HISTORIC DUNDEE the archaeological implications of development

PART 2

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THE CASTLE (Site of) NO 4043 3028

Historical Evidence

Dundee Castle was built on a hill of black dolerite jutting into the Tay. Most physical evidence of the site was blasted away in the early 19th century to make way for Castle Street, but St Paul's Episcopal Church, High Street, still clings to a small portion of this dolerite exposure. Its existence is implied in the early 13th century by the name Castle Wynd but the first documentary evidence of the castle is in 1290 when Brian FitzAlan was made custodian of the castles of Forfar and Dundee.¹ Lamb argues that the fortification was extensive, and maintained at least 130 knights and horseman within its walls. This may be supported by the details of provisioning of the castle in various records, but in particular from the English Exchequer Rolls of the reign of Edwards I and II, although all provisions would not necessarily be destined solely for the occupants of the castle, but possibly also for retainers nearby.² Taken by the English at the beginning of the castle of Dundee in 1298 by William Wallace.³ It has been claimed that the castle was destroyed on the instruction of Wallace. There is, however, more than adequate documentation to show that it survived into the 14th century, falling into the hands of both the English and the Scots⁴ but after 1314 all recorded evidence of the castle disappears. Whether it was dismantled by Edward Bruce, brother of the king, or abandoned and destroyed by retreating English under William de Montfichet, is not certain. Robert I's charter to Nicol Scrymgeour in February 1318, continuing him in the office of constable of Dundee, makes no mention of a castle⁵, nor does the king's charter of 1327 confirming to the burgh all its ancient rights and liberties.

The area remained vacant, and annual rents of the late 15th century would suggest that the land was still unbuilt⁶. The name survived in Castle Wynd, Castle Mills, Castle Burn, and Castle Hill. The constables continued to hold their barony court on the hill, and it is said that ruins of the fortification were still visible in the 16th century.⁷ In the 17th century a huge statue of Apollo was built on top of the hill as a landmark for shipping, and even into the late 18th century sasines indicate that the statue stood in a garden surrounded by few houses. They *c*.1780 view of the harbour by master-painter Methven gives a clear illustration of the site of the castle prior to blasting away for road improvement.⁸

Notes

- 1. A C Lamb, Dundee Its Quaint and Historic Buildings (Dundee 1895) (hereafter Lamb, Dundee), 7.
- 2. Lamb, *Dundee*, 9.
- 3. APS, i, 97.
- 4. DDARC, cc1/2, for example, (an order of Edward II of England to Sheriff of Lincolnshire to provide food and wine for the castle of Dundee, 12 May 1309).
- 5. DDARC, cc 1, No. 13. SRO, GD137/3681.
- 6. DDARC, cc 1, NO 16.

SRO, GD137/3744.

- 7. A Maxwell, *Dundee* (1891), 110.
- 8. Reproduced in Lamb, Dundee.

The Archaeological Evidence

It is generally accepted on the basis of surviving documentary evidence that the castle stood between the present *Castle Street* and *Commercial Street* at NO 4043 3028.

Strategically, this site once controlled the approach to the town from the river, and most probably provided a focus for the development of the early burgh.

It is certain that the castle was razed in the 14th century. The subsequent history of the site is, however, largely unchronicled. Until the 17th century the castle rose sheer from the shore of the Tay, but in 1643, reclamation of land from the river had begun with the construction of the New Shore (Maxwell, 1884, 473). A late 17th-century engraving (Slezer, 1693) illustrating Dundee from the East, shows the summit of Castle rock, bare of buildings and the sea wall. Later evidence chronicles the post-medieval development of the site for residential and industrial purposes. Throughout the 19th century the site receded inland with progressive reclamation of the river shore.

By the late 18th century, the need to improve the *High Street* and the expanded harbour, resulted in extensive quarrying of the Castle rock to allow the formation of the present *Castle Street* (NO 404 302) (Beatts, 1878, 215). The surviving remnant of what the Name Book (OS ONB, 1858, bk 28, 49) recorded from verbal evidence in 1858 as '... a high rock, standing 80 or 90 feet above the general surface of the surrounding plain, with sides perpendicular all round, and having a horizontal area on top sufficient for a large building ...' is now occupied by St Paul's Episcopal Cathedral.

The original extent of the castle cannot be determined. Millar (1923, 138) recorded that it was said `that this castle took in a large piece of ground and was surrounded by a large ditch with a drawbridge ...'. This would appear to be a reasonable supposition considering the details given in the Exchequer rolls concerning provisions for a large garrison and the figures given in the army lists of the early 14th century. Some questionable structural evidence is available from the eighteenth an 19th centuries. Millar (1923, 145) records the discovery of vaults while foundations of buildings peripheral to the castle rock summit were being laid. It is recorded that masons engaged on this work broke into some of these vaults but immediately back-filled the cavity that had been revealed. It would seem reasonable to speculate that these vaults were associated with the early castle. Kidd (1909, 61) claimed that south of the *Murraygate-Seagate* junction in the late 18th century, stood the timber-fronted Blue Bell Inn (NO 4041 3031) which incorporated in part, the magazine of the castle. There is now no means of verifying this claim, but it is not impossible that part of the castle structure survived on the flank of the rock. Successive quarrying and rebuilding of the site now leaves virtually no undisturbed ground which might successfully be investigated.

The site today is very much as it was laid out in the early 18th and mid-19th century, with the Episcopal Cathedral of St Paul's occupying the highest point, and the street-fronting properties of *Castle Street*, *Commercial Street* and *Exchange Street* backing onto the church. The majority of these properties are cut into the slope of *Castle Street* or have cellarage and are potentially lacking in archaeological interest. Buildings have recently been cleared from the rear of 16 *Exchange Street* (NO 4047 3026) and these appear to have been cut into the Castle rock at the rear (NO 4046 3027),

abutting the apse of the Episcopal Cathedral. Consequently the site has no archaeological potential.

A garden area to the rear of 26-28 *Castle Street* (property dated *c*.1813) (NO 4044 3026) has apparently remained free of building development through the 18th (Crawford, 1776; Crawford, 1793) and 19th centuries (Wood, 1821; OS, 25", 1862, LIV, 9) and is of potential interest. This site lies at an equivalent height to the cathedral and would provide some information as to the degree of quarrying and survival of deposits.

TOWN DEFENCES

Historical Evidence

Dundee, in common with most medieval towns, was not walled. Protection was afforded to the burgesses by enclosures or `heid dykes' at the rear of tenements, and ports or `barrasses' at the principal access streets. The main reasons for such enclosures were protection from plague and the exclusion of strangers who might seek to gain financially by infiltrating their goods into the town for sale without due payment of toll at the ports or tolbooth. Its value was, at least initially, of more psychological than physical benefit to the community. By the 16th century a measure of further defence was provided by a fortified position on Corbie Hill, and by 1546 there is evidence of some form of fortification on a small rock in the river at St Nicholas Craig.¹

The English attacks of 1547-1550 demonstrated clearly that such defences were inadequate. In 1553 the English themselves proposed measures to fortify Dundee, although probably little more than the placement of a fort on the rock to the north of Marketgait and the commencement of ditching around the town was achieved. Beatts argues that `in the 16th century a substantial wall was built by the French auxiliaries whom Mary of Guise had in her pay'. There is no documentary evidence to support this claim, although some fortification may have been commenced.²

By the end of the century, however, the town had invested heavily in the upgrading of existing ports and the building of a stone wall to surround the town on its landward sides. Murraygait Port was repaired and enlarged as was the West Port of Argyllisgait. Friar Wynd Port was removed from the north wall surrounding the Greyfriars land to the south wall, where it was more readily defensible. The Nethergait, Cowgait and Wellgait Ports were probably less sturdy structures, more in the nature of barrasses, although East Port, guarding the approach to the town on Seagait, from the river, was of some strength. It was in all probability from here that Wishart preached in 1544, not from the so-called `Wishart Arch' in Cowgait which post-dates him. The town council minutes in the latter half of the 16th century highlight the dual purpose that the wall could serve. In 1569 it was instructed that `the ports be ilk Saturday at even be ten hours closit and steikit, and nocht openit the Sunday until four efternoon' in order to keep the Sabbath holy³ and in 1591 the port keepers were ordered `how soon they hear of ony tumult, to close the ports and suffer na person to pass furth thereat, under the pain of banishment'.⁴

In 1592, under the supervision of one William Duncan, and with licence from the crown, the wall was built using, whenever possible, existing walling, as for example in the east wall of Blackfriars land leading north from Nethergait port and the south wall of the Howff.⁵ From the river it ran in line to the ports already in existence: by the Sea Wynd to the Nethergait, Long Wynd to Overgait, round Corbie Hill to Friars Wynd Port and by the south side of the Howff to the site of present-day Panmure Street where there was a fortified position, later called `Lion's Round', thence to Murraygait Port. The wall then seems to have run by the side of Cowgait, down Our Lady Wynd to the East Port in Seagait, and thence to the river. Further improvements to the town defences were made during the Civil War. In 1644, prior to the attack of Montrose, considerable efforts were made to enlarge the small encircling ditch dug in the late 16th century.⁶ In 1646 the council considered it necessary to improve the ditch at the east end of town and `ordanit that all the inhabitants of the burgh shall be reqyred to pay six shillings'.⁷ The work was, however, not finalised in time to prevent entry to the town by Corbie Hill which, although defended by two towers, shown on Slezer's view of Dundee of *c*.1680, with the fortifications being incomplete, Montrose successfully captured the town. Further fortification was continued after the assault.⁸ The improved wall, in parts double with a ditch between, was carried in a new line eastwards of Murraygait Port, and consequently some houses which lay too close to

the fortifications were destroyed since the council felt `that the toune can not be put in ane reasonabil securitie unles that the haill houses in the Walgait, Cowgait and without the Seagatt port be presently spectit and demolishit⁹. It may have been at this point that a further defensive post, the Mauchline Tower, was built near the narrow of Murraygait. In the event, none of the building and ditching ojects were sufficient to withstand the attack of Monck.¹⁰

Notes

- 1. Maxwell, Dundee (1891), 109-110.
- 2. J M Beatts, The Municipal History of Dundee (Dundee, 1878), 210.
- 3. DDARC, Council Minute Book I (2 Oct 1553/31 Oct 1588), 21 Jan 1568/9.
- 4. DDARC, Council Minute Book II (7 March 1587/25 Jan 1603) 28 Dec 1591.
- 5. See below.
- 6. J M Beatts, The Municipal History of Dundee, 64.
- 7. Hay, Charters, 173.
- 8. J M Beatts, The Municipal History of Dundee 211.
- 9. Hay, Charters, 174.
- 10. J M Beatts, The Municipal History of Dundee, 211.

Archaeological Evidence

The Name Book (OS, ONB, 1857, bk 34, 29), claims fortifications dating c.1547 were revealed during street-draining operations at the north end of *Temple Lane* (NO 3979 3013) in 1857. A wall foundation and an outer deep ditch were clearly identified at this time, and said to be in alignment with the presumed site of the pre-1650 West Port of the burgh (NO 3979 3013). This suggested siting of the town's West Port has since been considered to be erroneous.

An anonymous 18th-century author (Miller (ed.), 1923, 139) claimed that by 1776 none of the defences remained to be seen, `... but a very small part of the town wall that separates the garden belonging to the meeting house of the society of people called Methodists, from the Houff ...'. This section, which delimited the south side of the town burial-ground, survived into the mid-19th century, and is representative of the mid-17th-century refortification which followed one of the two sieges of Dundee in the Civil War.

The description given by the ONB (OS ONB, 1858, bk 27, 67) of the surviving fragments of the 17th-century wall, show it to have been largely drystone-built, from 12 ft (3.66 m) to 14 ft (4.27 m) high and of considerable thickness. A platform between 1 ft 6 ins (0.46 m) and 1 ft 8 ins (0.51 m) wide followed the interior surface of the wall at a height of 7 ft (2.13 m) to 8 ft (2.44 m) above the base, to which access was provided with a small loophole. This fragment almost certainly owed its survival simply to the fact that it served as a boundary to the public ground. Although the ONB provides a graphic description of the remains, this is qualified by the following comments that `at no point along the line of the wall, can its full proportions be seen at a glance, the ground having been filled up on either side to the height of from 5 ft (1.52 m) to 6 ft (1.83 m) ... proportions of stone lintels and sills belonging to the ancient outlets or doors elucidate this point ...'. (OS 68, 1858 ONB, bk 27,). The development of the

north-west frontage of *Bank Street* begun in 1859, with extensions westwards in 1864, 1870, 1874, 1883 and 1889, resulted in the removal of this surviving fragment.

The Ports

The majority of the town ports appear to have possessed a barrass. Although ports or barrasses very probably existed prior to the 16th century, it is the latter years of this century which first provide the bulk of the evidence for their structural composition and siting, usually in relation to the prevention of building encroachment by townspeople.

In the middle of the 17th century, the extension of the existing 16th-century walls, led in the majority of cases to the resiting of pre-existing ports. The siting and structural detail of the ports, is discussed below.

The East Port (site of, also known as the Seagate Port and the Cowgate Port)

The East Port in the 16th century stood in the *Seagate*. There is little information concerning the structure of the port; Slezer's view suggests that it may have been of stone, and that it joined two buildings on either side of the Seagate. The site today lies beneath the road. If foundations have survived, disturbance must have resulted from the laying and repair of mains services to adjacent buildings.

The Cowgate Port

(NO 4069 3072)

The Cowgate is the only surviving town port, owing its preservation chiefly to the false premise that it was the only gate corresponding to the description given by John Knox of the place from which George Wishart preached (if he did) in 1544 (Maxwell, 1884, 221). This association was sufficient to have prevented its demolition when the other town gates were removed about 1770 (Berwick, 1803, 109). It is generally accepted that the Cowgate Port was a component of the redesigned town defences of 1650. Before the end of the 16th century a port, considered by Maxwell (1884, 220) to have been a simple barrass, was erected at the east end of the *Cowgate*. The *Cowgate* formed at that time the chief entry into the town from the east. The present stone structure with its central single arch is 8 ft 6 ins (2.59 m) wide by 11 ft (3.35 m) high, and has a gate and battlemented top.

The course of the 17th-century wall as illustrated throughout this study shows the 17th-century Cowgate Port astride the Cowgate Street, but obsolete as a component of the defences. It is suggested that this port fell into disuse in the later 17th century subsequent to the demolition of buildings outwith the wall on the north side of *Cowgate*.

A number of points should be made concerning the present appearance of the port. Lawson (106) suggests that the street-level has risen at and around the gate since its construction, and it would originally have been a more impressive structure. There is no evidence to test the accuracy of this statement, although if it is true, it may be possible in future to identify the foundations of buildings adjoining the gate and to reveal lower courses of masonry.

Repairs and improvements carried out over the last two hundred years have undoubtedly changed the character of the structure. Today, the port is in a sad state of dilapidation and urgently in need of repair.

<u>The Murraygate Port</u> (site of) NO 4041 3056

The exact date at which the port was cleared is not certain but the improvement to the defences in the mid-17th century, probably meant that the port was obsolete by 1650. The site now lies beneath the road, and the nature of the underlying deposits here is unknown. If foundations for this early structure do survive, they have undoubtedly suffered some disturbance through the laying of services to the adjacent properties.

The Wellgate Port (site of) NO 4031 3071

In the 17th century, the Murraygate Port excluded the *Cowgate* and *Wellgate* from the protection of the town. Maxwell (1884, 220) considered that this structure had probably been a barrass, possibly erected not only to secure *Wellgate*, but to provide a barrier to the inhabitants of Rotten Row or Hilltown of Dudhope, who are reputed to have been a source of continual annoyance to the burgesses of Dundee. The date of construction of this barrass (usually of wood) is not known.

The *Hilltown/Wellgate* junction was disturbed by the development of *Victoria Road* in 1872. The south-east corner of the junction was considerably widened at this time, and the now defunct *Wellgate* steps built. The site now lies beneath the Wellgate Centre development.

<u>The Friar Wynd Port</u> (site of, also known as the Hangman's Port) NO 4012 3027

This port stood latterly in the present *Barrack Street* at the *Wilson Street* junction. In 1588 it was ordered by the town council that this port should be moved from its original site, which is unknown (probably NO 4007 3038). The constructional details of the earlier port are unknown, but Maxwell (1884, 217) claims that the later port `had an apartment above the archway used as a guard house' which suggests a substantial stone construction. The port was presumably cleared in the middle of the 18th century; it does not appear on Crawford's plans (1776 and 1793). Friar Wynd was subsequently widened to become *Barrack Street* and the site now lies beneath the road. It is not impossible that foundations survive beneath the road; there is, however, no evidence that this is the case, and some disturbance must have occurred with the installation of services to adjacent property.

The West Port (site of, also known as Argyle's Port and Overgate Port).

The *Overgate*, in which street this port stood, provided the most important western access to the town. The Ordnance Survey (Record Card NO 33 SE43) site the earliest known port at NO 3979 3013, a siting probably based both on information provided by the Name Book (OS, ONB, 1857, bk 34, 29), which describes a wall and ditch excavated here in 1857 (features which were considered to be part of the town defences and tradition, which indicated this site where the street narrowed as that of the port. This siting is now considered to be erroneous (OS Record Card NO 33 SE43) and the preferred site of the pre-1650 port is NO 3994 3013 (Millar, 1923, 143). The site now lies beneath the new road system developed in the 1960s to service the Tay Road Bridge, and opportunities to inspect underlying levels may be restricted to the improvement and repair to services to

adjacent buildings.

The West Port was moved between 1650 and 1668, when the defences of the town were expanded westwards, and the port was re-erected on the line of *South Tay Street* at NO 3985 3013. The Ordnance Survey (Record Card NO 33 SE43) claim that demolition of the port took place in 1757. The site has been redeveloped in the 1960s as part of a road improvement scheme, and future opportunities to investigate will be conditional upon the repair of services.

The Nethergate Port (site of, also known as the Flukergate Port).

First referred to as Flukergait (e.g. in 1520-1), in the 16th century this port came to be known as the Nethergait Port (Maxwell, 1884, 219). At this date it was sited in the *Nethergate* at the foot of the *Long Wynd* (NO 4007 2999). The site now lies beneath the improved road, and the degree of disturbance which it has undergone is unknown.

In 1650 the expansion of the town defences to the west led to the re-siting of the port at NO 3998 2990. This structure was presumably in stone, though there is no surviving description. One authority (Millar, 1923, 143) writing in 1776, claimed that the port `yet stands at the west end of the hospital'. Crawford's plan (1776) shows a narrowing of the *Nethergate* here, but does not mark the port; this is not evidence of its demolition, however, since he does not mark the Cowgate Port which is still extant. On the other hand, the Cowgate Port does appear on the 1793 plan (Crawford, 1793) and although the street remains narrow at the site of the Nethergate Port, the gate itself is not marked, and may be assumed to have been demolished by that date, The site now lies beneath the street. The degree of disturbance which it has undergone is unknown, and if foundations have been sealed by later road surfaces, the installation of modern services may have caused damage.

Fort, Corbie Hill NO 400 301

The rocky eminence lying within the town wall on the north of *Overgate*, was known by various names through the centuries: Tenter's Hill (1556); Myln's Hill; Corbie Hill (1644); and Windmill Brae (Lamb, (1895, XXXVI)).

According to Maxwell (1884, 180), the fort on Corbie Hill was constructed in 1568. Slezer's engraving of Dundee from the east made about 1678, (Slezer, 1693) shows the hill surmounted by what appears to be a walled triangular enclosure, with two round towers adjacent to each other on the north-east flank of the hill, and what has been interpreted as low ramparts on the south-east slope (OS Record Card NO 43 SW58). These somewhat amorphous lines could equally be attributed to property boundaries. Apart from what are assumed to be the repairs proposed in 1644, there is little further information relating to this site. By the middle of the 18th century it had obviously fallen out of use, and the summit of the hill occupied by a windmill.

<u>The Mauchline Tower</u> (site of) NO 4037 3042

The Mauchline Tower was claimed by Thomson (1874, 185-6) to be one of the towers of the town wall of Dundee. There is, however, no evidence

whatsoever that the town wall approached this site during any period of its existence. This building was demolished in 1812, and there is now no detailed record of its appearance. The Name Book (ONB, 1858, bk 28, 23), implied that it had functioned as a private residence.

The widening of *Murraygate* and the opening of Commercial Street led to substantial alterations at the old *High Street/Murraygate* junction. The site of the Mauchline Tower was rebuilt between 1876-92 with 73-87 *Commercial Street* and 2 *Murraygate*. Enquiries suggest no cellarage is attached to these properties, although adjacent buildings are so serviced, and disturbance of underlying levels may be minimal. Observations during building work on the north-east side of *Murraygate* however, suggests that archaeological levels are largely absent. It seems probable, therefore, that greater value could be derived from examination of primary historical sources than from archaeological deposits.

<u>The Lion's Round</u> (site of) NO 4032 3052

At the point at which the 16th-century town wall changed direction at the junction of the present *Panmure Street* and *Meadowside*, there reputedly stood a fortified position, assumed by Maxwell to be contemporary with the 16th-century security arrangements. The block house is said to have stood forward from the angle of the wall, and was subsequently known as the Lion's Round (Crawford, 1776). There is no information relating to the appearance of this structure. The use of the word `round' has obvious implications, and strategically, a circular tower at the junction of two walls at right angles to each other has greater appeal. The introduction of *Panmure Street* (1839) and *Meadowside*, led inevitably to the development of the foot of the *Murraygate* and *Wellgate* backlands, which, by 1858, (OS 25", 1858, LIV, 5) were replete and the site of the Lion's Round built over. These buildings were removed after 1952 and the site is now occupied by a car park. Excavation of service trenches adjacent to the site in 1984 indicated only shall (1 ft 9 in (0.55 m) modern deposits above geological levels. Neither circumstance encourages optimism regarding the survival of what must have been a relatively substantial structure.

Fortalice, St Nicholas Craig (supposed site) NO 4043 2993

Lamb (1895, LII) claims that about the end of the 15th century the earl of Crawford was responsible for the construction of a fortalice on St Nicholas Craig. No details of the source of this information are provided, but the siting of the fort is most probably based on a charter of September 1527 in which King James V granted Alexander, master of Crawford. `the fortalice and place of St Nicholas Craig near Dundee'. Lamb commenting on the late 17th-century view of Dundee from the east by John Slezer, identifies a round tower on the west side of the harbour as the remains of St Nicholas Chapel. It is more likely to have been the fortalice on the northern extremity of St Nicholas Craig. The structure was probably removed between 1737 and c.1776 when the Craig was joined by a pier to the mainland (Crawford, 1776). The archaeological potential of the site is not promising in the light of subsequent disturbances.

CHURCHES CHAPELS AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES

St Clement's Church and St Mary's Church

Historical Evidence

There is considerable obscurity over the early history of both of these churches. The destruction and removal of burghal records at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries and in the mid-16th and 17th centuries necessitate a heavy reliance on early historians and on the charters of Lindores Abbey.

Boece in *Scotorum Historiae* relates a circumstantial tale of David, earl of Huntingdon, on return from Crusade in the Holy Lands, being driven by storm from Norway, arriving ultimately to safety in *Alectum* - or as it was subsequently called, Deidonum, `the gift of God' - Dundee. In thanks for his safety Earl David established a church `in the field which was called the wheat field', dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to serve as the parish church. From then Dundee was considered to be under the Virgin's protection `except that the greater part of the townspeople resorted much to the very old church of St Clement'.¹

William Stewart between 1531 and 1535 produced a metrical version of Boece's *History*. He also relates the founding of St Mary's Church, although there is no mention of St Clement's. This erle David thair with his owin hand foundit ane kirk in ane feild at that cost quhilk in that tyme wes callit the Quhit Cross, in to the honour of the Virgin puir, eternallie in that place till induir.²

Bellenden's translation of Boece's Chronicles, however, omits all reference to St Mary's and St Clement's.³

There is no contemporary documentary evidence to prove that David, Earl of Huntingdon, established a church in Dundee, nor that St Clement's was already in existence. Boece's account of St Mary's foundation as parish church and dedication is, however, very precise, as is his reference to the `very old church of St Clement'. It is incontestable that a church and a toft in the burgh were presented by Earl David to the monastery of LIndores, which he had founded, and also dedicated to St Mary, between 15 February 1198 and 10 July 1199.⁴ There is however, no 13th-century indication as to whether this church was that `in the field' or St Clement's.

St Clement's is specifically named in a charter of Earl John, son of David of Huntingdon, between 1232 and 1237: a toft in Dundee was stated as being `proximum tofto Sancti Clementis versus occidentem';⁵ and between 1244 and 1273 a land of the vicar of Dundee is specified as `iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Clementis martiris'.⁶

Certainly by the 13th century two churches were already established in or beside Dundee, St Clement's to the west of the castle, and a church `in the field', which by 1256 was specifically named as the church of St Mary.⁷ Although St Mary's is not called the parish church in documentary sources until the 14th century,⁸ the appointment of a vicar from before 1226 would presuppose this status.⁹ That both churches held an importance in burgh life is indicated by the medieval seal of the burgh, which shows one side St Clement, and, on the other, the Virgin and Child.¹⁰

It has been mooted that the dedication to St Clement suggests an earlier origin than that of St Mary, but Marian dedications were not unknown in Scotland in the early middle ages. What may perhaps be more telling is the argument that St Clement's was `almost certainly the earliest church erected in Dundee' because it was `at the very centre of settlement'.¹¹ It is possible that the siting of St Clement's so close to the castle, at the foot of

Castle Rock, is an indication that it served the castle and its associated community. This would not be inconsistent with its use by the townspeople, perhaps as the earliest church of the *parochia*, nor with its lands being the burgh's common burial-ground until the Reformation. As the burgh grew and settlement moved westwards the newer church, dedicated to St Mary, may have become more generally accepted as the church of the parish, as happened in St Andrews with the church of the Holy Trinity.

The church of St Clement, however, remained in use until the Reformation.¹² It possessed one major endowment - the chaplaincy of the Virgin Mary. In common with other medieval churches, its churchyard was on occasion used as a meeting-place for the execution of important business or documents, such as the notarial instrument drawn up on behalf of Sir Andrew Gray of Fowlis in May 1427.¹³ The churchyard stretched from the Marketgait to the harbour and from present-day Crichton Street eastwards to Tindal's Wynd. It also served as the town' burial ground until 1564.

Maxwell calculated that the church itself was 42 ft (12.80 m) long, east to west, and 18 ft 6 ins (5.64 m) wide. The arched roof was supported by pillars, and there was a hanging staircase above the west door giving access to a gallery.¹⁴ After the Reformation the building was partly converted for use as a weigh house. Its manse, which stood south-east of the church, survived undisturbed for longer, and was `a massive building of three irregular floors, with overarched windows. There were several curious sculptured chimney pieces in it, and its principal external feature was a projecting turnpike stair sumounted by a high pitched chamber'.¹⁵ Most of the kirkyard appears to have been built on by the end of the 16th century. By 1580 it was described as `the waste land lying in the cemetry of Sanct Clement, on the east syde of the comon hous of weight, comonlie callet the weigh house, between the lands of Andrew Rankine on the south, the said weight house on the west, and the said cemetry as well on the east as the north parts'.¹⁶

By 1588 the council `devised that void place at the back of the weigh house in St Clement's kirk yaird to be the most commodious quhairupon to big ane common school; quhik they ordanit to be biggit with all guidlie diligence and appointed a master of the wark'.¹⁷

If Maxwell is correct in his assumption that the grammar school occupied part of the site of the church itself, the latter's deterioration must have been relatively rapid after the Reformation.

The church dedicated to St Mary also had a chequered life. There is no evidence of its appearance in the 13th century, and Lamb's view that the eastern portion, or `lady chapel', was sufficiently complete by 1206-8 to house the marriage ceremony of Margaret, the daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, to Alan, Earl of Galloway, is unsubstantiated.¹⁸ The church was burnt by Edward I in 1296, and there is evidence of further destruction by the English in 1385. Froissart relates that `they brent the towne of Donde; the Englysshmen spared nother abbeys nor minsters, but set all on fyre'.¹⁹ It is possible that extensive reconstruction work followed soon afterwards, but there are, as with the earlier church of St Mary, no records of reconstruction or new building except for the choir. In 1442/3 the burgh entered into an agreement with the abbot and convent of Lindores in return for certain rentals within the burgh `to undertake the sole burden of constructing, sustaining, reforming, and repairing the choir in its walls, windows, pillars, window-glass, vestments, books, chalices, palls, and cloths of the Great Altar, and other ornaments whatsoever in any manner belonging to the Choir'.²⁰ Maxwell surmises that the dilapidation of the choir was such that it could not have been a new structure and that it had at least partially survived the 1385 ravages.²¹ It is possible, however, that the poor condition was exaggerated by the townspeople, and that the choir was suffering from mere neglect rather than extreme decay. Improvements were effected by the burgh, most notably the roofing of the choir structure. The great

western tower of late 15th-century date (for possible source of design see Fawcett in *PSAS* 112 (1982), 477-96) gives some indication of its splendour, in spite of a loss of much of the richness and detail of the carving, and possibly, although this cannot be proved, also of a roof structure in the shape of a crown similar to that of St Giles, Edinburgh.

In size alone this was one of the outstanding parish churches of Scotland. With a length of approximately 286 ft (87.17 m), it rivalled Arbroath Abbey and Glasgow Cathedral, while its width over transepts of 174 ft (53.04 m) was the largest recorded for a Scottish church.²² The tower remains as the highest surviving medieval ecclesiastical tower in Scotland.

Contemporary documentation and 16th-century burgh records confirm, moreover, that the interior of the church was maintained by the burgesses with lavishness. The Spaldings, for example, were noted for their generosity, especially George Spalding especially who in 1495 made many donations, including a bell for the tower.²³ Several altars benefited from wealthy endowments for the ministering chaplains.²⁴ The high altar was dedicated to St Mary and `there may have been up to 48 chaplains endowed making up perhaps a total of over 35 altars'.²⁵ Some of these were supported by the guild merchant or specific incorporated crafts of the town: the Holy Blood altar by the guild merchant from 1515; the altar of St Severus or St Serf by the weavers; St Duthac's altar, the skinners; St Cuthbert's altar, the baxters; and St Mark's altar by the fullers. By the mid-16th century with such endowments and also those supported by wealthy families with burgh associations, such as the earls of Crawford (altar of St George), the Spaldings (altars of St Margaret the Virgin and St Thomas the Apostle) and the Scrymgeours (altar of St James the Apostle), and the rich and even magnificent accoutrements, processions and ritualistic services that were entailed, Dundee's parish church was one of the most splendid in Scotland.

St Mary's Church was to suffer considerably from the attacks on Dundee in 1547-8. By January 1548 the tower itself was used by the English as a stronghold to control the town and resist attack from outside. Admiral Wyndham wrote to the English leader, Protector Somerset, `I have planted the steeple of Dundee with a saker, and a falcon, and four double basys, with hagbuts of croke, and twenty tall men, and victual (for) them for a month'.²⁶ By the final departure of the English many of the valuable altar decorations and the tower's five bells had been carried off.

The English invasion and the Reformation crisis transformed the character of Dundee's medieval parish church. Not only did much of the interior disappear, but also St Mary's Church ceased to function as a single unit, and housed four Protestant congregations. The choir and chancel portion was known variously as St Mary's, the East, and Old Church. From the council minutes of 1561, 1564, 1581 and 1588-9 it appears that this section of the building was in need of extensive repair, and special collections and fines on delinquents were effected to assist with the funding.²⁷ By January 1588 the council found a further use for this section of the old St Mary's building: `The baillies and Counsall, finding the place of imprisonment devysit for fornicatoris and adulteraris to be very incommodious, it is concludit that there sall be ane new prissoun biggit above the volt of S. Androis Iyile, in the east end of the kirk'.²⁸ The ground floor of the building behind the East Church became the meeting place for the kirk session, the upper floor also serving as a place of correction for those convicted of immorality, as was the steeple. A small room at the west end of the south aisle of East Church contained a library of `nearly eighteen hundred volumes'. The volumes were rare and of some antiquity, being mainly of pre-Reformation origin. It would appear that both the church authorities and town council were at such pains to protect them that dispute arose over their safe keeping in 1834-5.²⁹ The transepts of St Mary's in 1582 formed one church - the Cross Church was largely corporation and private, property. Pews were erected after the Reformation and the incorporations of trades designated their particular seats with suitable armorial ensigns or

inscriptions. The bakers, for example painted on the front of their loft, `Bread is the staff of life', whereas the fleshers, their neighbours, embellished theirs with `Man shall not live by bread alone'.³⁰ There is little recorded of the Cross Church other than that in 1645 it was partly destroyed by fire, that it was used as a stable by Monck's troops in 1651, and by the Pretender in 1745. The fourth church - the Steeple Church - occupied the nave of the old St Mary's. It was almost completely destroyed by fire in 1645, and rebuilt early in 1789. Between these dates the tower stood by itself, divorced from the rest of the churches, as can be seen on Crawford`s map of 1774.

Early in the morning of 3 January 1841 fire broke out and was attributed to the overheating of a stove in a passage between the South and Steeple Churches. The east portion of the old St Mary's Church was totally destroyed, the South and Cross Churches were gutted, and along with them the irreplaceable library of medieval books and records. The late 18th-century Steeple Church and the earlier tower were virtually undamaged. All other sections of the present churches are 19th-century replacements. The original tower, all that remains of the largest medieval parish church in Scotland, has been somewhat altered: clock faces have been added; a cap-house was built in 1590; in 1644-5 the stair turret was raised by two rounds; restoration work was effected in 1872, and again in the 1960s.

Notes

- 1. H Boece, Scotorum Historiae a prima gentis origine, cum aliarum et rerum et gentium illustratione non vulgari; (Paris, 1527), fo ccixxxvi. Aedem dive virgini sacram nihil cunctatus in agro cui Triticis homen erat, condidit, ac Parochialem effecit: in cuius tutela Deidonum exinde habitum est, nici quod plerique, oppidani divum clementem, sub cuius presidio antea Alectum fuerat, vetustissimum ipsium templum frequentantes plurimum piis illic Venerentur votis.
- 2. W Stewart, *The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or a metrical version of the History of Hector Boece* (Edimburgh, 1531-35), ed. W.B.Turnbull (London, 1858), 3 vols, iii, 53.
- 3. J Bellenden, The Chronicles of Scotland compiled by Hector Boece, (Edinburgh, 1536), Bk 13, fo L lcccciii.
- 4. The Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1479 ed. J Dowden (SHS, 1903) (Lind. Cart.), 3.
- 5. Lind. Cart., 22.
- 6. *Ibid.*, 95.
- 7. Liber Sancte Marie de Lundoris (Abbotsford Club, 1841), (Lind. Liber.) 13.
- 8. W Hay, Charters, Writs and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee, 1292-1880 (SBRS, 1880), 13.
- 9. Lind. Liber, 17. An instrument of Bishop Gregory of Brechin which must predate 1226, possibly 1224.
- 10. Laing, Stevenson and Wood all support the theory that the first seal of the burgh (14th century) had an impression of the Virgin and Child on one side, with on the reverse St Clement with mitre and nimbus holding an anchor (H Laing, *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals* (Edinburgh, 1850), 215, and J H Stevenson and M Wood, *Scottish Heraldic seals* (Glasgow 1940), (3 vols), i, 59. An anonymous assertion that this seal was in fact that of the rector of St Clement's and that this seal displayed the `pot of lilies' the emblem of the Virgin Mary does not negate the argument that St Clement's and St Mary's were both important churches in the life of the town for the seal with the pot of lilies be it the first or second seal of the burgh reveals St Clements on the reverse. (R M Urquhart, *Scottish Burgh and County Heraldry* (London, 1973), 46.)
- 11. J H Baxter, Dundee and the Reformation (Abertay Historical Society Publications, No 7 (1960), 9, 8.

- 12. The last officiating clergyman was Master Richard Jackson, the chaplain of the chaplainry of the Blessed Virgin Mary. On 31 August 1540 he granted the feu-farm of St Clement's manse, together with a portion of the lands of Milton of Craigie, to a relative, John Jackson. On 18 July 1588 Richard Jackson resigned the right to the chaplainry to George Rolok, who had already acquired the lands of Milton. (Lamb, *Dundee*, xvii).
- 13. Registrum de Panmure, ed. J Stuart (2 vols) (Edinburgh, 1874), ii, 194.
- 14. Maxwell, Dundee (1891), 48.
- 15. Maxwell, Dundee (1884), 90-1.
- 16. Beatts, The Municipal History of Dundee (Dundee 1878), 192.
- 17. Maxwell, Dundee (1884), 90.
- 18. Lamb, Dundee, xxxiii.
- 19. The Chronicle of Froissart, translated by Sir John Bourchier (6 vols) (London 1901), iv, 59.
- 20. W Hay, Charters, Writs, 19.
- 21. Maxwell, Dundee, (1891), 9.
- 22. J Maclaren, The History of Dundee (Dundee 1874), 196.
- 23. Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis (2 vols) (Bannantyne Club, 1856), ii, 316.
- 24. DDARC ccl/43 Book of the Church, (parchment indenture between magistrates and council and George Spalding respecting certain articles given to him by parish church, 1495), for example.
- 25. Maxwell, *Dundee* (1891), 13 and 36. Lamb, Dundee, xxxiv argues for forty-eight altars and chaplainries. One altar might, however, serve for two chaplainries.
- 26. Maxwell, Dundee (1884), 573.
- 27. Maclaren, History of Dundee, 201-202.
- 28. Maclaren, History of Dundee, 202.
- 29. Maclaren, The History of Dundee, 206.
- 30. Maclaren, Dundee, 210.

Archaeological Evidence

<u>St Clement's Church</u> (Site of) NO 4034 3022

The churchyard is mentioned in property transactions from the 15th century onwards (Lamb, 1895, xxxive). It extended from the *High Street* frontage, southwards to the north frontage of *Castle Lane* (OS 25" 1862, LIV, 9), east to *Tendalls Wynd* and west to end along the line of the present *Chrichton Street* (area NO 403 301). Beatts (1878, 190) claimed in the late 19th century that part of the north wall which had enclosed the cemetery was still standing, and was to be seen, with copestones entire and including a gate pier, forming part of the south wall of the tenement of land fronting the *High Street* immediately to the east of the entrance to *St Clement's Lane* (area NO 403 302). The water limit of the burial-ground was identified in 1827 in the course of laying foundations for a building on the east side of *Chrichton Street*, At this time, a large quantity of bones were

uncovered, together with two graves lined with flags (Thomson, 1830, 26). The east side of the burial-ground was delimited by *Tendall's Wynd*, and the south boundary was marked by the chaplainry of St Andrew Apostle (NO 4037 3022) and the manse of St Clement (NO 4036 3020).

The majority of 16th - to 18th-century buildings occupying *The Vault* appear to have possessed basement or cellar areas. This is true of both the grammar school and the tolbooths. The ground rose steeply from erstwhile *Castle Lane*, north-west to *High Street* and photographic sources (untitled album of photographs, Dundee City Archive Dept nos 8 (south-east end of Vault/Castle Lane) 5/6, (east corner of Town House from St Clement's Lane) indicate that properties fronting *Chrichton Street*, *Castle Street* and *Tendalls Wynd* were cut into this rising ground on the north, east and west sides. Deposits must have suffered considerable disturbance, therefore, at a comparatively early date. More recently (1914-1925) extensive redevelopment has taken place in the area delimited by *High Street*, *Chrichton Street*, *Castle Street* and *Shore Terrace*. Although construction of Caird Hall appears to have caused minimal disturbance to underlying deposits, the construction of the rising ground described above to the present south frontage on *High Street*. Similarly, the contruction of the east and west wings of Caird Hall, flanking the square, has brought about renewed disturbance of deposits. All have extensive cellarage, and are cut into the slope.

The creation of City Square and its associated buildings, has totally destroyed the site of St Clement's Church and Yard.

St Mary's Church (Tower) NO 4013 3012

The earliest surviving masonry is incorporated in the 15th-century west tower.

The present church has remained unaffected by redevelopment of the adjacent *Overgate*; the kirkyard, on the other hand, has been almost totally obliterated, surviving only in revetted portions on the north and south of the church, and standing above the level of the adjacent *Overgate*, *Kirk Stile* and *Nethergate*. The improvements carried out in these areas have necessitated the re-grading of the kirkyard to produce the present configuration.

The kirkyard of St Mary was never used as a burial-ground. The use of the ground as a tip in the 16th century may mean that midden deposits survived. The residue of the kirkyard, which appears to survive only as security for the foundations of the church, now stands some feet above the surrounding precinct and may contain midden material and masonry associated with the various phases of destruction. Any future work involving disturbance of these deposits could be usefully monitored.

The body of the present church is probably archaeologically disturbed. The north transept was specifically used as a burial-place. In 1633, the council found `in times bygane there hes been great abuses be breaking of the floor of the north aisle of the west kirk for burials, and in not paviamenting the same in due season...' (Maxwell, 1884, 254). Some disturbance of earlier levels, if they survive, has therefore probably occurred. In 1814, human remains were discovered beneath the floor of the Steeple Church and in close proximity to the tower. These others are most probably related to the massacre of 1651.

Future work beneath present the floor-level may provide evidence of earlier structural phases.

Religious Houses

Franciscan (Grey) Friary

Historical Evidence

The Friars Minor, according to the *Melrose Chronicle*, first arrived in Scotland in 1231, and a house was established in Dundee before 1296.¹ As was the custom for friaries, the establishment was sited outwith the burgh boundaries, to the south-west of the present-day Howff, which formed the original orchards and gardens of the fraternity. Tradition holds that it was founded by Lady Dervorgilla (grand-daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon and mother of King John Balliol), which would date the foundation at pre-1290, the year of her death, but there is no documentary evidence to confirm this. By 1310 the monastic buildings included a church and it was here in 1310 that a declaration was made in favour of Robert Bruce.² According to the Lancercost Chronicle, the friary was burned by `ships from Newcastle' in 1335; and Froissart argues that the monastery was destroyed along with other parts of the town, by the English in 1385^3 . By 1481/2 there were fourteen friars, as well as the Vicar General of the Scottish Greyfriars resident in Dundee. Although by the 16th century considered as `by far the most wealthy Franciscan community in Scotland,⁴ it would appear that in 1481-2 the friars were so impoverished that they were forced to sell some of their possessions, including books. To assist in the repair of the church Beatrice Douglas, dowager countess of Errol, gifted £100 in exchange for a daily mass at the high altar. There was a further agreement that an altar dedicated to the Three Kings of Cologne would be built in the Greyfriars Church. This may not have been effected, and it is possible that it was erected in St Mary's, where there was an alter of this dedication.⁵ Maxwell is of the opinion that the church was `of some size and of much magnificence' with `gret aftir windows' in the east gable and a steeple with more than one bell.⁶ It also housed the tombs of the earls of Crawford until 1543.⁷ In this year the friary was sacked by Reformers. Ill-feeling had already been shown to the Greyfriars seven years previously when a wooden statue of St Francis, which probably stood outside the monastery, was hanged.⁸ On the later occasion a number of inhabitants were accused of breaking and destroying ornaments, vestments and images and of stealing friary possessions. There was, however, no wholesale destruction, and perhaps only iconoclasm with the tacit approval of Regent Arran.⁹ Five years later in 1548 the English attack probably resulted in the burning of the monastery with the other ecclesiastical buildings in Dundee.¹⁰

By 1559 the friars left the monastery, and the council assumed possession of the lands and building. In October 1560 the magistrates authorised the building of a new flesh-house and opted to use `sae mony of the Grayfriars' stanes to the bigging as will sufficiently big the same.' The new tolbooth was also under construction and it may have been for this purpose that instruction was given `to tak doun all the stanes of the kirk and steeple of the Grayfriars, to be applyit to the common weill of the burgh'.¹¹ Its destruction may have been swift. On 15 February 1562 Queen Mary ruled that `the places of the freris as yit standard undemolissit' were to house hospitals and schools and put to other `godlie usis'.¹² Dundee was not specifically named.

One portion of the Greyfriars monastery and lands did, however, survive. In 1564 Queen Mary granted to the burgesses the right `to bury thair deid in that place and yardis qlk sumtyme wes occupyit be the Gray Cordelier freris'.¹³ This is one of the few old sites which have survived intact in the city centre. Now named the Howff, since it became the meeting place of Dundee's crafts, its tombstones are a tangible record of the three hundred years that this was the town's burial ground. As well as the signs and symbols of many crafts and occupations, the tombs of several local celebrities can be seen: Provosts Riddoch and Pitcairn; members of the Wedderburn and Yeaman families; James Chalmers, the founder and inventor of the adhesive postage stamp; John Glas, the founder of the Glasites in Dundee; and the mother of James Keiller, the marmalade manufacturer.

Notes

- 1. Cowan and Easson, 124.
- 2. APS, i, 400.
- 3. The Chronicles of Froissart (1523-25), translated by Sir John Bourchier (6 vols) (London 1901), iv, 59.
- 4. Cowan and Easson, 126.
- 5. Maxwell, Dundee (1891), 59.
- 6. Maxwell, Dundee (1891), 57.
- 7. Lord Lindsay, Lives of the Lindsays (3 vols), (London 1849), i, 111.
- 8. R Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials in Scotland* (3 vols), (Edinburgh, 1833), i, 286.
- 9. J Bain (ed.), Hamilton Papers (2 vols) (Edinburgh 1890-92), ii, 38.
- 10. DARC ccl/No 54. Decree of Justiciary Depute accusing inhabitants of assisting English and destroying monasteries etc, 8 March 1552/3.
- 11. Maxwell, Dundee (1891), 179.
- 12. The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, i, 202.
- 13. Hay, Charters, 40.

Archaeological Evidence (supposed site of friary)

NO 4012 3030

The Name Book (OS ONB 1858, bk 27, 63) claimed that no traces of foundation walls had been discovered in digging within the walls of the Howff, although along its east side, small and isolated fragments of masonry had from time to time been found at a considerable depth from the surface. In 1958 the Ordnance Survey investigator claimed (OS Record Card NO 43 SW11) a slightly raised area at NO 4015 3032 which speculatively could indicate the presence of building foundations. The area in question is occupied by gravestones and it is not possible to investigate this claim. It is unlikely that the site will be disturbed in the future, as it has been closed to burial for over one hundred and fifty years (1836).

The Dominican (Black) Friary

Historical Evidence

Although Blackfriars were established in several towns by the 13th century, there was no house in Dundee until the early 16th century. This was founded and endowed by Andrew Abercromby, a Dundee merchant who was provost in 1513, sometime before 1521, when the `Freris Praedicatoris' are referred to in a legal process,¹ and after 1517, when the Provincial of the Scottish Dominicans had petitioned the Pope for the erection of a house in Dundee since there was none in the burgh.²

The friary buildings and grounds appear to have been outwith and to the west of the burgh boundary. A property description of 6 January 1520/1

refers `ye land of ye friris predicatouris' lying outside the Flukergait port; a record of 30 January 1551 again places the Blackfriars outside and to the south of the west port; in 1560 a further reference sites the Blackfriars precisely as `lying betwix the Nethergait Port and the WestPort'. The east wall of the friary was in line with Seres Wynd and ultimately formed part of the town wall when constructed. A further portion of land lay on the town side of Seres Wynd and was described as `three ruid of yairds be-east the wall of the town'.³ The Nethergait Port was occasionally termed the Blackfriar Port.⁴ There is little evidence to support the theory held by Mackie, Maclaren, Innes and others that the Blackfriars monastery lay to the west of Friars Wynd, although Maclaren claims to base his argument on `old sasines', unspecified,⁵ and some reputable cartographers, such as Crawford in 1776, do include the Blackfriars monastery to the west of Friars Vennel. The argument that `Friars Vennel' takes its name from both the Greyfriars and Blackfriars monasteries is unfounded. An instrument of sasine of February 1482/3 refers to the `Vennel to this authority (op cit.) lay opposite to it on the east side. Maxwell (1891, 52) places the chapel within the enclosu of the Friars Minor', approximately forty years before the Blackfriars house was established in Dundee.⁶

In 1543 it was attacked by a mob, though as with the Greyfriars monastery, possibly there was no wholesale destruction, merely iconoclasm with the tacit encouragement of Regent Arran. It, too, was burnt by the English in 1548. After 1560 the town council leased out all of the Blackfriars yards, crofts and acres. The stone walling of the Blackfriars kirk, however, was to be used for repairing the bulwark of the harbour. Demolition of the building proceeded slowly, some of the stones being used to repair the Castle Burn, but most probably went towards building work at the harbour.

Notes

- 1. Maxwell, Dundee (1891), 62.
- 2. Cowan and Easson, 117.
- 3. DDARC, Burgh and Head court Books, 1, 6 January 1520/1.
- 4. Maxwell, Dundee, 1891, 63.
- 5. C Mackie, Historical Description of the Town of Dundee (Glasgow 1836), 120; J Maclaren, The History of Dundee (Dundee, 1874), 237.
- 6. Maxwell, Dundee, 1891, 62.

The Franciscan (Grey Sisters) Nunnery

Historical Evidence

This house was established on 8 March 1501/2 by James Fotheringham who granted the chapel of St James, which he had founded, to two sisters, in the name of the remaining religious sisters of the Order of St Francis.¹ In 1560 the land was leased by the town council, the house having already been sold.² Six years later the prioress, Isobel Wishart, was granted a nun's portion in the priory of North Berwick.³

The belief that the nunnery was situated near to Bank Street with access from Nethergait by Methodist Close cannot be substantiated. The `Grey Sisters Acre' lay between Hawkhill, Brook Street and Hunter Street, and it is possible that the house and associated chapel were located here, near the playfield. In 1581 the `Gray Sisters dykes' are named as the boundary of the playfield at the West Port,⁴ and in 1566 the *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland* defined the Greyfriars nunnery as `sumtyme situat besyde the burgh of Dundee'.⁵

Notes

- 1. Cowan and Easson, 154.
- 2. Maxwell, Dundee (1891), 183.
- 3. RSS, v, No 2830.
- 4. Maxwell, Dundee, 1891, 69.
- 5. RSS, v, No 2830.

Archaeological Evidence (suppose site of nunnery) NO 4017 3025

The exact site of the Franciscan Nunnery is uncertain. Future work could perhaps most profitably be spent on investigating in greater detail the documentary evidence.

Other Ecclesiastical Establishments

Chapels

There has been some uncertainty over the chapels in Dundee, some historians having confused chaplainries and the tenements, or rentals from tenements which supported them, with parochial chapels. There is firm documentary evidence extant for only six separate chapels, although more may have existed.

Maxwell argues for a chapel of Our Lady in Cowgait¹. Other 19th-century historians follow tradition that chapels were dedicated to St Blaise, St Margaret and St Salvator.

Notes

1. Maxwell, 1891, 52.

St Nicholas Chapel appears to have been situated on the rock of the same name, St Nicholas Craig, at the west of the town harbour. There is no record of its foundation, but it is known that in 1490 it was conveyed to Alexander, master of Crawford, son of the fourth earl.¹ It remained in the hands of this family until its forfeiture of Byres. In 1597, however, it reverted to the Crawford family, when Earl David received from James VI `the craig called St Nicholas Craig within the sea mark of Dundee, with the fortalice, and place of the said craig and the advocation, donation, and right of patronage of the chaplainry of Saint Nicholas founded within the same'.² A notarial instrument dated 12 April 1599 specifically refers to the chapel on St Nicholas Craig.³

Notes

1. Maclaren, *History of Dundee*, 232.

- 2. Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, ii, 372-3.
- 3. SRO, GD 16/24/83.

Archaeological Evidence

NO 4034 2993

Reclamation of the river shore to take in St Nicholas Craig in the 18th and 19th centuries must have led to a considerable build-up of material around and partially over the site to level it. The archaeological potential of the site is not promising.

St Roque's Chapel probably stood outside the town on the east side of the Dens Burn, on the lands of Wallace Craigie near to the locality of 'Semirookie' or St Roque's Lane. Since Wallace Craigie belonged to the Scrymgeours, it is possible that they founded and endowed the chapel.¹ St Roque, or St Roche, being believed to protect those suffering from plague, and the chapel being sited near to the temporary lodgings erected for those afflicted by the plague, the churchyard was probably used as the burial-ground for plague victims.

Notes

1. Maxwell, 1891, 53.

Archaeological Evidence (supposed site of chapel)

NO 4070 3075

Very little is known about this foundation nor is there any structural evidence for the presence of a building here. The discovery of human remains in the vicinity during the late 18th century can almost certainly be attributed to the burial of 17th-century plague victims.

The disturbance to the site during the building of the Wishart Memorial Church and its integral cellarage and the East Port Calender Works, suggests that it is unlikely archaeological deposits survive here, to prove or disprove the existence of a chapel.

The Holy Rood Chapel was situated about a mile east of the burgh boundary. It was also designated the Chapel of St John `of the sklait heuchs', to distinguish it from the chaplainry of St John in the parish church and after the grey slate eminence on which it stood. There is no documentary evidence of its foundation, although in 1442/3 it was associated with a hospital.¹ Maxwell suggests that the chapel was derelict by 1561/2, when the council let out `to James Wedderburn all and haill Sanct John's kirkyaird, lying beside the Ruid Chapel'.² In the 16th century plague victims were interred here. It was afterwards used as the burial-ground for strangers and seafarers, and then of the Kyds of Craigie until the 19th century.³

Notes

- 1. Brech Reg., i, No 53.
- 2. Maxwell, *Dundee* (1891), 177.

3. Mackie, Historical Evidence of the Town of Dundee, 113.

Archaeological Evidence (site of)

NO 4182 3094

The chapel lay some 1.24 miles (2 km) from Dundee High Street outside the burgh boundary.

St Anthony's Chapel may have been situated on the north side of Seagait (area NO 4067 3064). In October 1560 in the town council minutes reference is made to a rental owed on lands `betwix Sanct Anton's kirk and the East Port'. In the late 19th century a payment was still made to the town `for Saint Anthony' on property in Butchart's Court, and Maxwell argues that this was where the chapel probably stood.¹

A charter of 16 June, 1491 of Sir John Knox, perpetual chaplain `of the chapel of *St Mary Magdalane* near Dundee, with consent of Sir William, bishop of Brechin, and of the constable of Dundee, James Scrymgeour, patron of the said chapel, granting lands in feu-farm,² would suggest the existence of a chapel of this dedication outwith the town centre.

Notes

- 1. Maxwell, Dundee, 1891, 51.
- 2. SRO, GD 137/3809.

Archaeological Evidence (supposed site of)

either NO 3873 2942 or NO 3901 2944

The name Magdalen appears on Crawford's (1776 and 1793) plans as Magdalen Guard, and by 1821 (Wood 1818-28) has become Magdalen Yard. The present area of Magdalen Green, although still low-lying, below 33 ft (10 m OD), was largely reclaimed from the river in the 19th century to accommodate the construction of the railway and would seem to have been in any event a very unsuitable site for a religious house.

Chapel of Our Lady. A chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary was certainly in existence by 1491,¹ and by January 1565 was waste.² It may have remained standing in a state of disrepair until after 1600.³

Notes

- 1. SRO, GD 137/3811; GD 137/3878.
- 2. SRO, GD 137/3890.
- 3. SRO, GD 137/3953.

Archaeological Evidence (supposed site of)

NO 4046 3064

The Name Book (OS 25, 1858 ONB bk) cites an old rent roll as mentioning an enclosure known as chapel yard situated on the west side of *Sugar House Wynd* (also known as Our Lady's Wynd). Local opinion was that this enclosure was probably garden ground which belonged to the chapel. While this ground reputedly lay on the west side of the Wynd, the chapel according to this authority (op. cit.) lay opposite to it on the east side. Maxwell (1891, 52) places the chapel within the enclosure and indicates that the endowments of the chapel consisted on a considerable number of small annual rents.

Leper House

The first record of Dundee's leper house occurs on 20 Junde 1498,¹ although its foundation may have been considerably older. It is referred to again in 1540 as the `houses of the lepers'.² By 1552, however, the council records show that the leper house was in a bad state of repair³ and by 1556 `decayit'.⁴ Whether renovation was effected is doubtful, for in 1564, `the leper men's yaird' or `sick men's yairds' were leased for agricultural purpose.⁵

The location of the leper house is unknown, but it was almost certainly outside the 16th-century town walls and East Port.

Notes

- 1. RMS ii, No 2466.
- 2. Hay, Charter, 30.
- 3. DDARC, Burgh and Head Court Book, 3 28 Sept 1550/21 Jan 1554, fo 149.
- 4. Maxwell Dundee (1891), 68.
- 5. Maxwell Dundee (1891), 68.

Almshouse or Maison Dieu

Historical Evidence

In an undated charter (ascribable to 1390 x 1398 Robert III confirmed a grant made by Sir James Lindsay, a kinsman of the earls of Crawford, to the Trinitarians or `Red friars' of a tenement in Dundee for the upholding of a hospital or *Maison Dieu* for the `support of the brethren, and of infirm and sick old men therein'. The crown augmented this support of the *Maison Dieu* by the gift of the revenues of the church of Kettins (reserved for Berwick which was then in the hands of the English).¹ Whether this Trinitarian hospital was ever established is uncertain. Maxwell argues that in 1557 one Margaret Fotheringham sought to be relieved of payment of an annual `acclaimit to be uptaken out of her land be the brethren of Sanct Mathurine's Friary';² it is not specified precisely that this friary was in Dundee, although it may have been.

For some time before the Reformation there was indeed an almshouse or hospital in Dundee under the supervision of the town council, who appointed the master and chaplain,³ but whether this foundation had any connection with the Trinitarian *Maison Dieu* is unclear. It sustained attack by the English in 1548,⁴ although its possessions were hidden. Restored in 1551,⁵ the almshouse was once more functioning and housing `puir and

sick men' in 1553.⁶

After the Reformation the almshouse or hospital continued, largely under the protection of the town council. Its remaining income proving insufficient, it was supported by various town rentals and endowments which had originally been destined for the Greyfriars and Blackfriars monasteries.⁷ By the end of the 16th century it had become dilapidated but its funds were sufficient to construct a new building.

Notes

- 1. RMS, i, No 838.
- 2. Maxwell, Dundee (1891), 66.
- 3. Maxwell, Dundee, (1891), 66.
- 4. Ibid, 113.
- 5. Ibid, 66.
- 6. DDARC Burgh and Head Court Books, 3. 28 Sept 1550/21 Jan 1554. f 224.
- 7. Maxwell, Dundee, (1884), 224.

Archaeological Evidence (site of)

NO 4003 2992

After a fire in 1645 it was rebuilt *c*.1651 on the same site. Described in 1678 by Robert Edward of Murroes as a large and splendid hospital for old men (Lawson n.d. 94) this structure was of considerable size, and appears on Crawford's plans (1776 and 1793) as a long building of two storeys, with a transverse wing at either end, gable to the *Nethergate*, and a central spire. The hospital also appears on Slezer's view as a cluster of houses with a central tower. In 1754 it was modified to serve as a workhouse, and in 1757, it became a prison for French prisoners. It appears to have ceased to be used as a hospital *c*.1778 (Beatts, 1878, 217), but the date of demolition is not certain. It does not appear its entirety on Wood's plan (1821), but the Name Book (O.S ONB 1857, bk 34, 55) states that a small building on the south side of the *Nethergate* was all that remained of the town's hospital (then the central part of a cabinet maker's premises). This fragment is described as plain and three storeys in height - a description at variance with its two-storeyed appearance on Crawford's plan.

The supposed site is now occupied by a garage and by St Andrew's Roman Catholic Cathedral (150 *Nethergate*) which was built in 1835 and added to in 1920. The adjacent portion of Milns Buildings (148 *Nethergate*) occupies the remainder of the area. This, a building of three storyes and a basement erected between 1780 and 1790 (Crawford, 1793), has probably removed any depth of archaeological deposits on this frontage, and as both Milns Buildings (136-148 Nethergate) and St Andrews Church are listed buildings, it is unlikely that any future opportunities will occur to assess the survival of deposits unless it is possible to observe any future re-furbishment work at basement level. The back-land associated with this section of the *Nethergate* frontage, has been extensively built up as far as the former river shore (area NGR NO 4007 2990). This had remained as a garden area until between 1900 and 1921 (OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 9; OS, 25", 1921, LIV, 9), during which time it was progressively built up. Recent clearance of the site has taken place.

Hospital of St John (See above, The Holy Rood Chapel)

Hospital of St Anthony

There is a reference to this hospital in 1443 when Andrew Gray, lord of Foulis, and John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee, confirmed to the canons regular of St Augustine in the church of St Anthony near Dundee certain lands near Dundee for a hospital.¹ It has been argued that this was perhaps associated with `Sanct Anton's Kirk' on the north side of Seagait in the 16th century; and indeed that this same site was also that of the hospital.² The hospital, however was described as `near Dundee', not in the town.

Notes

- 1. SRO, GD 137/3716.
- 2. D.G.Adams, Celtic and Medieval Religious Houses in Angus (Brechin, 1984), 27.

Schools

Bishop Gregory of Brechin granted to the abbey of Lindores the right to found schools in Dundee. This was confirmed by Pope Gregory IX soon after 1239.¹ Until the Reformation a song school and grammar school were maintained by the clerics of St Mary's parish church. Maxwell argues that there were more than 160 pupils in the grammar school by the end of the 15th century.² In the late 16th-century building renewal after the English invasions and Reformation crisis, a new grammar school was built in 1589 on the south-east corner of The Vault. A two-storeyed building with an outside staircase, it remained upstanding until demolished in 1871 when the Town House was extended.³ In 1789 the grammar school had been transferred to School Wynd, where it was housed with the English School founded at the beginning of the 18th century. In 1785 Dundee Academy was founded and used as its premises the old hospital outwith the Nethergate Port. All three schools united in 1829 as the Dundee Public Seminaries, and were rehoused in 1834 in the present building, the name being changed by royal charter in 1859 to the High School of Dundee.⁴

Notes

- 1. Liber Sancte Marie de Lundoris, 17, No 15.
- 2. Maxwell, Dundee (1891), 377.
- 3. Maxwell, Dundee (1891), 90.
- 4. The High School of Dundee, (anon) (Dundee 1964).

Doubtful Foundations

St Paul's Church

Historical and Archaeological Evidence (supposed site)

NO 4043 3040

There is a tradition, supported by some early 19th-century historians, that the first church in Dundee was that of St Paul's, a Culdee establishment, sited between Murraygait and Seagait.¹ The belief in its existence is based on `niches, sculptured stones and pieces of mouldings, relics of the demolished and decorated pile' and a `burial ground attached to the church'.² There is nothing to prove, however, that the early architectural fragments, possibly with religious associations, incorporated into later buildings came from xcclesiastical buildings during redevelopment in the 19th century.

No documentary evidence to support the existence of this church is available. Confusion may have resulted from a tenement in this region named St Paul's Land. Referred to as such between 1556 and 1565,³ it is possible that its rentals supported the altar of St Paul in the parish church of St Mary. The association of this site with St Paul continued in the name of St Paul's Court redevelopment in the 19th century.

Notes

1. C Mackie, Historical Description of the Town of Dundee, (Glasgow, 1836), 101 - 104.

J Maclaren, The History of Dundee (Dundee, 1874), enlarged edition of work by James Thomson (1847), 226.

- 2. C Mackie, Historical Description of the Town of Dundee 101.
- 3. Maxwell, Dundee, (1891), 51.

St Salvador's Chapel (supposed site)

NO 4022 3029

Nothing is known of this foundation other than that it is mentioned as `existing' in the reign of Robert II (d. 1390) (Lawson n.d. 91). The lack of supporting historical evidence for the existence and site of this chapel is compensated for to some degree by the circumstantial evidence. Thomson (1830, 32) claimed that `...the chapel was situated on the summit of a rocky eminence on the north side of *High Street* and *Overgate*, where a close leading to where it stood, bears its name...'. Thomson further reported that `...in 1825-26, while work people were digging among the foundations of the chapel, they discovered some fragments of ancient funeral monuments, and also a considerable quantity of bone...' (Thomson, 1830, 33). The reported material evidence cannot be totally refuted, but perhaps may be subject to re-interpretation.

This area is now archaeologically sterile, and all opportunities to re-interpret the site are lost.

The Trinitarian (Red) Friary

Maxwell¹, Thomson, Maclaren² and others have assumed that there was a Trinitarian House in Dundee. There is however, no evidence of its existence as a separate building from a *Maison Dieu* which may have housed the friars; and even the presence of a Trinitarian *Maison Dieu* is a matter of some doubt.

Notes

1. Maxwell, Dundee, 1891, 64

2. J Maclaren, *The History of Dundee*, 238.

COMMERCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ORGANISATION

Historical Evidence

Every town has one basic function: it is a market. It serves as such not only for its own necessities, but also for the surrounding villages and rural settlements within its hinterland. Dundee's trading area was large and important to the burgh as a source of agricultural produce and raw materials. But equally significant, those living in this hinterland looked to Dundee as a commercial centre which supplied the amenities of markets, fairs, weights and measures, and a port.

Traditionally the town cross marked the site of the market. Dundee's first recorded cross stood in the centre of Seagait a little to the east of present-day Peter Street and Seagate. It was customary for all strangers who came to use the burgh's market to pay toll for the privilege. This might be effected at one of the town's ports, on entry, or at a central collecting post near to the market cross - the tolbooth. In 1325 Robert I granted land to the burgesses to erect a tolbooth `between the water conduit on the west and the Cross Well on the east' in Seagait.¹ There is no evidence of the type of building, but it would probably have been a simple wooden structure.

As the focal point of the town moved westwards, it was inevitable that the market place should be transferred to an area more accessible to the harbour between St Nicholas Craig and Castle Rock. Lamb cites a reference in 1442 to a cross `commonly called the heading cross', and infers that this was the market cross, now removed from Seagait, since the place in which it stood was designated `market gait'.² This supposition seems valid. A tron or public weighing balance had been erected in the Marketgait in 1363/4, and in all probability both the market cross and tolbooth were transferred soon thereafter. While on the same site in front of the meal market at the west end of Marketgait, the tron was twice replaced by 1420. From the details of the repair work it seem that the balance of the tron was made of iron. This was supported by a wooden log, and the scales were timber boards suspended by cords. The tron also served a further useful purpose as a pillory, when culprits were nailed to the tron by the ear.³

The new tolbooth was used until the mid-16th century, although it may have been damaged when the English burned the town in 1548. Sited between Lady Walkstairs house at the west and a corner land on the east, it stood opposite the head of the present-day Crighton Street, with the market cross nearby. The tolbooth has been described as a timber-fronted building, pillared in wood or stone along the ground floor to form a piazza in front of booths, with the burghal chambers above.⁴ It has been argued, for example by Maclaren, Mackie and Kidd, that the turreted building at the corner of the High Street and Overgait, the birthplace of the Duchess of Buccleuch and temporary home of General Monck, also served as a tolbooth, and housed the guild merchant. This theory does not appear to be supported by the primary documentary evidence.⁵ It is possible, however, that after the tolbooth was damaged by the English in 1548, temporary quarters had to be sought elsewhere.

The tolbooth and market cross were to benefit from the wave of new building and repair work that followed after the English attacks and the Reformation crisis. A further tolbooth was under construction before 1548 and, after delays, completed by 1562 on the south side of Marketgait in what was then St Clement's churchyard at the site of present-day City Square. Material may have been supplied from the destruction of Greyfriars Kirk, since the council ordered that the `stanes of the Kirk and steeple of the Greyfriars' were to be `applyit to the common weill of the burgh'. By 1562 it was complete and stood 40 ft (12.19 m) high, with a row of shops along the ground floor. A new cross was also placed beside the tolbooth in the middle of the road. Erected in 1586 by John Mylne, the king's master mason, it was a massive octagonal structure, rising on a base of five steps. An entrance door in this base gave access to a staircase which led to a platform from which proclamations were made. On this platform stood a

pillar which supported a unicorn bearing a shield charged with a lion rampant.⁶ This cross remained in situ until 1777, when the council were `now sensible, by the new paving of the streets, that the cross remaining in its present situation will be very inconvenient'.⁷ Only the shaft of the cross has remained intact, and now rests on a new base with a reproduction capital and unicorn. The original decoration on the shaft - of Dundee's pot of lilies (also to be seen on the west facade of St Mary's Tower), `Dei Donum' and the date 1586 - is clearly visible. This cross stands to the south of the town churches.

By the end of the century St Clement's Church, now partially destroyed, was converted and extended into a weigh-house. This was a stone building with a wooden gallery along the front giving access to the first floor. The town's iron weights were kept in a booth on the ground floor, and, along with a new beam, were newly brought from Flanders to replace the old ones which had been found defective.⁸

The tolbooth, weigh-house and market cross constituted the focal point of burghal life. Traders from home and abroad visited the commercial centre, and its nearby harbour and related buildings. There is evidence of market specialisation before the end of the 16th century. The meal market stood at the west end of Marketgait beside the salt tron. Medieval urban diet consisted largely of meal and meat, supplemented by fish and the products of back yards and poaching. This meal market was then one of the most important since it ensured a regular supply of grain and meal to the town, and was consequently subject to strict regulations to prevent fraud. In January 1569, after a bad harvest in 1568, it was transferred to the north side of Overgait, at the end of St Salvador's Close, since its original proximity to the harbour facilitated illegal transportation of grain out of the town by sea.⁹ After twenty-one years, however, it was returned to its original site; eventually in 1783 it was transferred to the site of St Clement's graveyard, behind the weigh house. A flesh market was held every Friday, and the town benefited from the erection at the east end of the Marketgait of a shambles or slaughterhouse constructed from stones from Greyfriars monastery. The fish market was held at the riverside on `the highway passing from Spaldings Wynd eastward to the Old Shore', on what became known as Fish Street. Throughout the central area of the town merchants and craftsmen offered their goods or services from booths in front of the houses (these were usually wooden temporary structures, which gradually became incorporated into the permanent whole building); and locked booths or `luckenbooths' lined the Overgait and west corner of Marketgait.

Political events in the 17th century had a disastrous economic effect on this market centre. By the 18th century the tolbooth had become so ruinous, as burghal funds were so low, that it was pulled down. When it had been inspected on 27 June 1730 by William Adam, architect of Edinburgh, it was deemed that the roof would in time `infallibly push over the walls' with `melancholy consequences to some of the inhabitants'.¹⁰

The building of the William Adam-designed Town House in its place in 1732-4, at a cost of nearly £4,000, was a sign not only of growing financial improvement, but also of a revival of morale amongst the townspeople. The Town House stood on the site of St Clement's Church and yard and the previous tolbooth, on the present City Square. Of classical design, it was 360 ft (109.73 m) long by 100 ft (30.48 m) broad and was surmounted by a spire of 140 ft (42.67 m). The ground floor accommodated shops in a vaulted arcade. Above this were the council chambers, a court room, and housing for the town clerks and records. On the floor above this was the jail. This fine building, affectionately known as `The Pillars', was removed in the 20th century to make way for the City Square and Caird Hall.

Notes

1. DDARC, ccl, No 15.

- 2. Lamb, Dundee, xi a.
- 3. Lamb, Dundee, xiii a.
- 4. W Kidd, The Dundee Market Crosses and Tolbooths, (Dundee, 1901), 3.
- 5. J Maclaren, *History of Dundee*, (Dundee 1874), 179; C Mackie, *Historical Description of the Town of Dundee*, (Glasgow, 1836), 145; and W Kidd, *The Dundee Market Crosses and Tolbooths*, (Dundee, 1901), 7.
- 6. Anon. Guide Book to the Old Steeples of Dundee, (Dundee 1904),
- 7. Hay, Charters, 179.
- 8. Maxwell, *Dundee* (1884), 61.
- 9. Maxwell, Dundee (1884), 137.
- 10. Report of Mr William Adam, Architect, Edinburgh, on the old tolbooth of Dundee, 27 June 1730, in Hay Charters, 146.

Archaeological Evidence

The Tolbooths

The main focus of early burgh settelment lay along the *Seagate*. This area was consequently the commercial centre of the early town, and the site of the first tolbooth. Some authorities claim that this town house dated from the 13th century. Thomson (1830, 26) for example, reported the discovery of a `stone' during clearance of buildings on the supposed site of the tolbooth which, he claimed, suggested a mid-13th century date for the erection of the building. Millar (1923, 142), editing a late 18th century writer, sites the tolbooth on the south side of Seagait `over against the place where the cross stood, which place is marked out by a circle and a cross within it': other sources site the mercat cross at NO 4052 3051, and Kidd (1901, 2) goes further, claiming the site of the tolbooth lay opposite the foot of *Peter Street* (Area NO 4051 3049). It is clear that these authorities base their interpretation on a charter of Robert the Bruce dated 1325, wherein a piece of ground in *Seagate* was granted to the town for the erection of a tolbooth. The site was referred to as `... lying between the water conduit on the west, and the cross on the east'. The old Name Book (OS 28, 1858, ONB, bk 15) approaches the question of the siting rather more realistically in its assertion that the tolbooth lay on the south side of *Seagate* on a site `not accurately pinpointed'. The putative site of the tolbooth lies below the modern street, and *Seagate* has experienced many episodes of re-building since the 15th century.

By the early 15th century, the town was expanding westwards. Seagate was eventually abandoned as the commercial and administrative centre, and the tolbooth also migrated westwards to the *High Street*. At what date this move took place, and the *Seagate* tolbooth became redundant is not known. Most sources, however agree that the administration of town affairs was probably carried out in the later 15th and early 16th century from a timber-fronted building on the north side of `Marketgait' opposite the north end of the present *Crichton Street* (NO 4028 3021). Maxwell (1884, 146) describes the site as `... between the house of 'our Lady Warkstairs `on the west, and the corner land on the east ...'. The anonymous author of `Dundee Delineated' (1822) provides an architectural description of the building. The ground-floor frontage consisted of a line pillars of wood or stone which supported the frontage of the upper storeys, and which also formed a piazza, a covered walk-way, with shops and dwelling entrances set into a stone wall some 7 ft (2.13 m) or 8 ft (2.44 m) to the rear of the arcade. Within the piazza also were doors and stairs providing access to the cellars beneath.

The date at which it was disused for administrative purposes is not known. Continuing reference to the building suggests that repairs were carried out subsequent to the fire of 1548, although its administrative function was transferred to another building on the *High Street* at some unknown date.

The site of the old tolbooth was cleared of buildings in the late 1960s preparatory to the commencement of work on the *Overgate* development, and is now occupied by a department store. The extensive basement area of this new building suggests that the destruction of archaeological levels must be total, and it is unlikely that any future investigation of the site would prove profitable.

At an unknown date prior to the construction of a new tolbooth in 1562 the direction of town affairs was reputedly transferred from the building at the head of *Crichton Street* to a late 15th-century structure at the junction of *Overgate* and *High Street* (NO 4028 3023). The Ordnance Survey reported in 1958 (OS Record Card No 43 SW 36) that this building retained original features in the two upper storeys only, the lower part of the building having been converted to use as shop premises.

The site of this building now lies beneath a raised flower bed on the piazza formed as part of the *Overgate* scheme. The extent of disturbance to the site during redevelopment is uncertain, although some interference with deposits to the rear of the building did occur, leading to the discovery of a draw well. It is possible that some archaeological levels, including building foundations, still survive here, and the site is of potential future interest.

Subsequent to the dissolution of the religious houses in Dundee, a new tolbooth was erected in 1562. According to Maxwell (1884, 49) this building was erected upon `open ground' between the `Mercat Gait' and the kirkyard wall of St Clement's kirk (NO 4034 3023).

The Town House completed by William Adam in 1734 occupied the same site as its mid-16th century predecessor on the south side of the *High Street* (NO 4034 3023), and the subsequent clearance of this building in 1932 in the laying-out of *City Square*, must have seriously damaged or totally destroyed any evidence of this earlier building.

Excavation for the underground car park lying below City Square must have effectively destroyed all archaeological deposits.

CRAFTS, INDUSTRIES AND WATER SUPPLY

Historical Evidence

The two burns that delineated the first settlement in Dundee, the Scouringburn (sometimes referred to as Friars Burn; or Castle Burn or Mausie Burn at its southern end) and the Dens Burn (Wallace Burn or sometimes Bitterburn) were to play an important role in the town's history until the 19th and early 20th centuries. The Scouringburn began in a small loch to the north-west of the town beyond the Law and Balgay Hill. The loch itself having been sited in the area now named South Road, Lochee. The Scouringburn flowed through the valley to the south of the Law through the Wards and Meadows, approximately along the line of Brook Street, Guthrie Street, South Ward Road and Ward Road to Meadowside. On the east side of the Meadows the burn turned south to follow a line parallel to present-day Commercial Street. The Dens Burn met the river in a rocky gorge about a quarter of a mile further east near the present St Roque's Lane. Originally running in a basically southerly direction, it is now piped underground to the east of Dens Road, crossing under the junction of Victoria Road and Arbroath Road at Victoria Bridge, before travelling to the Tay. The usefulness of these two streams for the emerging industries of the town was soon recognised, and modifications to their natural courses, particularly that of the Scouringburn, came early.

The early burgh benefited also from supplies of water from wells. A reference in a charter of Robert I granting a piece of ground in the Seagait for the erection of a tolbooth, specifies this land to be `between the water conduit on the west and the Cross Well on the east'.¹ This would place the well near the junction of Peter Street with Seagate. In 1409 in a contract between James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee, and the burgesses Dundee', or the Ladywell.² This was ducted and culverted in the early 15th century to flow into the Scouringburn, and was considered the parent source of water for the burgh into the 19th century.

St Francis Well or Friar's Well stood in the Meadows to the north of the Greyfriars monastery, and probably served as the water supply for the Franciscans. After the Reformation is would appear to have fallen into disrepair and one James Petrie was ordered by the town council to `big and repair the well as weill it wes of before with lime mortar'. Within thirty years, however, its state was such that the council again instructed that `St Francis well be of new biggit and made close, so that na common access be had thereto'.³ Near to the site of St Clement's Church, and perhaps formally attached to it was a further medieval well, St Clement's or `Saint's Well' or `Bishop's Well'. Before the building of the grammar school here burgesses had access to the well from Tendall's Wynd through a lane described as the `the Vennel to the well of St Clement'.⁴

Although possibly adequate when the town was small, Dundee's water supply was proving insufficient to cope with its industrial needs by the early 16th century. The Scouringburn, or Castle Burn as it was termed at the section running east of Castle Rock, was used as power to turn the wheels of the burgh's grain mills at Burnhead, east of Castle Rock. To supplement this, a dam had been constructed in the Meadows on the site of the present-day City Museum and Art Gallery in the first half of the 15th century,⁵ and the Scouringburn was fed by the lade or aquaduct from the Dens Burn, called Tod's Burn.⁶ To augment the town's mills Pitkerro Mill, about four miles east of the town, with those at Baldovan and Fintry, were purchased.⁷ By the end of the 16th century there was a windmill in use at the upper end of present South Union Street for grinding oats. A mill was also built at a fall in the Scouringburn north-west of the town. A dam was constructed and a lade led to it, following a ditch to the town wall, passing round the base of Corbie Hill. The burgh records, however, in 1604, suggest that this dam was difficult to maintain, and considerable flooding resulted.⁸ It was later further modified to fill the ditch round the town wall.

The townspeople found other uses for their water supply. Wool was scoured and fulled in the burns. They were moreover handy dumping grounds for noxious waste and the animal remains rejected by fleshers. Dyers disposed of their refuse in the Scouringburn and skinners placed their lime pits along the water course, particularly in the region of present Lindsay Street. The owners of tenements in Argyllisgait, whose backlands reached to the Scouringburn ultimately, in 1597 complained to the council that such practices `daily poison and intoxicate with scouring pellets and with lime, the water' used by `the maist pairt of the inhabitants to their brewing, washing and preparing of meals'. Such problems were faced by the majority of Scottish towns at this time. Dundee town council appears to have attempted to minimise the misuse of the water supply, and lime pits were removed to the east end of Seagait, near to St Roque's Burn.⁹ The earlier council sanction in 1560, that the shambles which had once been sited outside the West Port, should be `erectit in the causeway westside of Castle Burn, where the myddings are', however, somewhat encouraged the practice of using the Scouringburn as a refuse dump, instead of enforcing the official policy of waste disposal at sea.¹⁰

By the late 16th century the town centre was furnished with a further well which may have been in existence earlier - the Cross Well. This stood in the Marketgait to the east of the market cross erected there in 1586. Other wells may have been bored, but they and the streams were unable to cope as the source of drinking water and a laundry facility for scouring and fulling wool, milling corn, bleaching and dyeing of cloth and tanning leather.

In 1743 the town council committed itself to a large-scale improvement. It was agreed that `the Ladywell water be brought into the town in lead pipes with the first conveniency and in regaurd the town has not funds of their own sufficient for defraying the charge thairof recommends to make up proposals for raising subscriptions in the town for that purpose'.¹¹ In the event, the town being unable to raise the money, a subscription begun by the townspeople to supplement the burgh funds was also unsuccessful, and the authorities went heavily into debt. Their initiative, however, did result in stone-built pumps being set up throughout the town, for example at the foot of Tally Street, and on the west side of the `narrows' of Murrygate - the Dogwell. The Cross Well was also removed from the Marketgate to the rear of the new Town Hall, in the Vault.

One major improvement at the east end of Marketgait was the removal of the 16th-century shambles and the erection of the Trades Hall on its site and just west of the present Clydesdale Bank. Designed by Samuel Bell in 1776, its classical and elegant structure was a sign of the growing prosperity of the Dundee tradesmen. Although some of the trades had possessed a hall in the Cowgate,¹² the traditional meeting place of the crafts had been in the old Greyfriars gardens (the Howff) after 1564. Each of the trades possessed a room in the new Trades Hall in which to conduct their business. The cordiners craft commissioned Methven (the work was completed by H Harwood) to decorate their walls with a painting of their St Crispin procession, an annual event led by one of their number who represented their patron, Saint Crispin. This frieze is now in the City Art Gallery and Museum and is of interest not only as one of the few reminders of the Trades Hall, but also for the clear impression it gives of Dundee from the north-west at the turn of the 18th/19th centuries. The Trades Hall is now demolished.

The latter half of the 18th century was also to see further improvements in the water supply. The Meadows north of the town wall were partially drained, enclosed with stone walls and laid out for washing and bleaching greens using the Scouringburn as water supply. An outstanding windmill was erected on Windmill Hill (Corbie Hill), later Lindsay Street Quarry and now under the multi-storey car park at Marketgait.¹³ The 16th-century aqueduct from Tod's Burn to the Tay was used by John Wemyss and Son for their thread and dye-works until the 1770s¹⁴ but it was clear that Dundee's water supply was now totally inadequate. Bleachfields became concentrated on the Dighty Water, a stream running in a west- east direction several miles north of Dundee; and lack of an adequate water supply for domestic purposes perhaps encouraged a move out of Dundee by the wealthier classes to residential areas, such as Broughty Ferry.

The two primary sources of water to the old burgh, however, still had their part to play. Most of the early textile mills developed along the middle Scouringburn and lower Dens Burn, not far beyond the old West and East ports, and in the 19th century both were to attract large-scale industrial works.

Notes

- 1. DDARC, ccl, No 15.
- 2. J Scrimgeour, 'History of the water supply of the City of Dundee' in Dundee and District, 278.
- 3. DDARC, Council Minute Books ii (7 March 1587 to 25 Jan 1603), Oct 12, 1591.
- 4. Lamb, Dundee, xxi.
- 5. SRO, GD137/3720.
- 6. According to Lamb (Lamb, *Dundee*, 41, the 'Todds Burn' was the section of Scouringburn running behind Argyllisgait. Millar (A H Millar, *Glimpses of old and new Dundee* (Dundee 1925), 24,1, more convincingly, argues 'Todburn Lane, which runs east and west from William Street to Dens Brae, parallel with King's Street ... preserves the name of Tod's Burn. In early times this was the rivulet that carried the waters of the Dens Burn down the course of the present Victoria Road, until it joined with the Scouringburn at the corner of Commercial Street and Albert Square.'
- 7. Maxwell, Dundee, (1884), 170, 177.
- 8. DDARC, Council Minute Books, iii (Jan 1597 to 2 Feb 1613), 10 Jan 1604.
- 9. DDARC, Council Minute Book, ii (7 March 1587 to 25 Jan 1603) 25 Oct 1597.
- 10. Lamb, Dundee, p.xiib.
- 11. W Hay, Burgh Charters, 226.
- 12. W Kidd, Dundee Past and Present (Dundee, 1909),57.
- 13. B Walker, Architects and Architecture on Tayside (Dundee, 1984), 115.
- 14. S G E Lythe, 'The origin and development of Dundee', Scottish Geographical Magazine liv, (1938), 356.

Archaeological Evidence (for wells, see Dundee I, Appendix 2)

Pottery industry

An extensive collection of Scottish medieval pottery is held in the Dundee Museum and Art Gallery. The bulk of this material is the result of surface collection during the *Overgate* redevelopment, and dates from the 13th century to the middle or late 14th century (Laing, 1970-71, 171). No detailed study of the pottery collection has been carried out, and it is not possible under the present circumstances to identify with certainty locally produced ceramic from the medieval period. This conclusion may be qualified by kiln furniture recovered from the *Overgate* site. This consisted of kiln bricks, a fragment of clay with wattle impressions (possibly a fragment of lining from the kiln dome), what was suggested to be a kiln prop, and additionally, a number of vessels distorted in the kiln and discarded (Laing, 1970-71, 172). This was recovered from the same midden deposits as the bulk of the thirteenth- and 14th-century pottery, and although also unstratified, by association tentatively suggests a local pottery industry in the vicinity of *Overgate* in the 13th or 14th century.

Leather industry and associated trades

Leather products have survived in the archaeological record, the Overgate redevelopment site having produced many fragments of leathers, mainly from draw-wells.

It is known that the glover (or skinners) craft had established pits for the preparation of skins on the Scouring Burn (area NO 399 303) by the 16th century.

The tanning process was subsequently removed to the east end of *Seagate* and supplied by the Dens Burn (area NO 407 307). Both these areas were comprehensively developed in the 19th century, and it is unlikely that any trace now remains of this 16th-century industry. By the late 18th century, new sites had been established.

Tanneries stood in the backland of property associated with the west side of *Wellgate* (NO 4040 3058 and NO 4024 3065). These are clearly marked by Crawford (1776). The water source for the *Wellgate* yards appears to have been a tributary of the Scouringburn. These yards had fallen out of use by the early 19th century and now lie beneath *Panmure Street*.

Other tanneries featured prominently at the junction of *Cowgate* and *Murraygate* (NO 4040 3058 and NO 4042 3057) Crawford, 1776). The site was rebuilt in the 19th century; the present buildings have a cellarage and the associated backland is replete. In 1822 it was possible to indicate the sites of nine tan yards in Dundee.

What was referred to as `a very old tanyard' (Anon, 1822, 94) also existed between the *Overgate* and *The Ward* (area NO 400 303) and remained in production until the early years of the 19th century, when it was converted to use as a Spinning Mill.

Two smaller tanneries existed close to the Tod's Burn in the same general area as that described immediately above, and a small tanyard lay at the east end of *The Ward* by Burial Wynd (*Barrack Street*).

A large tanyard was also erected between 1776 (Crawford, 1776) and 1793 (Crawford, 1793) on the newly-formed *Guthrie Street* at the junction with *Blinshall Street* (NO 3962 3031) drawing its water supply from the Tods burn. By about 1822 the premises had become a spinning mill (Anon, 1822, 94).

The cordiners were also a well established trade in Dundee. Their date of origin as an incorporation is unknown, but according to Millar (1925, 134) the oldest records occur in a Lockit book which is not earlier than 1560. Cordiners are frequently mentioned in property transactions from the 16th century and thereafter. It is not clear in many cases if the curing of leather took place at these properties. The wooden land (NO 3988 3014) is known to have had continuous associations with the shoemaker trade until *c*.1815, and about 1790 one William Crawford reputedly (Millar, 1925, 135) had what is described as a `shop and work' on the north side of *Overgate* near Friar's Vennel (*Barrack Street*) (area NO 401 301).

Timber Trade

No evidence of saw-pits or offshore timber seasoning stacks has yet come to light, but these archaeological possibilities should be borne in mind in

the event of future development in areas known to have been covered by large timber storage yards at the shore (Crawford, 1776 and 1793), especially in an area immediately below Castle Hill (NO 404 401), in the area between the 18th-century Flesh market and the warehousing which fronted the 18th-century harbour (NO 403 300); and on reclaimed ground (NO 402 299). West of the Craig pier and south of *Yeaman Shore*.

A vacant plot of considerable size flanked on the north by *Seagate*, on the west by the embryonic *Trades Lane*, on the south by the river shore, and on the east by a boundary (NO 406 305) terminating in a pier, appears (un-named) on Crawford's plan of 1776. By 1793 (Crawford, 1793) this site is designated as a wood yard, and its development can be traced in cartographic sources.

The site is now occupied by warehousing and workshops to the south, and by the bus station to the north.

In the 19th century the *Seagate* sawmills and timber yards occupied the frontage back land and reclaimed ground to the rear of 133 *Seagate* (NO 406 305) (OS 25" 1858, LIV, 9) and continued to do so until 1983 (OS 1:1250, 1983 plan NO 4030 north east).

In 1783, there were dyeworks and business premises associated with the trade still surviving in Dyers Close on the north side of *Muraygate* (Lamb, 1895, XLVIII), although Millar (1925, 118) claims that in that year there were only eight dyers in Dundee, presumably based in the close. The site of Dyers Close was redeveloped during the late 19th century improvements to the area and it is doubtful if remains of this industry survive, as underlying deposits have probably been complicated by the intrusion of later cellarage.

The west end of the Murraygate was probably a favourable site for the dyers due to the proximity of the Meadow Burn.

Food Processing

The Fleshmarket or Shambles

The earliest recorded communal flesh market and slaughter-house in Dundee, dates from the mid-16th century. Maxwell (1884, 53) quotes a council minute of 1560 in which the intention of erecting a flesh house is expressed `... it was devysit and ordanit with common consent, that there suld be ane flesh house biggit upon the calsay be-west the Castle burn, quhair the myddings and the scald (skin) market stand'. The site was later successively that of the Trades Hall and the present Clydesdale Bank building (NO 4040 3034).

The evidence suggests that there was no cellar or basement associated with the shambles, but subsequent buildings here had basement premises. It is very unlikely that remains survive of the 16th century shambles, although waste products resulting from the butchering of animals could reasonably be expected to exist in the vicinity.

The 16th century shambles was cleared from the *High Street* by 1776, and a butcher market re-established in a street known variously as *Flesh Market Street* (Crawford 1776), *Shore Head Street* (Crawford 1793) and latterly *Butcher Row* (Wood, 1821; OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9), NO 4035 3010. By 1858, (OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5) the butcher market was converted to the sale of butter and fish, and the building was cleared in 1883, when *Whitehall Crescent* and *Whitehall Street* were laid out (Pocock, in Jones, 1968). The site of the butcher market on the south side of *Butcher Row* now lies partly beneath 18-24 *Whitehall Crescent*, beneath the road itself, and beneath 7-9 *Whitehall Crescent*. In view of the extensive cellarage below the late Victorian buildings now occupying the site, it is very unlikely that any traces of earlier buildings survive.

The removal of the shambles from the *High Street*, also saw a division in its function. Slaughtering was in future carried out at a new site partly on made-up ground and partly on St Nicholas Craig (NO 403 299). The site of the slaughter house on St Nicholas Chapel (NO 4034 2993), and speculatively the `fortalice' erected by the Earl of Crawford in the 15th century. The slaughterhouse was cleared away about 1871 to facilitae expansion of the railway system. Little building work appears to have been carried out on the site since that time, although the bridging of the railway by *South Union Street* may have caused some disturbance in the late 19th century. The site is occupied by the forecourt of Tay Bridge Station, and an adjacent vacant lot.

Windmills (NO 4031 3004)

The precise date of the erection of `the Mill at the Chapel craig' or `the Windmill at the shore' is not known. This building stood according to Lamb (1895, LIII), on a rock projecting into the river, surrounded by water on three sides. `Ye wynd myln bewast the schoir' is referred to in about 1580, and Lamb claims that in 1598 the building was still in use as one of the town's mills. By about 1640 it was abandoned as a mill, consequent upon the Town Council having acquired mills at Pitkerro, Baldoven and Mains, subsequently put to other uses principally as a powder magazine.

At some date after 1744, the Windmill was demolished, and the site re-built with a large tenement which was afterwards known as the Cholera Hospital. The tenement was cleared in about 1883 to facilitate the west approach to *Whitehall Street*. Whether the ground level has risen here as is the case at the Green Market site is not known, but the site now lies beneath the road at the junction of *Union Street* and *Whitehall Crescent* and observation here in the event of future work may prove profitable.

Windmill, Windmill Brae

On 30 June 1757, William Robertson applied to the Town Council for permission to erect a `Windmiln for making barley', on the eminence on the north side of *Overgate* known variously as Tenter's Hill. Mlyn's Hill and Corbie Hill (Lamb, 1895, XXXVI). The mill was erected on the summit of the hill by 1760. The site had previously been occupied by the fort which from the 16th century controlled the west approaches to the burgh. The diameter of the main room was 30 ft (9.14 m) with walls 6 ft (1.83 m) in thickness, and a wheel 56 ft 8 ins (17.27 m) in diameter.

According to Maxwell (1884, 481), Windmill Brae was quarried for paving stones in the late eighteenth and early 19th centuries. The site was eventually levelled, and in 1831 *North Lindsay Street* was laid out.

Because of the extensive quarrying which has taken place, the site is now archaeologically sterile, and future research must be directed towards documentary sources.

THE HARBOUR

Historical Evidence

It is possible that Dundee's first harbour was in the creek at the mouth of the Scouringburn, readily accessible to the original commercial centre of the town in Seagait, but the westward movement of settlement came closer to the natural harbour lying between the two protective rock outcrops, St Nicholas Craig and Castle Rock.

Robert I's charter of 1327 to the burgesses of Dundee refers specifically to a harbour in the reign of Alexander III $(1249-86)^1$ and numerous entries in the Exchequer Rolls indicate that Dundee was a noted harbour for imports in the 13th century. By the 14th century it was an established trading port for both exports and imports, with control over a large hinterland in a fertile region which included very rich monasteries. The natural bay was probably already rendered more secure as a haven by walling. In 1447 proposals were set forward to repair the harbour, and by letters patent James II granted dues to be levied on all ships entering the harbour for this purpose.² This `havin silver' was to be regularly levied for centuries. From the town council minutes, however, it is clear that the burgh experienced grave difficulties in maintaining its harbour.

In 1560 the council appointed a pier master to supervise the harbour works, but even this and `havin silver' were insufficient to prevent the pier, haven, shore and bulwarks falling into a state of disrepair by 1567. By this date the harbour had been artificially improved by quats, sea walls and a pier, all constructed of stone.³ Offshore there were two bulwarks or breakwaters of timber, but by 1580 these had become so unsafe that vessels were forbidden to tie up to them on the landward side for fear of toppling them over.⁴ Extensive improvements in the latter part of this century appear to have been successfully executed under the supervision of the king's master-mason, John Mlyne. The town council, moreover, imposed stricter regulations for use of the harbour.

Storm damage in 1600 and 1658, and the devastation resulting from Monk's attack in 1651 were not truly alleviated by levies authorised by James VI in 1603, 1607 and 1612, nor by the measure taken in 1669 to enable repairs to be made to the harbour. On this last date Dundee was authorised to hold extra fairs to increase revenue, and duties were imposed throughout the country.⁵

The effects of these disasters were compounded by a further natural factor. The Tay carries to the sea a vast volume of sediment, and after Monk's attack the harbour remained not only ruinous, but also silted up for twenty years. Reconstruction work in 1675 rendered the haven usable once more. Slezer's view of Dundee from the east was drawn in 1678 and gives a clear impression of the harbour and its works at this period.

Dundee's harbour facilities were in increasing demand throughout the 18th century as a result of the growing linen trade. Defoe on his tours around Great Britain visited Dundee. His account, published in 1724-27, rates the burgh as `one of the best trading towns in Scotland, and that as well in foreign business as in manufacture and home trade'. He continued, however, `It has but an indifferent harbour'.⁶ An act of parliament of 1730 authorised the levy of a duty of 2 pennies (Scots) on each Scots pint of beer or ale sold in the town. This was to be partially used to repair the harbour works and reduce silting, and shore dues levied on all vessels using the port provided for the first time considerable funding for major harbour improvement.⁷

In 1745 Dundee's inward tonnage had been 1,280. By 1791 it had risen to 10,520. The outward tonnage on the earlier date was 500 for foreign ports and 3,000 for coastal. These, too, had soared by 1791 to 1,276 for foreign and 20,055 for outward coastal tonnage. By the end of the 18th century,

in spite of the vast increase in its trade, the harbour was still basically a tidal haven, liable to silting, although piers, both stone and timber, afforded extra protection. A scouring basin to the north of the harbour was at least an attempt to remove the sediment carried down by the Tay, and this process was further assisted by arches cut into the piers to gain a scouring effect from tidal currents.⁸ Packhouses (the first built in 1643 on land reclaimed from the river), the customs house and other related buildings lined the shore, and the tree-lined walks around the port were a favourite meeting place. However, the transformation of the harbour in the early 19th century was essential for Dundee to achieve its full commercial potential.

Notes

- 1. DDARC, ccl/16.
- 2. DDARC, ccl/30.
- 3. The improvements were partially effected with stonework from the Blackfriars Church. Johan Blaeu's map of The Shire of Fife published in *Atlas Novus* in 1654 indicates no bulwarks in Dundee's harbour.

Robert Edward's map of the Shire of Angus first published in 1678 shows the bulwarks and piers clearly.

- 4. A Maxwell, The History of Old Dundee (Dundee 1884), 106.
- 5. Lamb, *Dundee*, 20-21.
- 6. B Lenman, From Esk to Tweed, the Ports of Eastern Scotland before 1800 (Glasgow and London, 1975), 27-28.
- 7. D Defoe, A Tour Through the Whole Islands of Great Britain (London 1727), iii, 176.
- 8. B Lenman, Esk to Tweed, 27-28.

Archaeological Evidence

The Tay Estuary forms one of the few natural harbours or refuges along the relatively inhospitable east coast of Scotland. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that with the physical advantages of a sloping river beach and the protection of land forms such as St Nicholas Craig on the west, and Castle Rock on the west, coupled with opportunities to develop trade with Europe, that an important medieval harbour should develop at Dundee.

The site of the early harbour has been assumed to lie between St Nicholas Craig and the west side of the Castle Rock. In the 13th century, however, the focus of settlement lay along the modern *Seagate* with the Castle as its axis with some development west to *The Vault* including St Clement's Church. A number of factors, the proximity of the commercial centre of the burgh in *Seagate*, the immediate protection afforded by the castle and its garrison to a harbour site, and the mouth of the Meadow Burn on the east side of the castle would initially appear to favour if not formal harbour works, a bleaching site in the vicinity of the present *Commercial Street* and *Gellatly Street*. There is however, no evidence that this was so, and it is to the west of the Castle rock that more immediate interest lies.

In the 15th century, the harbour appears to have been formed in a creek approximately on the site of *Chrichton Street* (NO 403 301) and from there, eastwards to the Castle Rock. The west pier approximated to the line of *Chrichton Street*, the east pier to the south end of *Castle Rock* at the junction of *Tyndall's Wynd* and *Castle Lane* (NO 4037 3021), neither street remaining extant. The old rental roll gives the east boundary of the

harbour at `Thomas Cristall's House' in this location (Maxwell, 1884, 109). The north pier lay on the line of the old *Castle Lane* (NO 4037 3021) (OS 25", 1858, LIV, 9) now approximately in the centre of *City Square*.

At the time of the demolition of the Old Custom House in 1883, fresh evidence emerged regarding the site of the early harbour. Running through the centre of the foundation of the south west stair tower was a wall puddled with clay. This wall was considered (Lamb, 1895, XLVIIId) to have no structural connection with the tower, and was tentatively identified as the remains of an earlier building or, more likely, as the foundation of an early harbour wall. This identification was considerably strengthened during drain laying operations in east *Whitehall Cresent* in 1890-1. At that time a structurally similar wall was located circa 30 ft (9.14 m) south-west from the west gable of the Old Custom House. This fragment was described (Lamb, 1895, XLVIIId) as `protected with clay on the south side, with the north face built with square dressed stone'. Lamb, probably rightly, considered that these two fragments of strongly built walls formed sections of what was known as the `narrow harbour', which was frequently referred to in charters and sasines about 1560. At that time, according to Lamb, the south boundary of the houses on the north side of *Fish Street* was commonly described as `the narrow harbour'.

The development of the harbour at Dundee, and the progressive reclamation of river shore and back filling of obsolete wharfage encourages speculation that a high proportion of the earlier harbour works may survive. Evidence of the depth of surviving archaeological levels at the foot of *Whitehall Street* and the discovery of early walling beneath the site of the Old Custom House (NO 4033 3014) would certainly seem to confirm the survival of deposits. Most of the property north of *Dock Street* has remained untouched since the 19th-century redevelopment, and although many of the buildings have cellars, which may have resulted in disturbance of underlying deposits, the roads are wide and may have suffered less disturbance, even allowing for the installation and improvement of services.

TABLES OF APPENDICES 2, 3 & 4

APPENDIX 1 – table included in Historic Dundee - Part 1

APPENDIX 2 WELLS

NAME(if known)/STREET	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
1 St Francis' Well Bell Street NO 4006 3050	Stood on the site of St James United Presbyterian Church[1]. Site cleared and rebuilt between 1952[2] and 1958[3]; doubtful if remains survive. Council minutes suggest well (head?) built in lime and mortar. A draw-well.	1. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 5 2. OS, 1:2500, 1952, plan NO 4030
	Reputedly used as water source by Franciscan friars[4]. Claimed lead pipes transporting water from well to friary frequently laid bare in grave digging in mid-19th century (no evidence). Fell out of use at Reformation. Council ordered repair of well 1562/3. 1591 again in disrepair and closed by council[5].	 3. OS, Record Card NO 43 SW9 4. OS, ONB, 1858, bk 27, 7 5. Lamb, 1895, LVII
2 Bell Street NO 4007 3060	Discovered Feb. 1968 during extension to Dundee Technical College[1]. On site of former Chapelside Spinning Mills.	1. Boyd, 1968, 1
	Probably 19th century.	
3 Bell Street NO 4002 3057	Two wells discovered June, c 300 ft (91.44 m) beyond work on extension quoted above, Both dry stone built slightly corbelled towards mouth and 5 ft (1.52 m) diameter. Both now sealed by concrete.	1. Boyd, 1968, 1
	Probably 19th century. Boyd[1] considers both were used as a water source for steam engines in use in Chapelside Spinning Mills.	
4 Brook Street NO 396 302	Discovered during pipe-laying work. Lined with coursed dry stonework. Now destroyed[1].	1. Thoms, 1981, 46
	Probably 19th-century domestic usage.	
5 St Clement's Well also known as `The	Stood by and possibly part of church of St Clement. Imbricated roof to well-head. Surmounted by crude representation of head with mitre (hence `Bishop's Well')[1].	1. OS, Record Card NO 43 SW53

NAME(if known)/STREET	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
Saints' Well and the `Bishops Well' City Square NO 4035 3024	Well-head circular in plan built in coursed ashlar masonry. Original site. Source of number of springs. A draw-well. Well-head demolished[2]. Site now occupied by City Sq.	2. Lamb, 18895, XXI 3. Lamb, 1895, LVII
	Original site on Marketgait, opposite Tendall's Wynd. Removed 1777 to site behind Town House.	
6 Burnhead Well Commercial Street NO 4943 3035 (site of)	Erected at junction of Calendar Close (defunct) and Seagate known as the Burnhead Well[1]. No structural details available. Probably a draw-well. Site now occupied by Commercial St. Probably out of use 1874.	1. Lamb, 1895, LVII
7 Cowgate Well[1] Cowgate NO 4042 3057	At the junction of Cowgate & Murraygate, in close proximity to tan works. This junction widened and improved on SE side of Cowgate between 1900[2]-1921[3]. Site of well now beneath road. No structural details available.	1. Lamb, 1895, LVII 2. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 5 3. OS, 25", 1920-21,
	Appears on Crawford's Plan 1776[4].	LIV, 5 4. Crawford, 1776
8 Cowgate NO 4065	Revealed in course of demolition. Drystone built draw-well[1].	1. Thoms, 1981, 46
	19th Century.	
9 Fish Street Well[1] Fish Street NO 4034 3014 (site of)	Located on W side of Fish Street, adjacent to the tower. No structural details available. Site cleared 1883, levelling up in general area at this time may mean well still traceable site.	1. Lamb, 1895, LVII 2. OS, 25", 1858,
	Extant 1858[2].	
10 Hawkhill NO 3953 3006	Drystone-lined draw-well, now destroyed[1].	1. Thoms, 1982, 32 LIV, 9
	Probably 19th-century domestic usage.	
11 High Street NO 4028 3021 (site of)	Discovered during work for third phase of redevelopment. Stone-built draw-well, identified 12 ft (3.66 m) below present pavement level. Upper part of well only exposed. Found to contain thick layer of leather. Several brown glazed stoneware jars and textile	1. Boyd, 1967, 3 2. Lamb, 1895, LVII

NAME(if known)/STREET DESCRIPTION

REFERENCE

	fragments[1]. Site of well now beneath new development.	
	Described by Lamb[2] as the public well in front of Our Lady Warkstairs. No date.	
12 High Street NO 403 302	Discovered in mid-19th century during demolition of building[1]. Well in middle of stone wall 4 ft (1.22 m) thick. Sides of wall ashlar built, c 15 ft (4.57 m) deep from mouth to rubbish at bottom. Sealed at time of discovery without further investigation. No date, but pre-19th century.	1. Jervise, 1860-62, 584
13 Maxwelltown NO 402 306	Discovered during demolition March 1970. Draw-well, coursed drystone work lining shaft c 13 ft (4.0 m) deep x 2 ft 6 in (0.75 m) wide. Wedderburn[1] comments well infilled shortly after discovery.	1. Wedderburn, 1971, 3
	Early 19th century[1].	
14 Mid Kirk Stile (defunct) NO 4018 3017 (site of)	Removed from Overgate 1828[1] to this site at SE corner of Mid Kirk Stile[2]. Not clear if function maintained or if simply well-head removed. No structural details. Site not totally redeveloped.	1. Lamb, 1895, LVII 2. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9
15 Millar's Wynd NO 392 298	A large number of pit-wells dug in red sand - no specific locations. Also ash pits. No further details.	1. Barrie, 1890, 1
	Excavated c 1832 during cholera epidemic[1] between Perth Rd and Hawkhill.	
16 The Dog Well Murraygate NO 4039 3014	No structural details. Appears on Crawford's plan 1776[1], at Murraygate Narrows. Now lies beneath road.	1. Crawford, 1776 2. Lamb, 1895, LVII
(site of)	Erected c 1743 by Town Council to improve water supply of burgh[2].	
17 Nethergate Well[1] Nethergate NO 4015 3006 (site of)	Located at SW corner of St Mary's Kirkyard at W end of block of buildings built on kirkyard. These removed by 1858[2] and all traces of well vanished. Now structural details. No lies beneath street.	1. Lamb, 1895, LVII 2. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9 3. Crawford, 1776
	Appears on Crawford's plan 1776[3].	
18 Nethergate	Discovered during construction work in March 1970, on site of St Enoch's Church. A	1. HBL

NAME(if known)/STREET NO 399 299	DESCRIPTION draw-well lined with coursed drystone work, water depth at time of measurement 4 ft 11 in (1.50 m) well 16 ft (5.0 m) deep x 2 ft 6 in (0.75 m) diameter. St Enoch's Church built 1874[1] now demolished. Wedderburn[2] claims well preserved intact at time of discovery.	REFERENCE 2. Wedderburn, 1971, 3
	Early 19th century[1]. Domestic[2].	
19 Overgate (defunct) NO 3028 3023	Revealed 1967 on site of courtyard of `Duchess of Monmouth's House' during redevelopment. A draw-well. Finds include brass candlestick, fragment iron bowl, pottery, fabric and leather.	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned
	?Early 17th century or later.	
20 Overgate Well Overgate (defunct) NO 4019 3019 (site of)	Stood on corner of Tally Street[1].	1. Lamb, 1895, LVII 2. Crawford, 1776
	Appears on Crawford's plan 1776[2].	
21 Peter Street NO 4043 3053	Discovered during alterations to basement of Messrs Smith & Horner Draw-well lined with coursed dry stone work, upper courses of which removed. Diameter at existing surface 3 ft 8 in (1.12 m). At time of recording depth to infilling 6 ft 7 in (2.0 m); subsequently backfilled.	1. Thoms, 1973, 5
	Early 19th-century date[1].	
22 The Cross Well Seagate NO 4050 3049 (site of)	Reputedly stood in close proximity to the first tolbooth of Dundee. Close to junction of present Peter Street/Seagate[1]. No structural details available. Site now beneath road. A draw-well.	1. Lamb, 1895, LVII
× /	Apparently existed by 1325, referred to in charter granted by Robert the Bruce at that date. Appears in confirmation of charter issued by David II 1365, but name of well does not appear in records thereafter[1].	
23 Off Shore Terrace	In 1858 in the Fish Market. This ground reclaimed from river shore; site in 1776[1] on	1. Crawford, 1776

NAME(if known)/STREET NO 4045 3015	DESCRIPTION quay between the `Bason' and the river. By 1821[2] the bason infilled. Not certain when well sunk, or if water was piped to it. No structural details available. Site subsequently occupied by bus station and now lies beneath new Tayside House development.	REFERENCE 2. Wood, 1821 3. OS, 25", 1858, LIV, 9
	Apparently extant 1858[3].	
24 South Ward Road NO 4007 3027	Revealed during excavation work. Described by Boyd[1] as a stone built draw-well 13 ft 3 in (3.9 m) deep with cylindrical shaft 2 ft 7 in (0.76 m) diameter.	1. Boyd, 1969, 3
	Undated, possible 19th-century domestic.	
25 St Paul's Court (defunct) NO 404 304	Well reputedly in cellar of `Mr Brown's Store'[1]. No further details. St Paul's Court was redeveloped with the present buildings on the site in the late 19th century.	1. OS, ONB, bk 28, 31
	Said[1] to have been used in connection with St Paul's Church (dubious foundation). No date.	
26 27 Tay Street NO 3995 3001	Discovered during property renovation. Draw-well lined with coursed dry stone work, upper courses of which destroyed; surface diameter 1 ft 1 in (0.33 m). Backfilled[1].	1. Thoms, 1974, 8
	19th-century domestic.	
27 Temple Lane NO 3981 3018	Drystone lined draw-well. Now destroyed[1].	1. Thoms, 1980, 39
	Probably 19th century.	
28 The Lady Well Victoria Road NO 4026 3070 (site of)	Stood at foot of Hilltown opposite junction with Bucklemaker Wynd. Appears on Crawford's plans of Dundee[1]. No structural details available. Site now beneath road. A draw-well.	 Crawford, 1776 Crawford, 1793 Lamb, 1895, LVII
	(Otherwise the well of the blessed Marrie of Dundee). Specific mention in a contract between Constable of Dundee and burgessess, 1409. Considered (erroneously) as parent source of water supply in Dundee until 1836. Remained in use until Victoria Rd constructed 1872[2].	
29 Strone's Well	No structural details available. A draw-well.	1. Lamb, 1895, LVII

NAME(if known)/STREET DESCRIPTION

REFERENCE

Wellgate NO 403 306 Exact site unknown	A property described in 1528 as lying near this well[1].	
30 Wellgate (defunct) NO 4041 3061	Revealed during demolition, draw-well lined with coursed dry stone work. Depth c 30 ft (9.0 m) diameter c 2 ft 7 in ((0.80 m) depth of water 12 ft 10 in (3.90 m)[1] at time recorded. Stone schist slab forming surround[2]. 19th-century domestic.	1. Thoms, 1973, 6 2. DAGM ACC NO 1973-1301

APPENDIX 3 DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

NAME/STREET	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
1 St Clement's Manse Castle Wynd NO 4036 3020	1490 in charter noted as lying to W of `chaplainry of St Andrew'[1]. 1540 Master Richard Jackson, chaplain to the altar of the Blessed Virgin in St Clement's resigns feu-ferme to relative, John Jackson. Demolished <i>c</i> 1930-32.	1. Lamb, 1895, XV to XVII
2 House with Tower Fish Street	Circa 1570, round tower corbelled to form square caphouse. Pend. Chimney gable.	1. Lamb, 1895, XLIV
	Possibly by Andrew Galloway, shipowner, post-1564 when he bought land which was described as `waste and burned'. Demolished by 1883[1].	
3 Provost Pierson's Mansion Greenmarket NO 4033 3014	Built after 1562[1] on ground reclaimed from river. Approximately 52 ft (15.85 m) square with round towers on three corners. Building probably extended further S originally. In early 19th century building re-roofed internally[2]; thick central wall running length of house and rising above roof. Communicating doorways on 1st and 2nd floors from circular stair on E front.	 MacGibbon & Ross, 1892, V, 70 Lamb, 1895, XXV Lawson, n.d., 97 MacGibbon & Ross, 1892, V, 70-72
	First mention indicates proprietor and possible builder James Pierson (provost pre-1640) 1770. <i>Circa</i> 1803[3] used as custom house. Described in 19th century as `one of the most remarkable specimens of a town house which with care might have lasted for centuries to come'[4]. Demolished 1883.	, , ,
4 High Street Overgate NO 4028 3032	15th Century, perhaps late 14th. Four storeys coursed masonry. Court to rear with well.	1. Lamb, 1895, XXV
	Possibly used as temporary home for town council mid-16th century, though no firm documentary evidence. Birthplace of 1st Duchess of Monmouth. Temporary headquarters of Monck, 1651[1]. Demolished 1966.	
5 St Ninian's Land Blue Bell Inn) High Street/Seagate	16th century. Four storeys. Three doors on lower floor. Access to upper levels by a close adjoining the stair passage.	1. Lamb, 1895, XXXIV, f, XLII
NO 4041 3031	Robert Chield sold house and land described as St Ninian's Land 1564 to William Guild, brewer. Birthplace of Admiral Duncan of Camperdown 1731. 19th century called Blue Bell Inn[1]. Demolished 1868.	

NAME/STREET	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
6 Our Lady Warkstairs Kirk Wynd NO 4027 3021	Style of building suggests c 1450[1]. First documentary evidence 1508[2]. Eight-bay arcaded frontage[3]. Nine-storeyed frontage to Kirk Wynd. Two uppermost floors within slope of roof. Two staircases respectively at E & W ends. Rich internal decoration. Some wainscotting and carved fireplaces and doorways; painted decoration on ceiling beams in principal rooms.	 Lamb, 1895, XXII a & b Kidd, 1909, n.p. Maxwell, 1884, 147 OS, 25", 1862, LIV, 9
	16th century in ownership of William Barrie. Damaged in English attacks 1548, repaired 1581. Mention in Rental Roll as `land callit Our Ladie Warkstairs'[4]. 18th century subdivided amongst several proprietors. Belonged partly to James Aberdein, glass merchant and know as `Aberdein's Land'. No evidence to support theory was originally an almshouse dedicated to Virgin Mary.	
7 Wm. Drummond's House Kirk Wynd/Thorter Row NO 4024 3018	1540 owned by William Drummond, baker, member of important baxter (baker) craft family. Earl of Gowrie took refuge here after abortive raid of Ruthven 1583-84. 1654 tenement became property of Yeaman family. Demolished 1865. Three-storeyed and attic. Chimney gable to Thorter Row. Two entrances into Kirk Wynd[1].	1. Lamb, 1895, XXIV, & a
8 Kirk Wynd NO 4022 3016	Early 16th century. Stone-built, four-storeyed plus attic. Gabled stair tower with roll-moulded doorway. At demolition mural painting discovered in interior[1]. Occupied in early 16th century by members of Baxter craft. Adjoined William Drummond's house. Demolished 1865.	1. Lamb, 1895, XXIV a & b
9 Garland's Land Nethergate NO 4024 3015	Three-storeyed and slated stone-built block 45 ft (13.72 m), E-W 29 ft (8.84 m) N-S. Tower at SW corner. One of block of buildings[1]. Of 4 `properties that of John Ray, brewer, probably first built c 1559-60 on waste and burned land belonging to the chaplain'. All charged with annual sums for supporting chaplains in parish church. Name taken from Andrew Garland, proprietor at end of 18th century. Demolished 1812.	1. Lamb, 1895, XXIII

NAME/STREET	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
10 Chanter's Land (Laird of Fardill's Land) Overgate	16th century. Basement, two storeys and attic. Centrally placed arched doorway. Basement stone floored hall. Circular stair turret tower at SW corner. Upper room ceilings painted. Some oak panelling.	1. Lamb, 1895, XXXVII, & a
NO 4013 3016	1528, House in Argyllis-gait apparently assigned by James Scrymgeour, of Fardill as residence for choristers at St Mary. After Reformation repossessed by Laird of Fardill. Charter of 1594, suggests tenement then ruinous. Property disponed 1799 to architect Samuel Bell. Demolished 1870[1].	
11 Wooden Land	Late 15th century. Timber-framed and gabled. Jettied at first floor.	1. Millar, 1925, 134 2. Lamb, 1895, XLI
Overgate NO 3988 3014	Earliest recorded proprietor Andrew Wichland, cordiner and burgess prior to 1513[1]. Owned by cordiners until late 16th century. Several owners until 1815, when property acquired by a tweed manufacturer and a factory established here - closed 1837[2]. Demolished 1876.	a & b
12 Millhills LodgingOvergate(Methodist Close)NO 4017 3025	Built or altered <i>c</i> 1621. Skewput on rear of gable of house bore date 1621. Main block and two wings enclosing small court three bay arcade[1]. E wing two storeys plus attic. Ground floor of W & N ranges vaulted. W range probably also arcaded[2]. Several dormer pediments sculptured with heraldic devices. Small gate surmounted by carved armorial of Millhill family.	 OS, 25", 1862, LIV, 9 Lawson, n.d., 95 Crawford, 1776, `H', 120
	Late 16th century owned by David Hunter, merchant. Probably responsible for building or alteration. Owned by the Wedderburnes, Fotheringhams & Forrestors of Millhill. Used as Methodist Meeting House until 1788[3]. Public Hall until 1840. Demolished c 1870.	
13 House with Tower St Clement's Lane	1568. Rounded stair turret corbelled to square at head. Heavy exterior mouldings. External forestair[1].	1. Lamb, 1895, XVLLL 2. Maxwell, 1884, 90-1
NO 4035 3022	Built by Andrew Rankyne, burgess and mariner, on part of former kirkyard of St Clement's Church[2].	

NAME/STREET	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
14 Earl of Huntingdon's HouseSt Margaret's Court NO 4029 3009	1496 charter refers to `Erle David Huntlentown Haw' - presumed to have been dwelling of Earl David (d.1219)[1]. Toft in possession several owners, including abbey of Arbroath until Reformation. Subdivisions post-1570. Site cleared and redeveloped 1871[2]-1900[3].	1. Lamb, 1895, XXXI 2. OS, 25", 1858-71, LIV, 9 3. OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 9
15 Scott's Close NO 4030 3014	Three-storeyed with semi-octagonal tower. Large first-floor (hall?) room. External wall on Scott's Close incorporated several large pottery jars. E wall fronting Makieson's Close contained four niches.	1. Lamb, 1895, XXXVIIa
	Earliest known proprietor Alexander Annand, son of Bailie, represented burgh at convention of Royal Burghs and served as treasurer of Dundee & Dean of Guild. Later, property of Lyons of Carse. Demolished 1883[1].	
16 Graham of Fintry's Chaplainry Seagate (Mitchell's Close) NO 4048 3037	Perhaps rebuilt c 1550 on site of earlier 16th-century structure. Four-storeyed, stone dormers decorated. Upper floors and attic panelled stone fireplaces with mouldings ornate oak stair with curved balusters[1].	 Lamb, 1895, XLIV a & b See chaplainry St Mary Virgin for ref to
	First building perhaps so named since dwelling granted 1492 by Robert Graham of Fintry, provost of Dundee, for support of chaplain of altar of Blessed Virgin Mary in parish church[2]. Purchased 19th century for widening and improving Seagate and Commercial Street.	Seagate lands
17 Seagate (Stewart's Court)	Mid-17th century. Four storeys, two-bay frontages. Pend giving access to shore.	1. Lamb, 1895, XLV
(blewaits coult)	First recorded owners, Bowers of Kincaldrum[1]. Demolished 1871.	
18 Provost Auchinleck's House	Round angle-turret containing turnpike stair to upper flats. Mainly dressed ashlar.	1. Lamb, 1895, XVI
Tendall's (Court) Wynd NO 4030 3024	First recorded proprietor Thomas Kinloch c 1564 became residence of the Auchinleck family of Woodhill. James Auchinleck, provost 1593-94. Ruinous for may years by 1895[1]. Demolished c 1930-32.	

NAME/STREET	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
19 Thomas Crystall's House Tendall's (Court) Wynd NO 4030 3021	Stone-built, four storeyed and attic chimneyed gable[1]. Pend formed principal access from the shore to the W portion of Castle Hill[2]. Described in 1560 as the E boundary of the shore. Thomas Crystall, shipmaster c 1567[3]. Demolished c 1930-32.	 Anon, untitled photographic record in City Archives. Dundee <i>c</i> 1915 OS, 25", 1900-01, LIV, 9 Lamb, 1895, XVIIa
20 Chaplainry of St Andrew, Apostle NO 4037 3022	So described in 1490. Rebuilt 1660. stone-built E end of building with stone cornice and corbel course.	1. Lamb, 1895, XVI
	Post-1796 part belonged to Dundee Library, later turned into wine and spirit vaults[1]. Demolished <i>c</i> 1930-32.	
21 Strathmartine Lodging The Vault	Early 17th century. Outer gateway. Three-storeyed stone building. Semi-octagonal entrance tower. Access stair had hollow newel. Rooms wainscotted[1].	1. MacGibbon & Ross, 1892, V, 73 2. Lamb, 1895, XX
NO 4034 3018	Probably built by John Duncan (d.c.1608). Certainly in existence by 1616. Urban residence of lairds of Strathmartine[2]. Reconstructed 1705-10[3]. By 1892 divided into several dwellings. Demolished c 1930-32.	3. Walker, 1955,4
22 Thomas Leyis Land Whitehall Close NO 4029 3011	Thomas Leyis, Kings Custumar for Dundee and merchant, proprietor of tenement c 1440. After c 1505-6, property subdivided. Demolished 1884[1].	1. Lamb, 1895, XXVIII
23 Lyons Room Whitehall Palace Whitehall Close NO 4028 3012	Probably built before 1589. Four intercommunicating massive vaulted cellars. At the entry the carved arms of Charles II (dated 1660) erected by Sir Patrick Lyon of Carse. Other re-used carved stones. Vaulting carried a more modern superstructure[1].	1. Maxwell, 1884, 300-1 2. Lamb, 1895, XXVIII
	Broken lintel dated 1589 and inscribed at demolition, `FEIR GODOBAY ZE KINGIT JAMES 6LOVE THEY N'. In possession of James Lyon, merchant,	

NAME/STREET	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
	c 1650, and remained in family until 1776 after which, with adjacent buildings the late 18th century. A tarras cement factory[2]. Demolished 1883.	
24 Earl's Lodging	Probably pre-1400. Described as a `vast' building with letters `LINDESAY'	1. Jervise, 1861, 222
(Earl's Palace or	embossed on battlements. Chapel or oratory dedicated to St Michael Archangel[1].	2. Kidd, 1909, 37
Great Lodging)	Gardens reputedly extended down to river shore[2].	3. ONB, 1895, bk35
Yeaman Shore (N of)		4. OS, 25", 1921,
NO 4024 3003	Originally property of Earl of Crawford 15th century. Demolished c 1828. ONB	LIV, 9
	claims house called Earl's Inn said to be partly built on site[3]. This cleared 1921[4]-1952[5]. Site subsequently redeveloped with Nethergate Centre 1975[6].	 5. OS, 1:1250, 1984, plan NO 4030 SW 6. McKean & Walker, 1985, 56

APPENDIX 4: FINDS ERRATUM

PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
	GLASS		
21 Overgate Well 2 NO 401 301	Window glass found in Well 2, in association, with animal bone, metalwork and earthenware.	Unknown	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned
	WOOD		
22 St Mary's Close NO 4025 3013	Three wood panels of similar design carved in bow relief, discovered behind plaster in an old house.	Early 17th century	In mid-1920 in possession of Miss E G Hutcheson, Broughty Ferry. Present whereabouts unknown. Richardson 1925-6, 406-7
	LEATHER		
23 Overgate NO 401 301	Twelve fragments of leather from shoe or shoes.	14th century?	DAGM ACC No 1985-226 Laing 1960-71, 171
24 Overgate, Courtyard of Duchess of Monmouth's House NO 4038 3023	Three fragments of leather discovered in a draw-well.	Undated	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned
25 Overgate near site of 'Our Lady Warkstairs' NO 403 302	A thick layer of leather, parts of shoes and cuttings discovered in upper part of a draw-well.	Unknown	Boyd 1967, 3

PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
	TEXTILES		
26 Overgate near site of `Our Lady Warkstairs' NO 403 302	Textile fragments discovered in upper part of draw-well.	Unknown	Boyd 1967, 3
27 Overgate near site of `Our Lady Warkstairs' NO 403 302	Strips and fragments of textile discovered in the upper part of well.	Unknown	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned
28 Overgate NO 401 302	Iron axe head, 6.79 in (0.169 m) long, recovered in surface collection during disturbance caused by redevelopment. COINS	Unknown	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned
39 4 Tullidepth Road NO 388	Greek imperial coin of Marcus minted at Cornith. The coin was found beside a trench cut to drain drying green at the rear of flats, which were built in 1901.	Unknown	Robertson 1970-1, 103, 118
40 Corner of Bain Square and Wellgate NO 4042 3060	Coins	17th century	Thoms 1973, 6
	SILVER		
41 By the steeple NO 4013 3011	Silver octagonal talismanic brooch complete with pin front panels engraved [+ IH ESVSNA ZARE +] continuation on back [NVS RES IXnI EN +]. Discovered in forced soil near the steep.	14th century	In collection of Mr C E Whitelaw, 1924 Callander 1923-4, LVIII, 171- 2 Christison 1906-7, XLI, 418

PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
42 NO 4030	Silver reliquary bearing legend [IHS] on one side in Gothic letters, on the other, the Angus Dei bearing the cross. Reputedly dug up in Dundee.	15th century?	Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh Scott 1855, II, 32
	GOLD		
43 Heathfield House NO 3947	Gold decorated finger ring, reputedly found <i>c</i> 1790 while digging foundations of Heathfield House.	Unknown	In possession of J Neish, Heathfield in 1861, present whereabouts unknown. Jervise 1861
	STONE		
44 Unknown	Worked grey flint.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 1974-1065
45 Ninewells NO 366 300	Irregularly-shaped grey flint, one end pointed. Worked, and showing signs of wear due to use.	Unknown	DAGM ACC No 71-32
46 Ninewells NO 366 300	Lozenge-shaped flake of grey flint with secondary working along one side.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 71-60
47 Stannergate NO 4331	Two flints discovered during excavations at the Stannergate c 1878. Part of blade with cortex remaining. Red-brown flint (2)? Struck filint, light green unretouched.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO 1971-544 (1-2); 1878-9, XIII, 306-7 Lacaille, 176-7
48 Stannergate NO 4331	A polished stone axe head of green slate found near the Stannergate midden site c 1878	Neolithic?	DAGM ACC NO 64-67

PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
49 Downfield NO 382 343	Stone axe head. Cutting edge convex and sides almost straight. Discovered during digging in the garden of a private house.	Neolithic?	1878-9, XIII DAGM ACC NO 70-334
50 385 Perth Road NO 369	Sandstone axe with straight sides and convex cutting and hafting edges. Found on the site of an air raid shelter in the NW corner of the garden.	Neolithic?	DAGM ACC NO 54-283 CBA Card D/M56 Coutts 1971, 38, No. 37
51 Landsdowne, Coupar Angus Road NO 3755 3222	Polished stone axe head, dark red and worn through use. Straight sides, convex surface and cutting and hafting edges. Found during excavations for foundations of a multi-storey block.	Neolithic?	DAGM ACC NO 64-64 Boyd 1963, 2
52 Industrial School, Blackness Road NO 387 303	Polished greenstone axe, discovered 4 ft (1.22 m) below the then ground surface at the site of the Industrial School.	Neolithic?	Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh Paul 1900-1, XXXV, 11
68 Overgate NO 401 301	Unknown number of fragments of perforated, flat stone, probably roofing slabs. Recovered in surface collection during redevelopment. CERAMIC	Post-medieval	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned
69 Stannergate NO 425 310	Food vessel. Sandy grey-brown fabric decorated with horizontal lines and triangular indentations. Rim slopes internally; decorated with indentations.	Bronze Age	DAGM ACC NO 1964-46 PSAS 1879
70 Western Cemetery	Coarse, thick walled sherd, dark brown fabric. Decorated with	Bronze Age	DAGM

PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
NO 379 300	rows of triangular impressions.		ACC NO 1964-47 Coutts 1971, 51, No. 93
71 West Ferry	Reconstructed, undecorated, collared urn (base missing) containing calcined bone (see 18). Brown fabric. Associated with flint arrowhead and fragments of calcined bone.	Bronze Age	DAGM ACC NO 1964-48 Anderson and Black 188708, 347 Coutts 1971, No. 107
72 Western Cemetery NO 3800 2989	Collared urn, unearthed 1881. Contained human bone and fragments of oxidised bronze.	Bronze Age	DAGM ACC NO 1969-253 Lamb 1895, 1 Coutts 1971, 59, No. 107
73 Western Cemetery NO 380 300	Upper part of collared urn. Decorated with crude incised saltires on collar and vertical lines on neck.	Bronze Age	DAGM ACC NO 1973-709
74 Overgate	Six fragments of tile, some glazed. Found in surface collection during redevelopment.	Medieval? Post-medieval?	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned
75 Overgate NO 401 301	Thick, gritted, well-fired fragments of drain pipes (water) including rim fragments glazed in yellow, green and brown. One unglazed fragment with perforation. Found in surface collection during redevelopment.	Unknown	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned
76 Overgate NO 401 301	Jug made from a grey fabric with the remains of a dark glaze. Bulbous body with slight shoulder narrowing sharply to the neck. Flared rim, stepped on exterior, incised horizontal lines on the shoulder. Single strap handle and protruding foot ring. Found in the wall of the house April 1887.	Medieval	DAGM ACC NO 1976-1259

PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
77 Whitehall Street NO 402 301	Six jugs in a red-brown fabric, glazed. Loop handle at one side. Embedded in the wall, at random, in upper floors. Mouths were flush with the exterior face of the wall. Only two vessels recovered reasonably whole.	pre-1684?	Anderson and Black 1887-8 Hutcheson 1882-3, 426-7
78 Castle Lane NO 4038 3022	Two jugs. Embedded in the gable with mouths flush with the external wall surface. Discovered while repointing.	Unknown	Hutcheson 1905-6, 354-5
79 Vicinity of Beechwood Industrial Estate	Fragment of backed clay coin mould. Used for making forgeries of (a) an obverse of Caracallla (issue 199-200AD) and (b) a reverse of Gerdian III (238-244AD). Possibly a modern loss.	Unknown	DAGM ACC NO NCR Factory Post Oct 1960, Vol. 12, No. 9
80 Muirhead	Stamped fragment of clay pipe stem. A Kane a tobacco pipe manufacturer in Dundee c 1878-9	c 1878-9	DAGM ACC NO 1978-2109 Trades Directory 1878-9
81 Howff Cemetery NO 401 303	Clay tobacco pipe stems and bowls (some stamped) found with modern pot sherds, kettle marbles, bone and shell fragments.	Unknown	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned
82 Dundee NO 3031	Black pottery jar.	Medieval?	DAGM ACC NO 1964-50
83 Overgate NO 401 301	Considerable number of pot sherds. Found in surface collection during redevelopment 1960-1. Unstratified, but considered to have been incorporated in a series of middens.	14th century?	DAGM ACC NO 1964-51 ACC NO 1964-53 (incl.) ACC NO 1965-85 ACC NO 1965-87 (incl.) ACC NO 1965-89 ACC NO 1965-167

PROVENANCE	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE/LOCATION
84 Overgate NO 401 301	Five fragments of yellow, glazed blocks. Appearance suggests they had been exposed to great heat. Probably kiln bricks from the pottery industry.	Unknown	Laing 1970-1, 169-77 Coutts 1964-6, 323-5 DAGM ACC NO 1965-177 Laing 1970-1, 172
85 Overgate NO 401 301	Pot sherd. Found in surface collection during redevelopment in mid-1960s.	Medieval	DAGM ACC NO 1978-1891 ACC NO 1978-1896 ACC NO 1978-1896 ACC NO 1978-1900 (incl.) ACC NO 1978-2074
86 Overgate NO 401 301	Knob handle attached to rectangular lower part. Decorated with a cross and two faces (etched) on surface of lower part. Legend 1561 [HCIC], crown and human figure caved on sides of knob, which has a hole in the top as does the base. Use unknown.	16th century	DAGM ACC NO 1978-2108
87 Overgate NO 401 301	Approximately 215 sherds of glazed stone/earthenware. Found in surface collection during redevelopment.	Unknown	DAGM Recorded but unaccessioned