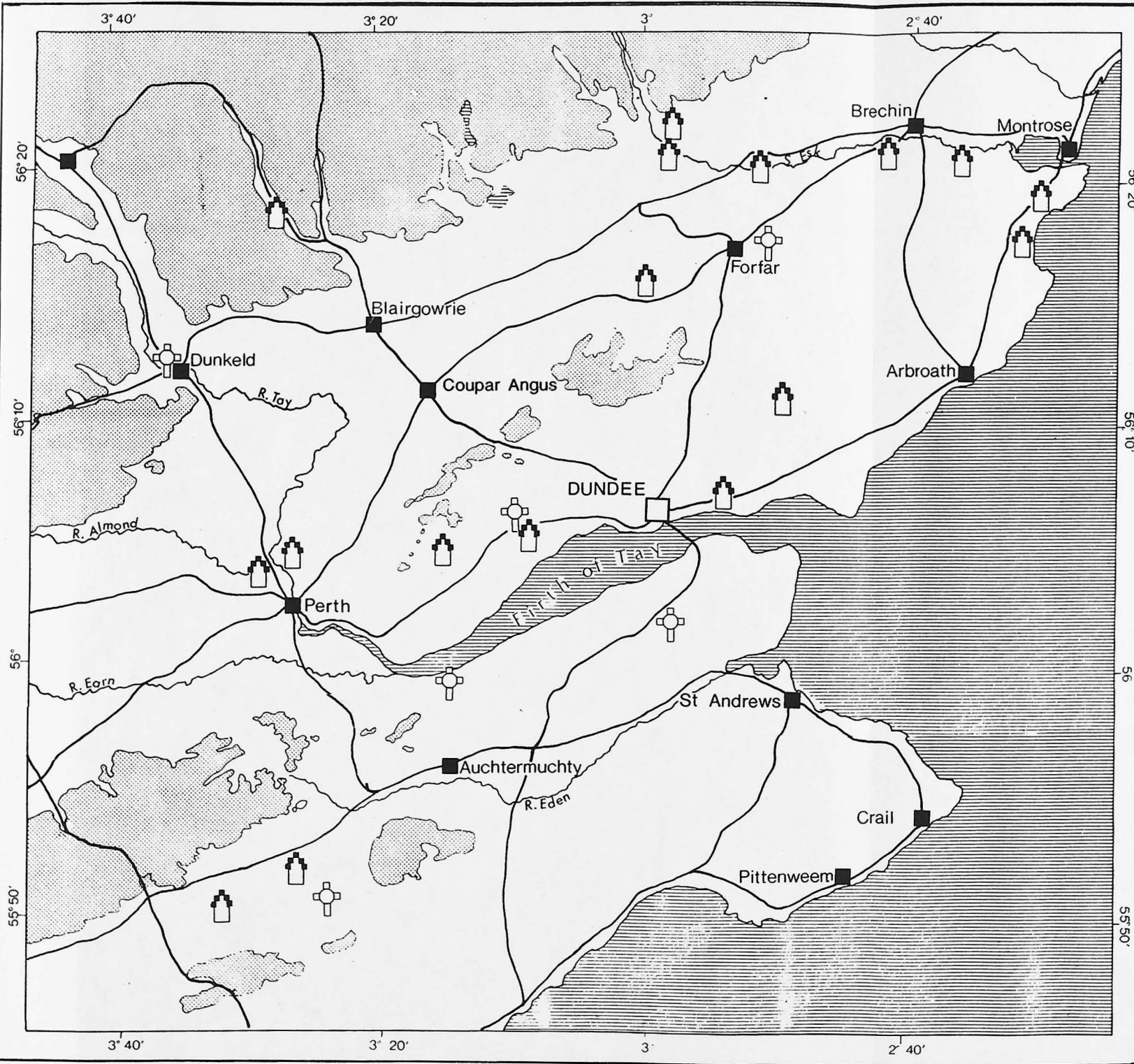
PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
8 Overgate N0402 302	Fragment of Red Deer (cervus elaphus) antler. Recovered at a depth of 17ft (5.18m) during excavation preliminary to the second stage of the Overgate redevelopment.	Pre-1st millennium BC	DAGM ACC NO 64-78
9 By St Mary's Old Steeple N0401 301	HUMAN REMAINS Cranium, upper jaw, two lower jaws and teeth. Uncovered Feb. 1905 in the 'trenches' - burial place of soldiers who defended steeple 1st Sept. 1651.	c.1651	DAGM ACC NO 1978-2160
10 Overgate N0401 301	Fragments of human bone discovered during cable laying operations; armed victims of massacre by General Monck. To be re-interred.	Scotsman, Thurs. Aug. 21 1986	
11 St Mary's Church N0401 301	Skeletons discovered in 1814 when houses south of church grounds removed; also, when tower restored, skeletons found closely packed at base beneath thin earth cover. Remains also discovered beneath floor of steeple church behind site of old music school. Armed victims of massacre by General Monck.	c.1651	Unknown Maxwell, 1884, 548
12 N0402 301	Human remains discovered in 1981 during renovation work within a former church building.	18th century	Re-interred at the site Thoms, 1981, 46
13 Caird Hall N04041 3018	Teeth and unspecified remains in the foundations of the Caird Hall. Also some non-human skeletal remains and teeth and 4 oyster shells. Probably associated with St Clement's Kirk.	17th century?	DAGM ACC NO 1973-864

PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
14 Dundee Old Town House N04034 3032	Jaw fragment, no other details.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 1973-774
15 Stannergate N0425 310	A damaged skull, found in earth, several feet above 'kitchen midden'.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 1973-771
16 N030 31	Femur, no other details.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO GB-54-282
17 Violet Football Club, Glensk Park N0386 317	Relatively complete skeleton:- skull, lower jaw, one pelvis, two shoulder blades, one fragment long bone, vertebral and rib fragments. Associated with mica schist pebble reputedly from stone cist discovered on football field Dec. 1947.	Bronze Age?	DAGM ACC NO 1983-787
18 West Ferry	Calcined bones recovered from collared urn associated with flint.	Bronze Age	DAGM ACC NO 1973-858CBA D/M 44 Anderson & Black, 1887-8, 347
19 Overgate N0401 301	GLASS A large number of glass sherds from wine bottles. Also fragments of flat (window?) and decorated glass, one a coloured spiral. The result of surface collection during the Overgate re-development scheme in the 1960s.	17th century & later	DAGM ACC NO 1978-1966
20 Albert Square N0402 304	Fragmentary glass wine flagon in light green glass. Complete neck and lip with part of bulbous body. Discovered during excavation for a drain.	C.1740-50	DAGM ACC NO 1978-1713

	PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
30	Site of the House of Grey Friar's NO401 302	Two wrought iron door hinges 3ft (0.91m) with 'floriated lateral projections and terminals'.	Unknown	The Royal Museum of Scotland Dickson, 1927-28, LXII, 8-16
31	Overgate NO401 301	A number of indeterminate iron fragments recovered in surface collection during disturbance caused by redevelopment.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 1978-2107, No 17
32	Overgate NO401 301	Undefined lead objects recovered in surface collection during disturbance caused by redevelopment.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 1978-2107, pkt NOS 13-16(inc)
33	Overgate NO401 301	Circular lead objects, unknown use, recovered in surface collection during disturbance caused by redevelopment.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 1978-2108 NOS 13-16(inc)
34	Overgate NO401 301	A number of undefined objects in brass or bronze, including bronze pins, recovered in surface collection during disturbance caused by redevelopment (1965).	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 1978-2107
35	Overgate, Courtyard of Duchess of Monmouth's House NO401 302	Brass pedestal candlestick, recovered from draw-well.	Unknown	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned
36	St Mary's Church NO401 301	A circular copper brooch discovered in associated with a human skeleton in the foundations of the church in 1841.	Unknown	Royal Museum of Scotland, Anon, 1857-60, III, 122
37	High Street NO403 302	A number of copper coins discovered in the 19th century during demolition of a house in the High St.	Unknown	Jervise, 1860-62, IV, 118

PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
53 98 Craigie Avenue Museum Register suggested original provenance New Guinea N042 31	Highly polished stone axe/adze. Blade and butt convex, slightly curved tapering sides found in garden of address given.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 59-548
54 A Dundee allotment	A circular sandstone spindle whorl with flat sides, and an hour glass perforation.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 59-548
55 Overgate N0402 301 and N0402 302	Two sandstone whetstones recovered in surface collection during redevelopment.	Unknown	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned found 1.7.80
56 Dundee Law N0392 313	Cup shaped stone 'lamp'. On one side the remains of perforated handle. Discovered 5ft (1.52m) below surface on summit of the Law. No precise location.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 64-65 Dundee Courier 19th Dec. 1923
57 Dundee Law N0392 313	Rectangular object button with incised grooves round periphery on upper surface.	Bronze Age	Sturrock, xiv, 266 Callander, 1915-16, L, 217
58 Seafield Road N0392 279	Fragment of Tombstone; Three lines of inscription & part of a fourth in relief:....of Dundee', '....May 1608', '....years'. Found June 1973 built into a later wall.	1608 or later	DAGM ACC NO 1974-297
59 Dundee Court House, Bell Street N0398 304	Inscribed dressed sandstone. Inscribed with initials 'JHB' and date '1889'. Thought to commemorate last person hanged in Dundee. Found in 1974 on demolition site..	1889 or later	DAGM ACC NO 1974-751
60 Old Session House; St Mary's Church N0401 301	Cover of a stone coffin discovered in foundations of Old Session House, c.1821. Incorporated after	13th to 14th century	Lawson, n.d., 85










PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
	discovery in the NE corner of wall encircling the churches. Removed, present whereabouts unknown.		
61 Old Session House; St Mary's Church N0401 301	Flat inscribed slab discovered in foundations of Old Session House, c.1821.	Unknown	Lawson, n.d., 85
62 St Mary's Church N0401 301	Coffin cover, hewn into three panels and inscribed 'HERE LIES JOHN, THE SON OF PHILIP CISSORIES' discovered during the construction of a drain at N side of old East Church in 1838.	Unknown	Lawson, n.d., 85
63 St Mary's Church N0401 301	Grave slab bearing representation of a ship with a cross for a mast. A bear ascending the rigging on the right side of the cross. Found during excavation for foundation of the new East Church in 1842.	Unknown	Lawson, n.d., 85
64 Corner of Bain Square and Wellgate N04042 3060	Schist slab in six fragments, forming surround to top of a draw-well. Rebate around circular aperture. Excavated in Bain Sq 1972 by City Museum.	Late 18th century early 19th century	At premises of A J Henry, 1972, present whereabouts unknown DAGM ACC NO 1973-1031 Sealand, 1972, 2
65 Overgate N0401 301	Roofing slabs, 9 of sandstone, 1 probably of slate. All perforated. Recovered in surface collection during redevelopment.	Post-medieval?	DAGM ACC NO 1978-1959
66 Overgate N0401 301	Stone roofing slab fragment with perforation. Recovered in surface collection during redevelopment.	Post-medieval?	DAGM ACC NO 1966-17
67 Overgate, Duchess of Monmouth's House N04028 3032	Fragment of sandstone roofing slab, wooden securing peg intact on discovery.	Post-medieval?	DAGM ACC NO 1966-151

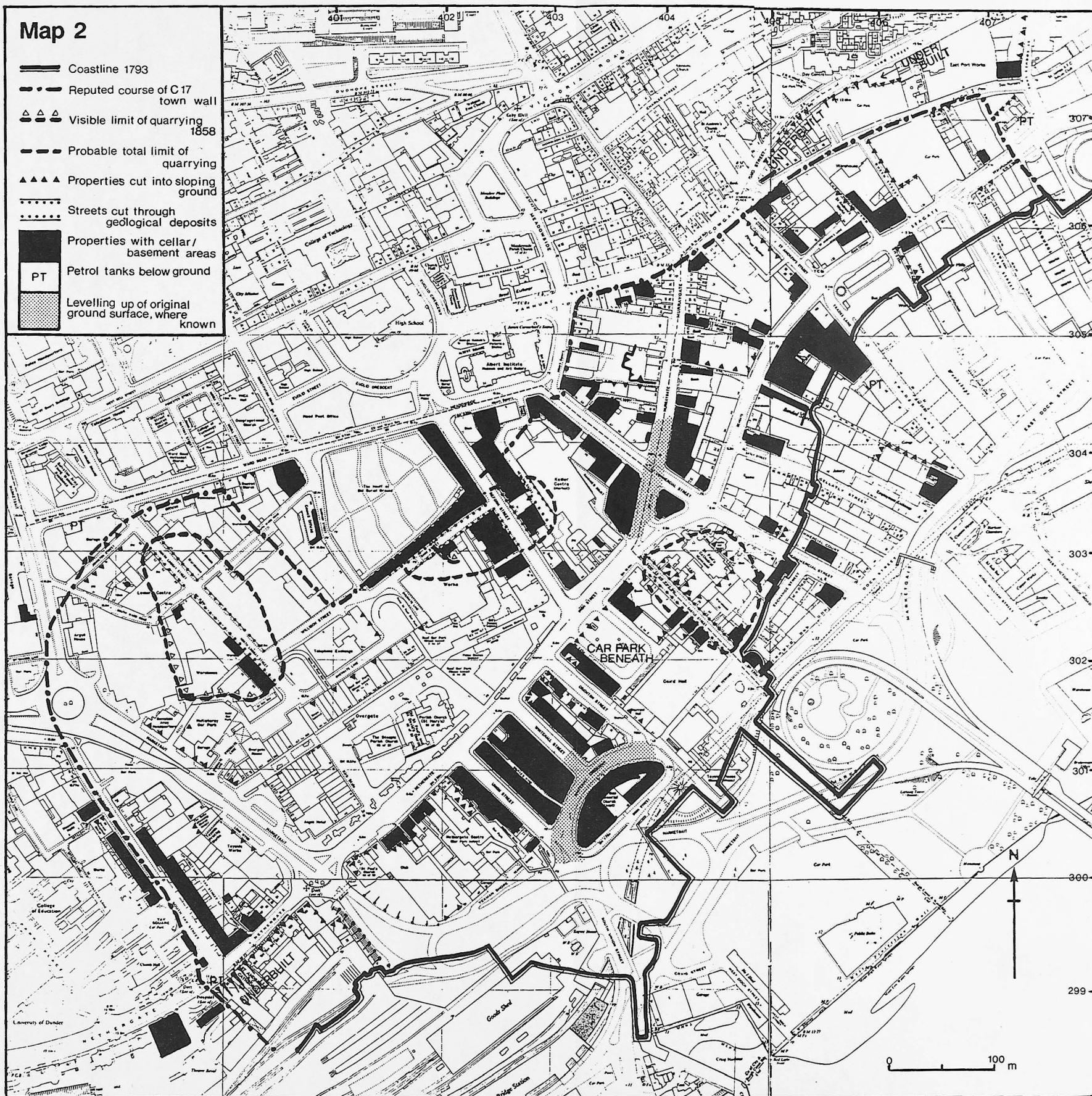


¹Based upon the Ordnance Survey 1:250,000 map with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. Crown Copyright reserved.

Map 1

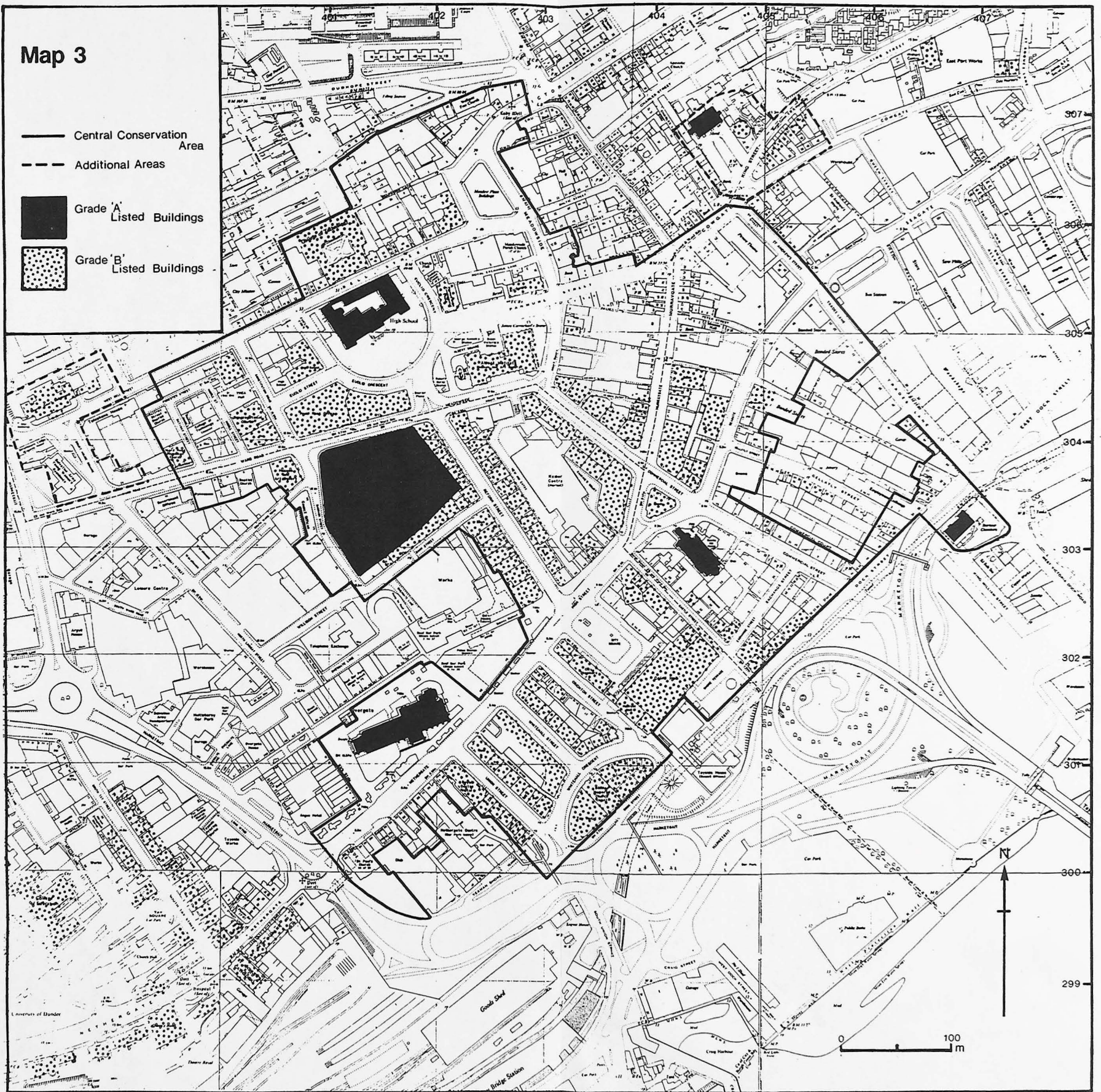
Map 2

-  Coastline 1793
-  Reputed course of C 17 town wall
-  Visible limit of quarrying 1858
-  Probable total limit of quarrying
-  Properties cut into sloping ground
-  Streets cut through geological deposits
-  Properties with cellar / basement areas
-  Petrol tanks below ground
-  Levelling up of original ground surface, where known



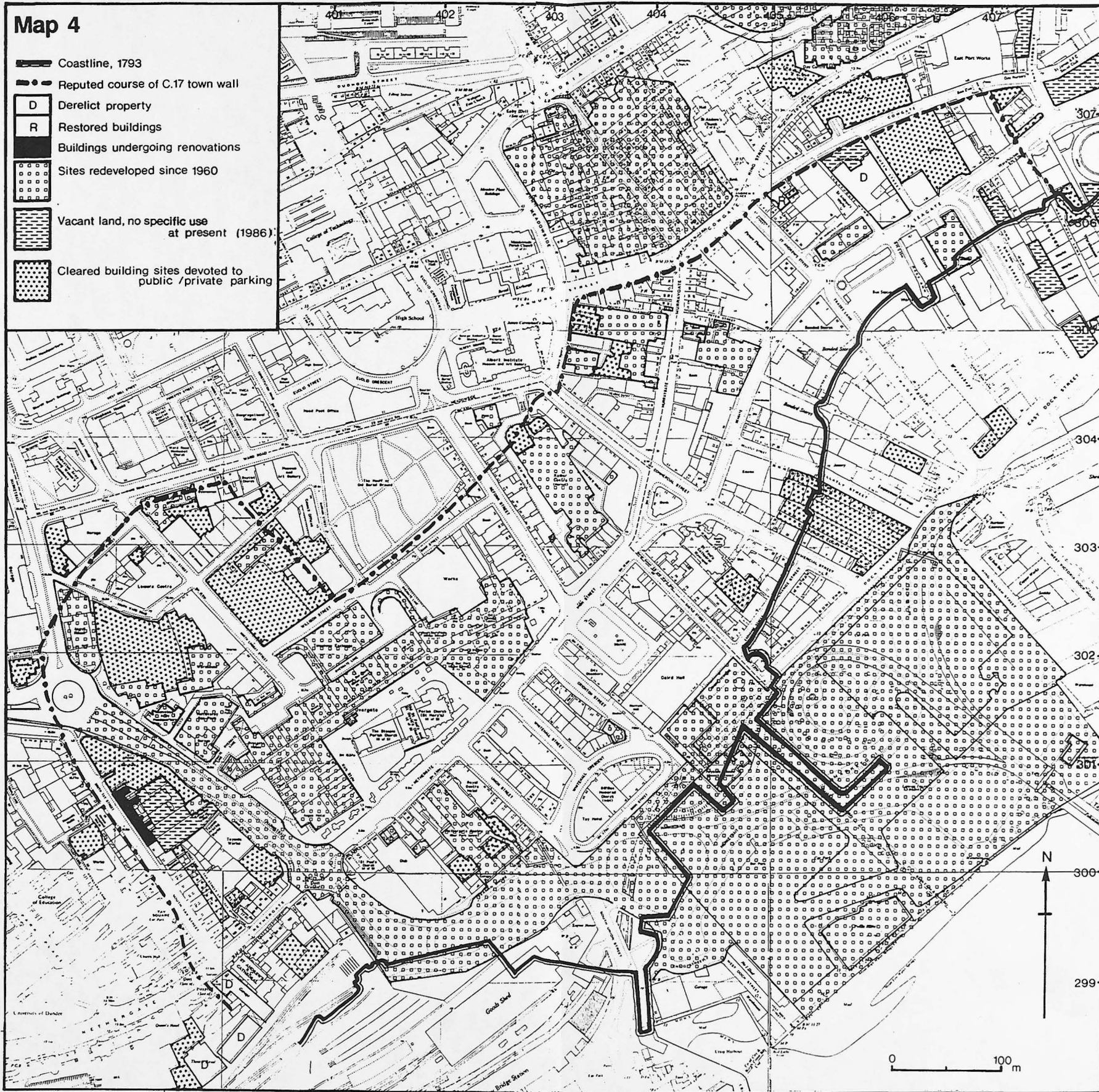
Map 3

- Central Conservation Area
- - - Additional Areas
- Grade 'A' Listed Buildings
- ▨ Grade 'B' Listed Buildings



Map 4

- Coastline, 1793
- Reputed course of C.17 town wall
- D Derelict property
- R Restored buildings
- Buildings undergoing renovations
- Sites redeveloped since 1960
- Vacant land, no specific use at present (1986)
- Cleared building sites devoted to public /private parking



Map 5

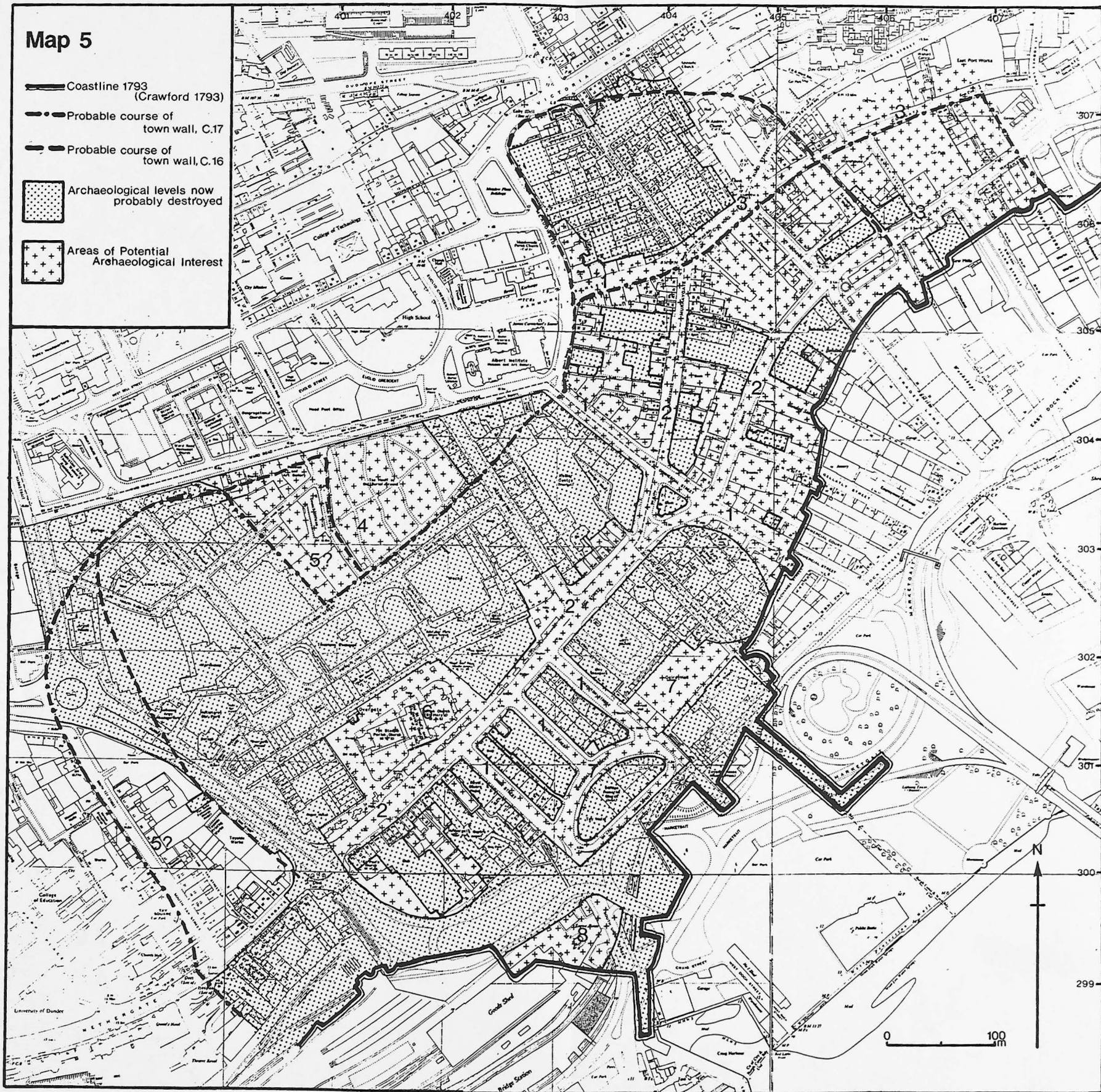
— Coastline 1793
(Crawford 1793)

—●— Probable course of
town wall, C.17

—■— Probable course of
town wall, C.16

Archaeological levels now
probably destroyed

Areas of Potential
Archaeological Interest



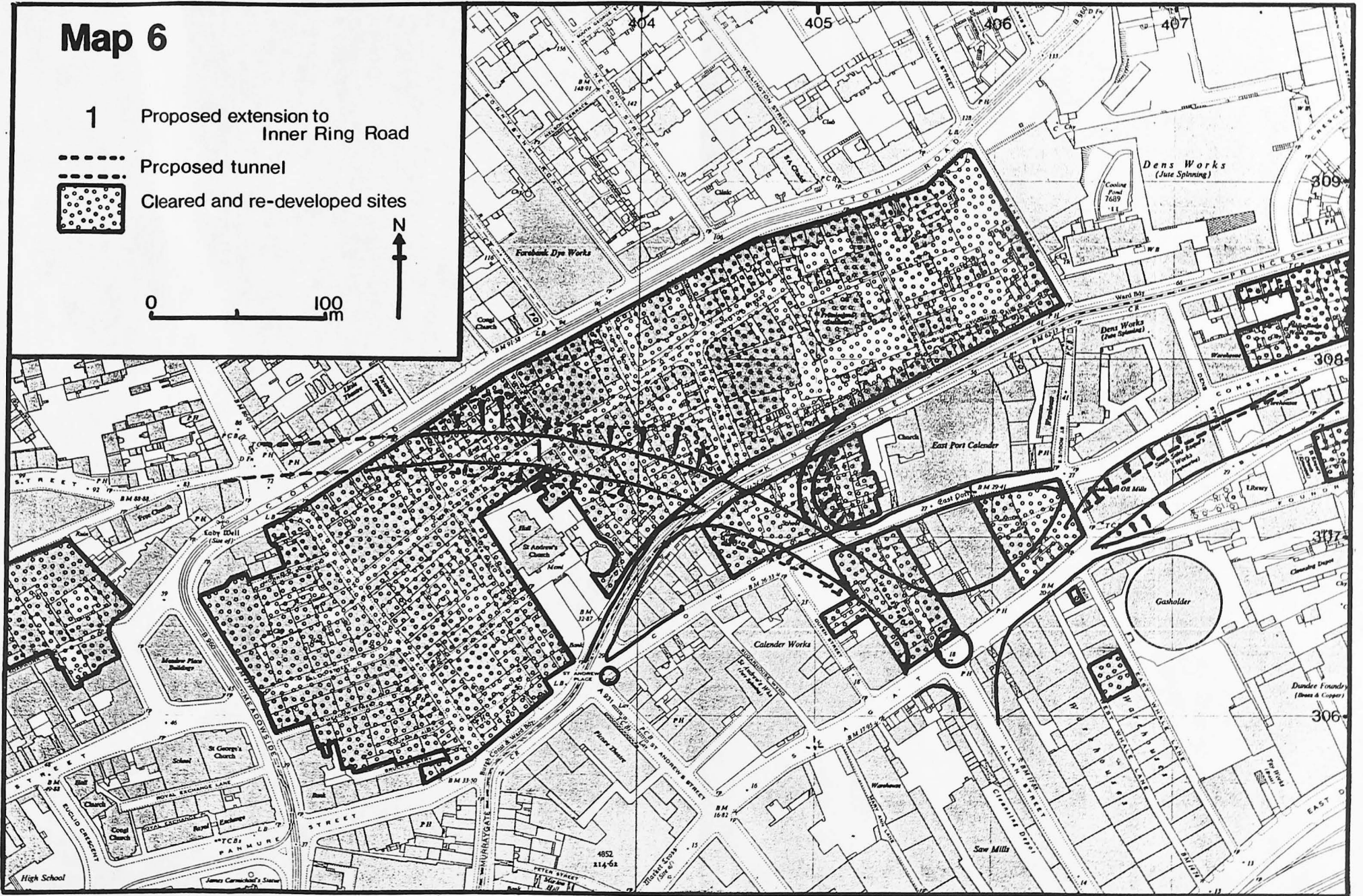
Map 6

1 Proposed extension to Inner Ring Road











Proposed tunnel

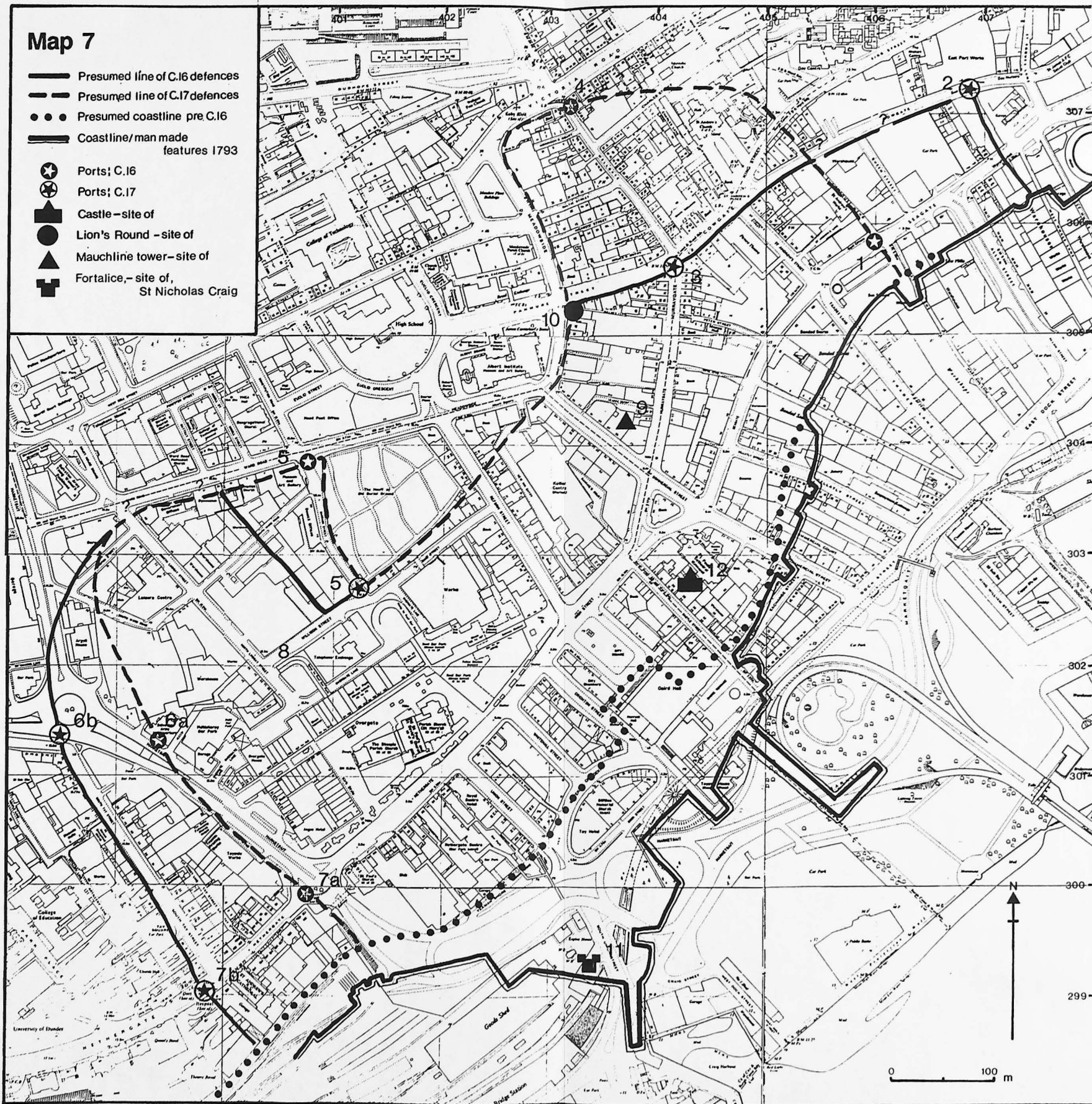
Cleared and re-developed sites

0 100 m

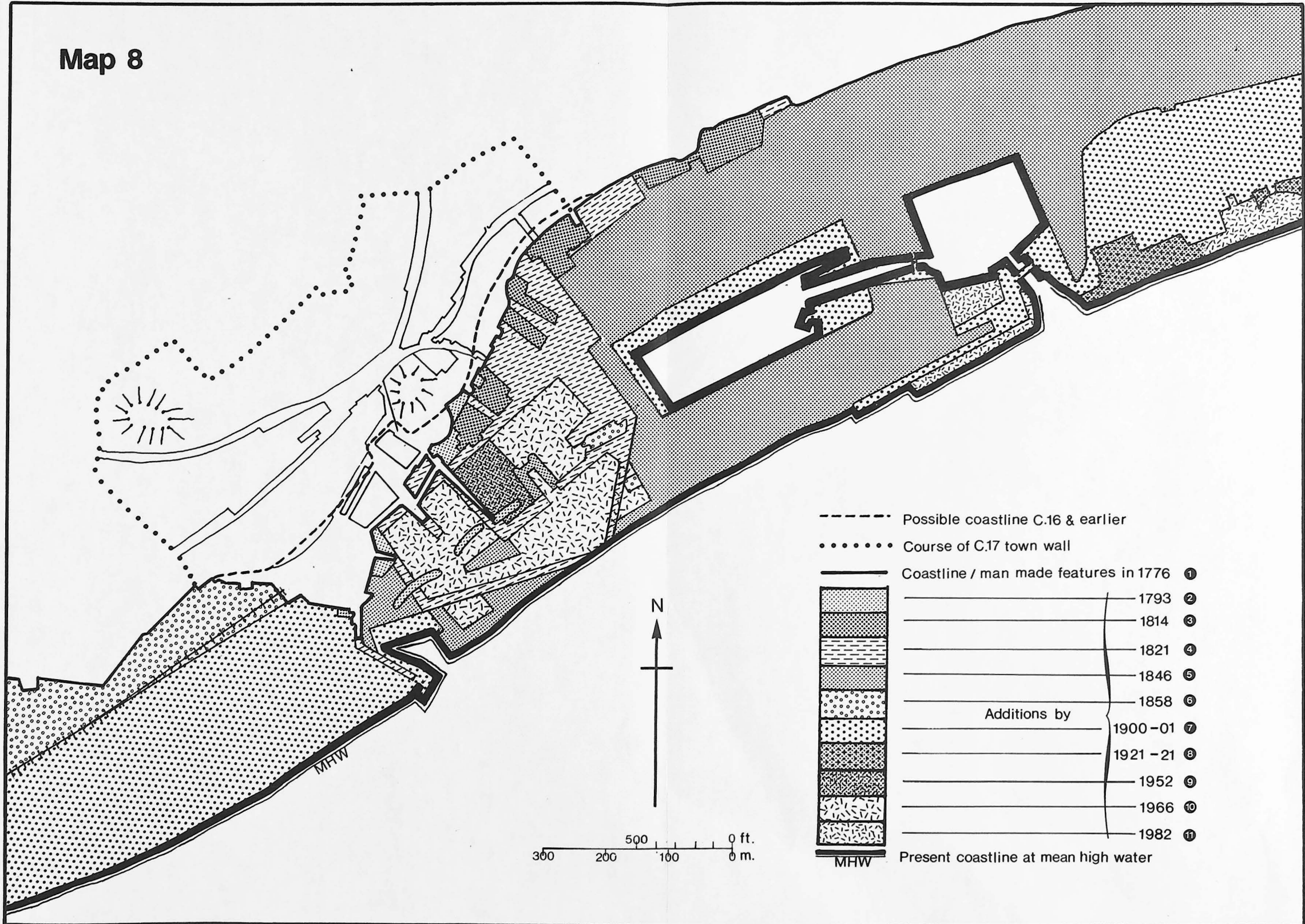


Map 7

-  Presumed line of C.16 defences
-  Presumed line of C.17 defences
-  Presumed coastline pre C.16
-  Coastline/man made features 1793
-  Ports; C.16
-  Ports; C.17
-  Castle - site of
-  Lion's Round - site of
-  Mauchline tower - site of
-  Fortalice, - site of, St Nicholas Craig



Map 8



Map 9

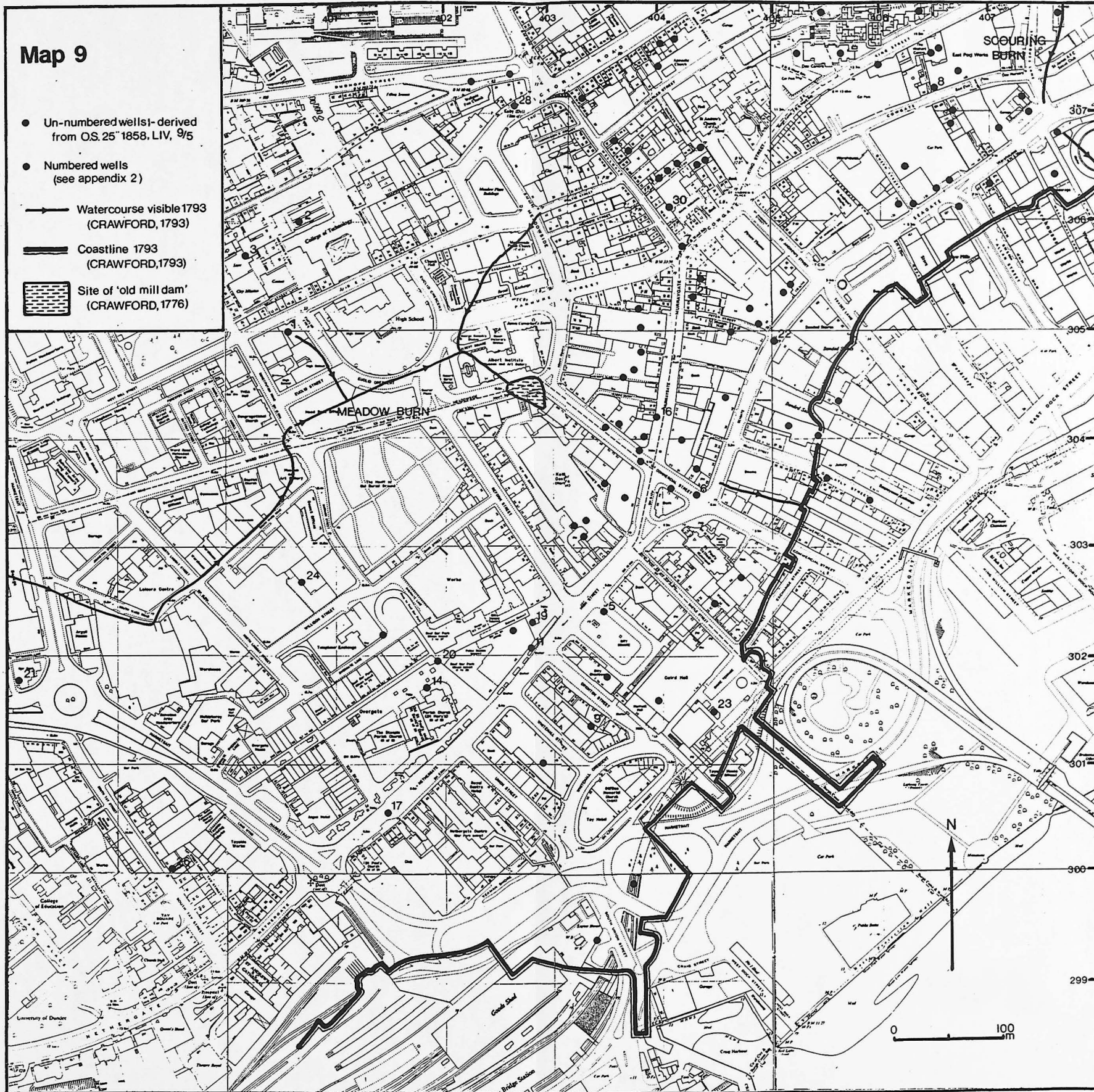
● Un-numbered wells- derived from O.S. 25 1858. LIV, 9/5

● Numbered wells (see appendix 2)

→ Watercourse visible 1793 (CRAWFORD, 1793)

— Coastline 1793 (CRAWFORD, 1793)

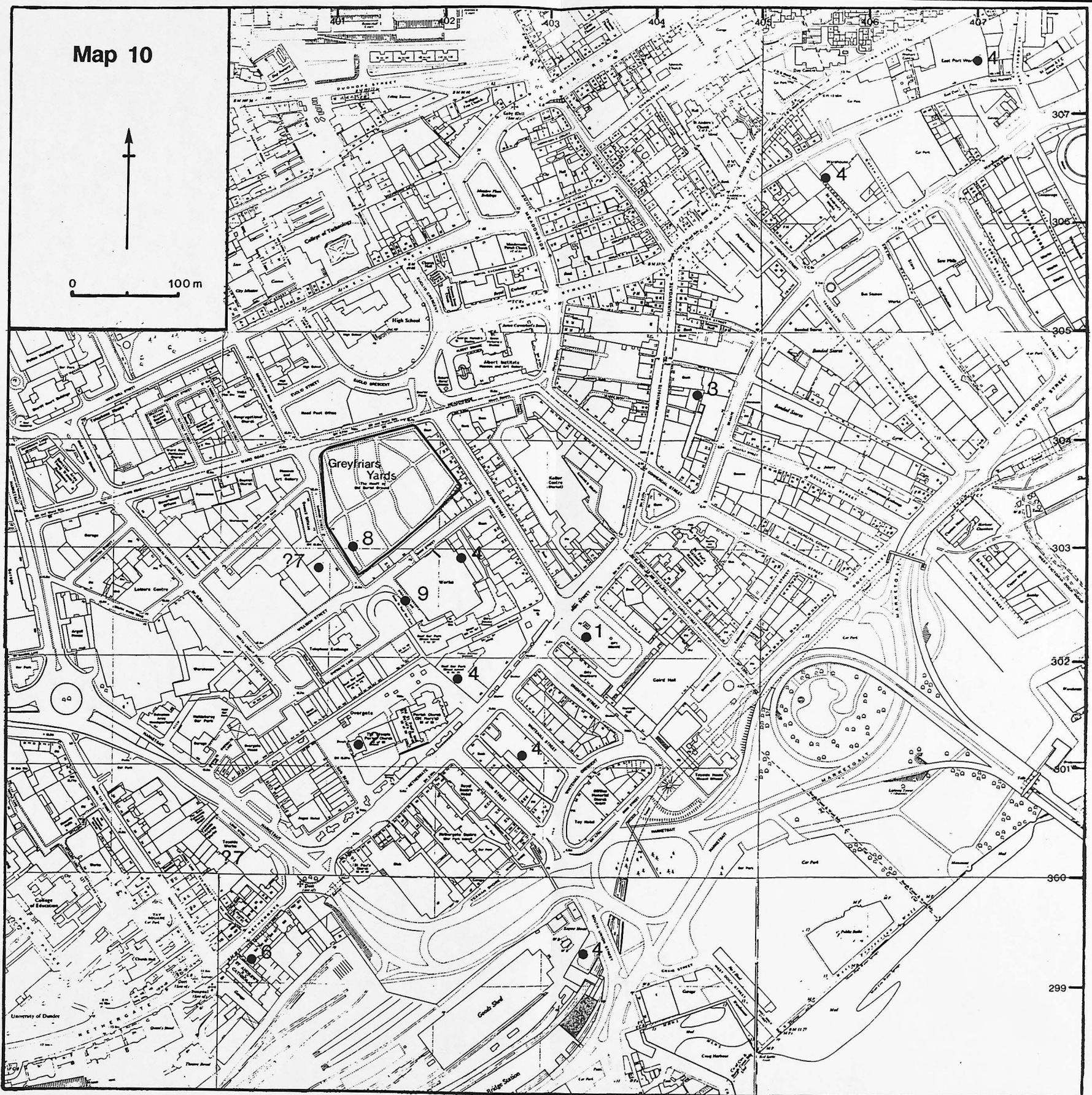
▨ Site of 'old mill dam' (CRAWFORD, 1776)



Map 10



0 100 m

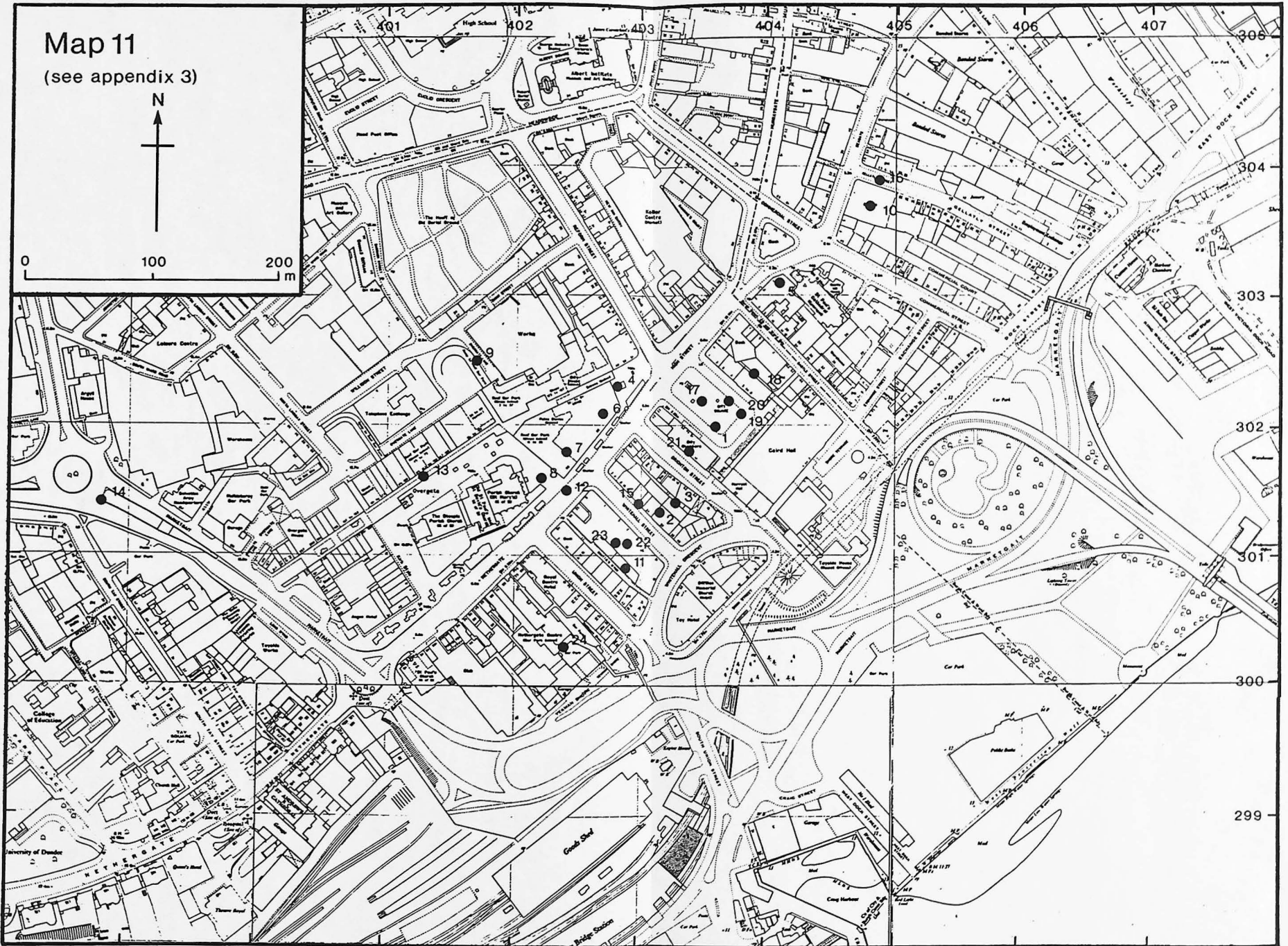


Map 11

(see appendix 3)

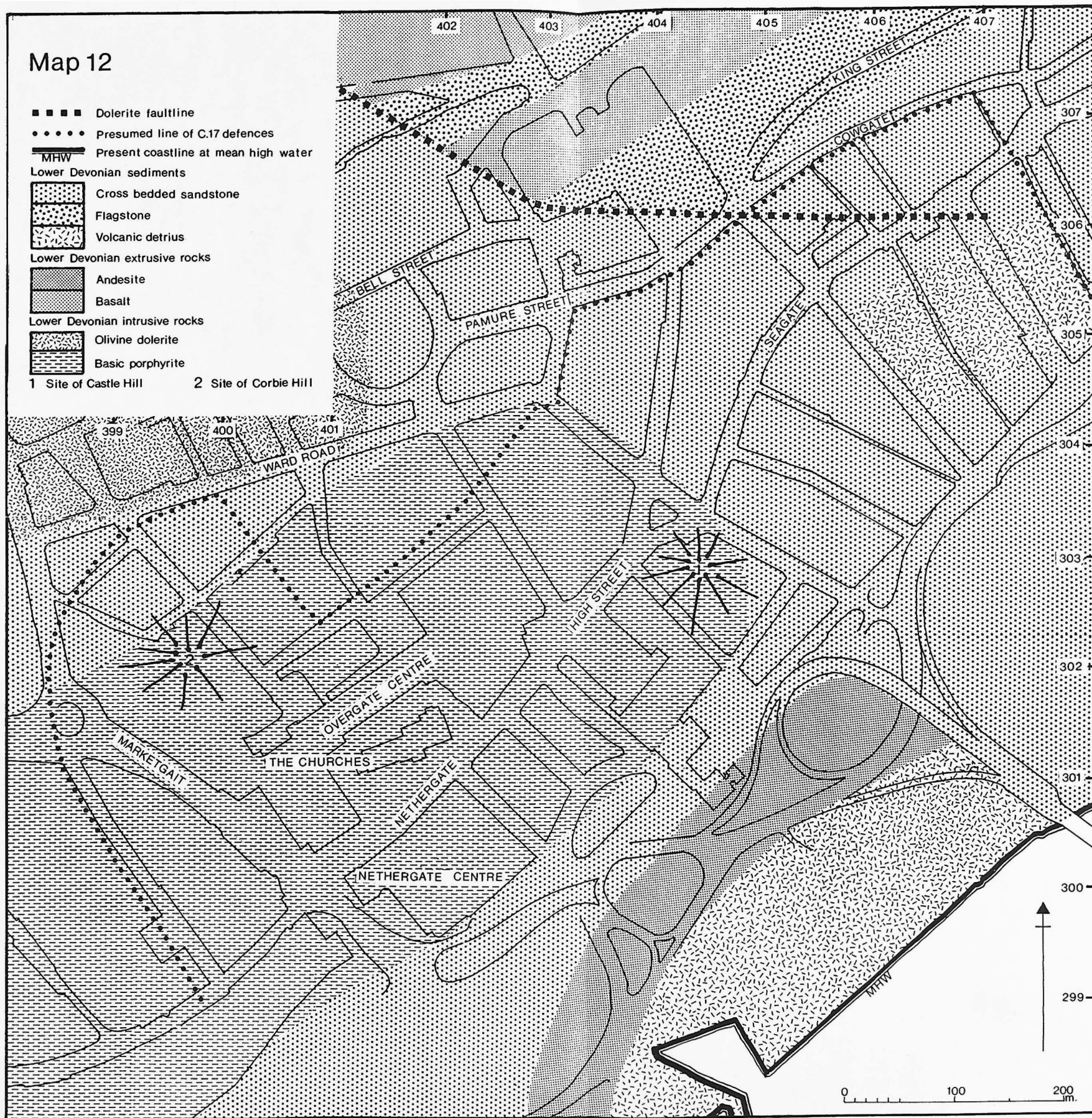


0 100 200 m

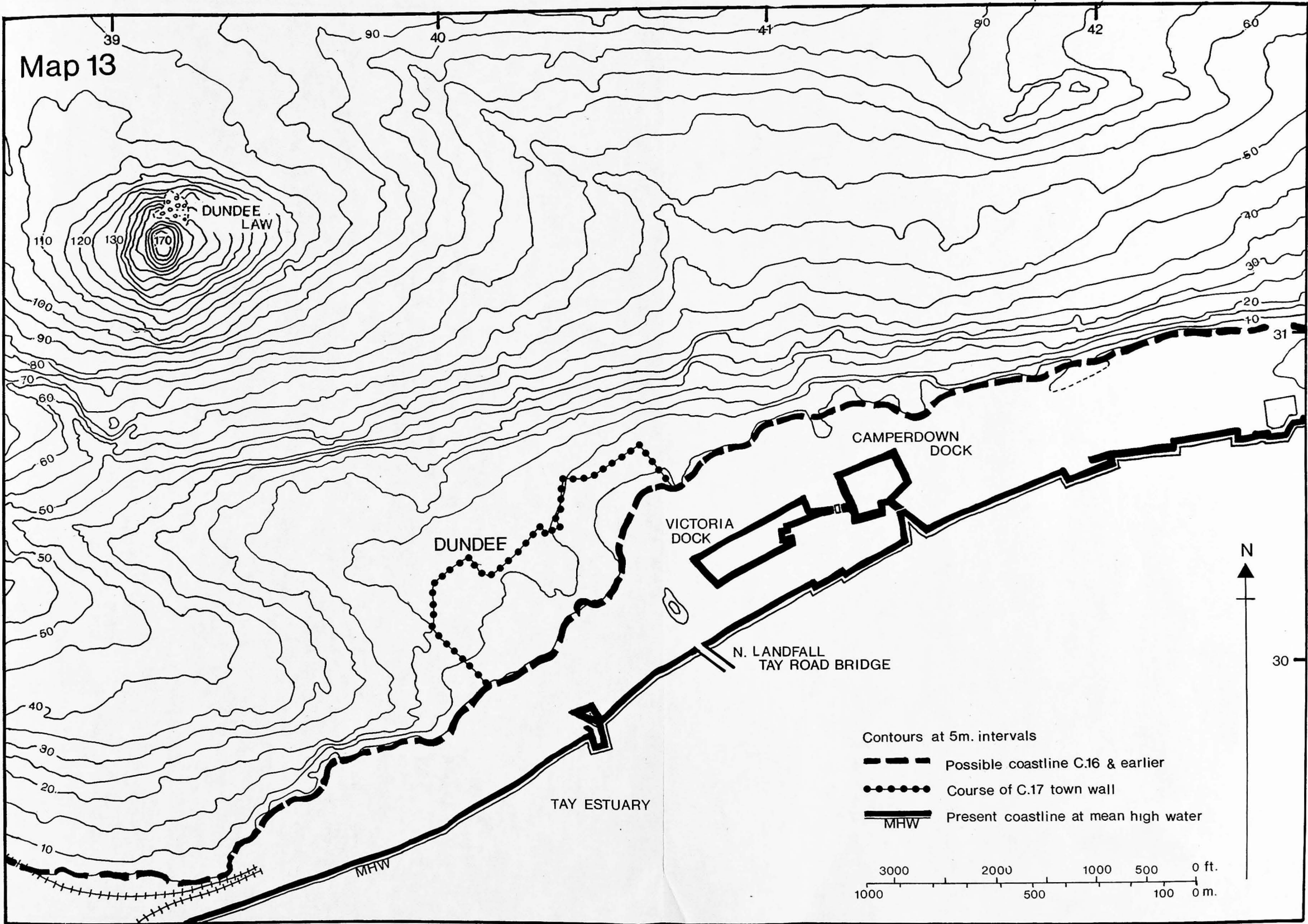


Map 12

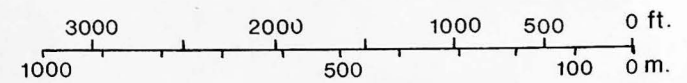
- ■ ■ ■ Dolerite faultline
- ● ● ● Presumed line of C.17 defences
- MHW Present coastline at mean high water
- Lower Devonian sediments
 - ▨ Cross bedded sandstone
 - ▩ Flagstone
 - ▧ Volcanic detritus
- Lower Devonian extrusive rocks
 - ▨ Andesite
 - ▩ Basalt
- Lower Devonian intrusive rocks
 - ▨ Olivine dolerite
 - ▩ Basic porphyrite
- 1 Site of Castle Hill 2 Site of Corbie Hill









Map 13



- Contours at 5m. intervals
- Possible coastline C.16 & earlier
- Course of C.17 town wall
- MHW Present coastline at mean high water



Map 14

- ▲ ▲ ▲ ▲ Suggested coastline pre-C.16
- ▲▲▲▲▲▲ Feature marking former coastline
- ● ● ● Presumed line of C.17 defences
-  MHW Present coastline at mean high water
-  Post glacial river beach & pre C.16 deposits by human agency
-  Post C.16 made ground
-  Post glacial raised marine deposits
-  Late glacial marine deposits
-  Glacial till

1 Site of Castle Hill 2 Site of Corbie Hill



